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THE FIRST MILESTONE

With this number we begin the second year of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and the second volume of its REVIEW. It is fitting that we pause for a moment to survey the past and consider the future. Our undertaking was begun at an inauspicious time when thoughts and activities were centered on the War and when prohibitive prices of paper and printing made publication seem almost foolhardy. Nevertheless there were many reasons that prompted us; there was the centenary of Illinois Statehood and the interest in State history, stimulated by that event, and then there was the almost total absence of the Catholic note in that history. This last perhaps gave the final impetus to the formation of our SOCIETY and the publication of our REVIEW.

With all modesty we can say that our efforts have been fairly successful, even beyond our expectations, for today we number over six hundred members and we have circulated over twelve hundred copies of each issue of our REVIEW. This success has been primarily due to the financial support of life members and the generous donations of friends, and also to the self-sacrificing contributors who gave their work without compensation.

Much still remains to be done for the cause of Catholic history in Illinois. May donors, contributors and subscribers continue their interest and may new friends be added to our ranks during the coming year. We wish to be bigger and better at the Second Milestone.

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG, S. J.

THE FRENCH IN ILLINOIS

I. DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

It is usual in approaching the narration of a historic event to, as it were, establish a back-ground by a recital of facts and circumstances leading up to it. Following that routine, it would be appropriate for me to go into more or less detail with respect to the coming of the French to Canada, their settlements along the St. Lawrence and upon the Lakes and the excursions of their traders. It should be sufficient here, however, to note that the French had a settled government in Canada, and that the voyages of discovery undertaken by Jolliet, Marquette and La Salle were the result of official acts of that and the home government, distinct records of which were made and are preserved to the present day, by reason of which there can be no question or doubt raised as to the authenticity of their work.[1]

Because of changes in names, some comment upon the geography of these early days is essential to a complete understanding of the early voyages. It is important to know that Michillimackinac,[2] where Father Marquette was stationed before starting on his memorable voyage of discovery, was at the most northern point of Lake Michigan and just where Lake Michigan joins Lake Huron and is now known as Mackinac; that Green Bay lies to the west of the northern end of Lake Michigan and that the Fox River empties into the southernmost extremity of Green Bay.

---

[1] Jacques Cartier discovered Canada July 7, 1534; sailed up the St. Lawrence River in 1535 and reached the sites of Quebec and Montreal. Samuel de Champlain settled in Canada in 1608 and founded Quebec that year. At his request the Franciscan Recollects came to Quebec in 1615. The Jesuits came in 1625 and the Sulpicians in 1657. Champlain died December 25, 1635. François de Montmorency Laval was made bishop and Vicar Apostolic of New France in 1659. By 1672 there were besides the religious establishments in Quebec, twenty-five churches in Canada each with a resident priest. It was after Canada progressed thus far that Jean Talon the Intendant of Canada selected Louis Jolliet a native of Canada, and his superiors selected Father James Marquette, S. J., to go upon the voyage which resulted in the discovery of the Mississippi River and Illinois.

[2] The mission of St. Ignace was located at Michillimackinac, now Mackinac.

On the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1672,[3] Louis Jolliet[4] arrived at Michillimackinac with orders of the Comte de Fontenac[5] and Governor Talon[6] to apprise the Jesuit Missionary of the place, James Marquette,[7] of the commission entrusted to them jointly to explore for the Mississippi River and the lands adjacent thereto, and it was from this mission that the little band of explorers began their momentous journey May 17, 1673.[8]

Viewing the map, it will be seen that it was necessary for them to skirt the northern end of the lake, pass into and through the length of Green Bay, up the Fox River to its source and from there carry their canoes and supplies to the Wisconsin River, out of which they pushed their little barks on June 17 into the great father of waters—the long-sought river of dreams.[9] The site of this first point of entrance to the Mississippi by white men has since been marked by the early settlement, then town, and now city of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

This voyage of discovery has been made quite familiar by reports and descriptions of many writers, but no narrative of the journey is more interesting than that penned by Father Marquette himself.[10]

---

[3] Marquette's account of his first voyage, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 58, 89.

[4] Louis Jolliet, born at Quebec, September 21, 1645, died in Canada, May, 1700; attended Jesuit school at Quebec and received minor orders in 1662. Made many explorations of discovery, the most notable of which was that with Father Marquette in 1673 when they discovered the Mississippi River and Illinois.

[5] Louis de Baude Comte de Frontenac, born at Paris, 1622, died at Quebec, November 28, 1698. Was governor of New France, 1672 to 1682, and again from 1689 to his death in 1698.

[6] Jean Baptiste Talon, born at Chalons-sur-Marne, 1625, died at Versailles, November 23, 1691. A favorite of Cardinal Mazarin. Appointed by Louis XIV Intendant of Canada, March 23, 1655, served to 1668, reappointed in 1670, returned to France in 1672.

[7] Father James Marquette, S. J., born at Laon, France, June 10, 1637, came to Quebec September 20, 1666, died near present site of Ludington, Michigan, May 18, 1675. His remains were transferred two years later and buried in the mission chapel near Point St. Ignace. There they were discovered September 3, 1877, by V. R. Fr. E. *Jacker*. The monument erected there covers part of his remains. The larger portions are in Marquette College, Milwaukee.

[8] Marquette's account, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, 91.

[9] Marquette's account, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, 107.

[10] When on the return voyage Marquette and Jolliet got as far as Sturgeon Bay (off the coast of Green Bay in Wisconsin) Father Marquette stopped at the Jesuit Mission House of St. Francis Xavier which had been built by Father Claude Jean Allouez in the winter of 1671-72 and Jolliet went on to Quebec to report to the Governor. Jolliet's journal was lost when his boat capsized in the

At the very outset of his journey, long before reaching the Mississippi, amongst the first people he met the "Wild Oats" Indians. Father Marquette made plain his purpose; he says "I informed these people . . . of my design of going to discover distant nations to instruct them in the mysteries of our Holy Religion." Those Indians warned the good priest of the dangers which beset such a journey. "They told me that I would meet nations that never spare strangers, but tomahawk them without any provocation; that the war which had broken out among various nations on our route exposed us to another evident danger—that of being killed by the war parties which are constantly in the field." And they sought to inspire in him the superstitious fears they themselves entertained. They told him "the great river is very dangerous, unless the difficult parts are known; that it was full of frightful monsters who swallowed up men and canoes together; that there is even a demon there who can be heard from afar who stops the passages and engulfs all who dare approach."[11]

To all this Father Marquette gave the answer that was the key to all the efforts of the missionary: "I thanked them for their kind advice, but assured them that I could not follow it, as the salvation of souls was concerned; that for them I should be too happy to lay down my life."[12]

The subsequent experience of this gentle priest disproved all the dire forebodings of the "Wild Oats" Indians, at least so far as Marquette and Jolliet were concerned. Instead of the hostilities of the Indian tribes with which they were threatened, they were received with the highest marks of respect, as will be seen as the narrative continues.

Lachine Rapids, and he was able to give only an oral report. At the Mission of St. Francis Xavier Father Marquette wrote a narrative of the journey and sent it to his superior. An abridged copy was sent to Paris, and there published by Melchisidec Thevenot in 1681. When the Jesuits were banished in 1763 the original manuscript containing the accounts of Marquette's first and second voyages were deposited in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. John Gilmary Shea, the Catholic historian, found them there and translated and published them in 1852. In 1899 Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites procured a loan of the original documents from Father Arthur Edward Jones, S. J., (who died January, 1918), made a new translation and published both the French and English translations in *Jesuit Relations*, volume 59.

[11] Marquette's account, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, 95. Some differences will be noted in the wording in the text and that found in the *Jesuit Relations*. This is due to the fact that the text quotes another translation which is less accessible than the *Jesuit Relations*. The latter is therefore cited.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

When the explorers arrived at the village of the Maskoutens, the farthest point to which the French had penetrated up to that time, the representative of the civil government thought fit to announce the purpose of their journey. Continuing with his narrative, Father Marquette says: "No sooner had we arrived than M. Jollyet and I assembled the sachems; he told them that he was sent by our governor to discover new countries, and I by the Almighty to illumine them with the light of the gospel; that the Sovereign Master of our lives wished to be known by all nations, and that to obey his will, I did not fear death, to which I exposed myself in such dangerous voyages."[13]

The experience of these lonely first white visitors upon the Mississippi, and the impression made upon them, is most interesting. We can well imagine how they felt as we read Father Marquette's description of their progress. Says he: "We advanced constantly, but as we did not know where we were going, having already made more than a hundred leagues without having discovered anything but beasts and birds, we kept well on our guard. Accordingly, we would make only a little fire on the shore at night to prepare our meal, and after supper keep as far off from it as possible, passing the night in our canoes, which we anchored in the river pretty far from the bank. Even this did not prevent one of us being always as a sentinel for fear of a surprise."[14]

First White Men in Iowa

But their fears were really groundless; at least so far as the Indians were concerned. As appears from the narrative, they soon came upon evidences of habitation. Father Marquette says that "on the 25th of June we perceived foot-prints of men by the water side and a beaten path entering a beautiful prairie. We stopped to examine it, and concluding that it was a path leading to some Indian village, we resolved to go and reconnoitre. . . . We followed the little path in silence, and having advanced about two leagues, we discovered a village on the banks of the river, and two others on a hill, half a league from the former. Then, indeed, we recommended ourselves to God, with all our hearts, and, having implored His help, we passed on undiscovered and came so near that we even heard the Indians talking. We then deemed it time to announce ourselves, as

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

we did by a cry which we raised with all our strength, and then halted without advancing any farther. At this cry the Indians rushed out of their cabins, and having probably recognized us as French, especially seeing a black gown, or at least having no reason to distrust us, seeing we were but two, and had made known our coming, they deputed four old men to come and speak with us." After introductions, as we would now say, and the exchange of the peace pipe, Father Marquette says that when they came near to the chief in the door of his wigwam "he paid us this compliment: 'How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us. All our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace.' He then took us into his tent where there was a crowd of people who devoured us with their eyes, but kept a profound silence. We heard, however, these words occasionally addressed to us: 'Well done, brothers, to visit us.'"

After visiting and feasting some days, the old chief bade them good-bye in the quaint language described by Marquette: "I thank thee, Blackgown, and thee, Frenchman," addressing M. Jolliet, "for taking so much pains to come and visit us; never has the earth been so beautiful, nor the sun so bright as today; never has our river been so calm, nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed as they passed; never has our tobacco had so fine a flavor, nor our corn appeared so beautiful as we behold it today. Here is my son, that I give thee, that thou mayst know my heart. I pray thee take pity on me and all my nations. Thou knowest the Great Spirit who has made us all; thou speakest to him and hearest his word: ask him to give me life and health, and come and dwell with us, that we may know him."[15]

This remarkable visit to our sister state Iowa, the first no doubt ever made by white men, has been immortalized by Longfellow in his "Song of Hiawatha". Describing Father Marquette's approach and his visit, the poem runs:

HIAWATHA WELCOME

It was neither goose nor diver,
Neither pelican nor heron,
O'er the water floating, flying,
Through the shining mist of morning,
But a birch canoe with paddles,
Rising, sinking on the water,
Dripping, flashing in the sunshine;
And within it came a people

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-117-119.

Rev. James Marquette, S. J.
Discoverer and founder of the Church in Illinois.

Rene Robert
Cavelier Sieur de La Salle
Explorer and first colonizer of Illinois

Louis Jolliet
Discoverer with Marquette of Illinois

Henry de Tonty
Able associate of La Salle and efficient first governor of Illinois.

The Discoverers and Explorers of Illinois

From the distant land of Waubun,
From the farthest realms of morning
Came the Black-Robe chief, the Prophet,
He the Priest of Prayer, the Pale-face,
With his guides and his companions.

And the noble Hiawatha,
With his hands aloft extended,
Held aloft in sign of welcome,
Waited, full of exultation,
Till the birch canoe with paddles
Grated on the shining pebbles,
Stranded on the sandy margin,
Till the Black-Robe chief, the Pale-face,
With the cross upon his bosom
Landed on the sandy margin.

Then the joyous Hiawatha
Cried aloud and spake in this wise:
"Beautiful is the sun, O strangers,
When you come so far to see us!
All our town in peace awaits you,
All our doors stand open for you;
You shall enter all our wigwams,
For the heart's right hand we give you.
"Never bloomed the earth so gayly,
Never shone the sun so brightly,
As to-day they shine and blossom,
When you come so far to see us!
Never was our lake so tranquil,
Nor so free from rocks and sand-bars;
For your birch canoe in passing
Has removed both rock and sand-bar.
Never before had our tobacco
Such a sweet and pleasant flavor,
Never the broad leaves of our cornfields
Were so beautiful to look on,
As they seem to us this morning,
When you come so far to see us!"

And the Black-Robe chief made answer,
Stammered in his speech a little,
Speaking words yet unfamiliar:
"Peace be with you, Hiawatha,
Peace be with you, and your people,
Peace of prayer, and peace of pardon,
Peace of Christ, and joy of Mary!"

Then the generous Hiawatha
Led the strangers to his wigwam,
Seated them on skins of bison,
Seated them on skins of ermine,

And the careful, old Nokomis
Brought them food in bowls of basswood,
Water brought in birchen dippers,
And the calumet, the peace-pipe,
Filled and lighted for their smoking.

All the old men of the village,
All the warriors of the nation,
All the Jossakeeds, the prophets,
The magicians, the Wabenos,
And the medicine-men, the Medas,
Came to bid the strangers welcome;
"It is well," they said, "O brothers,
That you come so far to see us!"

In a circle in the doorway
With their pipes they sat in silence,
Waiting to behold the strangers,
Waiting to receive their message;
Till the Black-Robe chief, the Pale-face,
From the wigwam came to greet them,
Stammering in his speech a little,
Speaking words yet unfamiliar;
"It is well," they said, "O brother,
That you come so far to see us!"

Then the Black-Robe chief, the prophet,
Told his message to the people,
Told the purport of his mission,
Told them of the Virgin Mary,
And her blessed Son, the Savior,
How in distant lands and ages
He had lived on earth as we do;
How He fasted, prayed, and labored;
How the Jews, the tribe accursed,
Mocked Him, scourged Him, crucified Him;
How He rose from where they laid Him;
Walked again with His disciples,
And ascended into heaven.

And the chiefs made answer, saying:
"We have listened to your message,
We have heard your words of wisdom,
We will think on what you tell us.
It is well for us, O brothers,
That you come so far to see us!"

Then they rose up and departed
Each one homeward to his wigwam,
To the young men and the women
Told the story of the strangers
Whom the Master of Life had sent them
From the shining land of Wabun.

Indian Hobgoblins

Space will not permit us to dwell at length on this first voyage of discovery along our shores and through our land. It is well known that the good priest and his companions were accorded a similar reception at all the points where they stopped. It is interesting to remember that as they passed down the river and reached the point of confluence of the Missouri with the Mississippi, they discovered the source of the roaring which so frightened the childish Indian mind,[16] and that upon the rocks opposite what is now the city of Alton, they saw the painted figures that appealed to the Indians as demons in what has since been known as the Piasa;[17] that they pursued their journey until on the 17th of July they had reached the village of the Arkansas, where they learned from the Indians that they were but a few days' journey from the sea—the Gulf of Mexico,—when, "M. Jollyet and I," says Father Marquette, "held another council to deliberate on what we should do, whether we should push on, or rest satisfied with the discoveries we had made. After having attentively considered that we were not far from the Gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is 31 degrees 40 minutes north, and we at 33 degrees and 40 minutes, so that we could not be more than two or three days' journey off. . . . All these reasons induced us to resolve to return. . . . We accordingly ascended the Mississippi which gave us great trouble to stem its current. We left it, indeed, about the 38th degree, to enter another river which greatly shortened our way, and brought us with little trouble to the Lake of the Illinois."[18]

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[16] This was nothing more than the noise of the rushing waters of the Missouri River emptying into the Mississippi. See Marquette's description Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, 141.

[17] The piasa was a representation of a bird-beast-reptile painted on the high rocks opposite what is now Alton. See as to this wierd and fantastic figure, paper by Clara Kern Bayliss, "The Significance of the Piasa," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1908, p. 114. Father Marquette thus describes these figures: "While skirting some rocks, which by their height and length inspired awe, we saw upon one of them two painted monsters which at first made us afraid, and upon which the boldest savages dare not long rest their eyes. They are as large as a calf; they have horns on their heads like those of a deer, a horrible look, red eyes, a beard like a tigers, a face somewhat like a man's, a body covered with scales and so long a tail that it winds all around the body, passing above the head and going back between the legs, ending in a fish's tail." Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, pp. 139-141.

[18] Marquette's account of first voyage, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, p. 159.

Illinois Discovered

Here, Father Marquette has reference to the Illinois River, and it was with his entrance to the mouth of the Illinois that the more particular exploration of our state began. It is somewhat remarkable that the abundance of the Illinois country was the first thing to strike Father Marquette's attention. Speaking of the country, he says: "We had seen nothing like this river for the fertility of the lands, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wild oats, bustards, swans, parrots, and even beaver; its many little lakes and rivers."[19]

The first stop recorded by these early travelers was at the village of the Peoria Indians, located near the site of the present city of Peoria. He says: "I was three days there, announcing the faith in all their cabins, after which as we were embarking, they brought me on the water's edge a dying child, which I baptized a little before it expired, by an admirable Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul."[20] This was, so far as known at least, the first time a Christian rite was ever administered on the soil of Illinois.

Proceeding further up the river, they visited the Kaskaskia tribe, which, as is now known, was located on the Illinois River between what is now Ottawa and La Salle, and near the present city of Utica. The reception there by the Indians was of the warmest character. In describing it, Father Marquette says: "We found there an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins. They received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe, with his young men, escorted us to the Illinois Lake," that is, Lake Michigan, "whence at last we returned in the close of September to the Bay of the Fetid (Green Bay) whence we had set out in the beginning of June."[21]

In a few words, this is an account of the discovery and first exploration of the State of Illinois.[22]

In what is above said, I have rather stressed the religious side, as has everybody else who has written upon the subject, but would time permit, it would be interesting to call attention to the extraordinary merit of this report as setting forth temporal features of the territory through which the explorers passed, thus indicating its vast resources.

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[22] For an account of Marquette's second voyage see Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, 165 et seq.

La Salle's Explorations

The next voyage of exploration was that of the renowned René Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle.[23] This voyage, too, was undertaken at the instance of the government and under the patronage of the great Frontenac. Like all French exploring parties, La Salle's was composed of both laymen and clergymen. The most noted layman accompanying La Salle was Henry de Tonty,[24] and the missionaries were three Recollects, namely: the much-known Hennepin,[25] the aged superior, Father Gabriel de Ribourde,[26] and Father Zenobius Membre.[27]

This voyage differed from that of Jolliet and Marquette in that it was begun and prosecuted from an opposite direction. La Salle's starting point was Quebec, and his route over the St. Lawrence River to Lake Ontario (then called Lake Frontenac) thence by the Niagara River to near the Falls, around the Falls on land, through Lake Erie and Lake Huron and down the east coast of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph River in the southwest corner of what is now Michigan, whence he entered the St. Joseph, pushing up the stream to a point in northern Indiana, near to the headwaters of the Kankakee; from there his party carried the canoes and supplies some fifteen miles to the Kankakee, then followed the Kankakee to its junction with the Illinois, and thence down the Illinois. In passing, La Salle saw the big rock near the Kaskaskia village, of Father Marquette's narrative; he rowed on down to the Peoria Lake where also Father Marquette had stopped and labored

[23] René-Robert-Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, born at Rouen, 1643, died in Texas, 1687. Came to Canada in 1666; became the great explorer.

[24] Henri de Tonty, born in Italy about 1650, died of yellow fever in Mississippi in 1704. Was La Salle's greatest aid and one of the ablest men of the French Period.

See *Chevalier Henry de Tonty*, by Henry E. Legler, late librarian Chicago Public Library.

[25] Father Louis Hennepin, Recollect, born at Ath, Province of Hainaut, Belgium, about thirty miles southwest of Brussells, about 1640, died probably at Rome after 1701. Accompanied La Salle on his first Illinois voyage of discovery and in 1680 went with two men on a voyage of discovery from Peoria to the Mississippi and up the Mississippi to the falls of St. Anthony. Wrote extensively of his travels.

[26] Father Gabriel de Ribourde, Recollect, born near 1600, accompanied La Salle and was killed by Kickapoo Indians May 19, 1680, near Morris, Illinois.

[27] Father Zenobius Membre, Recollect, born in 1645 at Bapaume, France, came to Canada in 1675, accompanied La Salle in 1679 and 1681. Was at Peoria and Starved Rock. Was killed by Indians in Texas in 1687.

three days. Here, on January 4, 1680, La Salle and his party landed, a fort was built by La Salle called Fort Crevecoeur, and the first white settlement ever made upon the soil of Illinois established.[28]

From here Father Hennepin and two aids were sent to the Mississippi and north to the sources of that river. Tonty was dispatched to the neighborhood of the Kaskaskia village with instructions to build a fort upon the rock (now Starved Rock) which he eventually did, and from which he governed the Illinois country as the representative of La Salle and his French patrons for twenty-one years.

The subsequent voyages and activities of La Salle, though of great importance to the rest of the world, did not so intimateely concern Illinois. We can, therefore, dismiss them in this present consideration, and with this voyage conclude the subject of discovery and early exploration, leaving the Illinois country with four well-defined routes of approach, namely: that by way of the Wisconsin River as followed by Jolliet and Father Marquette; second, that by way of the Mississippi from the South as made plain by Father Marquette's voyage and narrative,; third, by way of Lake Michigan, the Chicago, Calumet and Illinois rivers, traversed by Marquette and Jolliet, and fourth, the approach from the eastern side through the St. Joseph and Kankakee rivers.

The accounts of these discoveries, published in much detail, opened up this splendid territory and at once made it accessible for settlement and development.

In passing, it should be noted that other travelers and explorers during the French period wrote down their experiences. Included amongst those are Tonty,[29] La Salle's lieutenant, Joutel,[30] who accompanied La Salle, the Baron La Hontan,[31] Abbé Cavelier,[32] Le Sueur,[33] La Harpe,[34] Hennepin,[35] Membre,[36] St. Cosme,[37] De

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[28] *Tonty's Memoir,* see translation in *Kellogg's Early Narratives of the Northwest,* p. 287.

[29] Henry de Tonty wrote an account of his voyage with La Salle, a translation of which may be found in *Illinois Historical Collections,* Vol. 1, pp. 128-164, and in Kellogg's *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* p. 287 et seq.

[30] Henri Joutel wrote a journal of La Salle's voyages Margry 3, 91-162.

[31] Armond Louis de Delondarce de La Hontan wrote extensively. His works are published in English in three volumes.

[32] Abbé Jean Cavelier, Sulpitian priest, brother of La Salle, wrote an account of La Salle's voyage to the gulf of Mexico. Published in English by Shea in his *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi.*

[33] Bernard de la Harpe wrote an account of the travels of Pierre le Sueur

Montigny,[38] Davion,[39] Douay,[40] and a little later Charlevoix,[41] and others. Many of the letters of the Jesuit priests published in *Jesuit Relations* are excellent accounts of explorations. It is well known, of course, that Father Louis Hennepin, the Recollect Missionary, who

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which was translated and published by John Gilmary Shea in his *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi.*

[34] See note 33.

[35] Father Louis Hennepin's chief publications were *A Description of Louisiana,* which it seems he never saw, and *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America,* etc.

"Hennepin, after this expedition down the Illinois and up the Mississippi, retired to Canada, and soon afterwards he set sail for France. He there published a splendid account of the newly-discovered country of "Louisiana," which he so called in honor of Louis XIV. This work he dedicated to the French minister, Colbert. It contained an account of his discoveries under La Salle, in which he makes no claim to have descended the river lower than the Arkansas. Several years subsequently, not meeting with that patronage which he expected in France, he visited England, and was soon taken into the pay of King William, who declared "that he would leap over twenty stumbling-blocks" to accomplish his designs in America. The King of England desired to set up a claim to the discovery of the Mississippi, and to the whole of Louisiana, through Father Hennepin's discoveries. He therefore induced him to write a new account of his explorations, and so modify its details as to favor the pretentions of the English king. This account was published in London in 1699. It is in this that he first claims to have explored the river to its mouth. The whole narrative, in this respect, bears evidence of its own falseness, and with the French procured for him the title of 'the great liar.' See Martin's *Louisiana,* Vol. I. Also, Bancroft's *History of the United States,* Vol. III, p. 167. Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana,* p. 16."—Monette's *History of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 140.

[36] Father Zenobius Membre, Recollect, wrote of La Salle's voyage down the Mississippi, a translation of which appears in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley.*

[37] Father Francis Buisson de St. Cosme, a priest of the Foreign Missions from Quebec, wrote an account of his voyage with Fathers Montigny and Davion through Illinois and down the Mississippi in 1699 which with letters of Fathers Montigny, Davion, and de la Source, all of the same order, are published in Shea's *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi.*

[38] See 37.

[39] See 37.

[40] Father Anastasius Douay, a Recollect, who accompanied La Salle in his voyage down the Mississippi, wrote an account of the voyage which is translated and published by Shea in his *Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi.*

[41] Father Pierre Francis Xavier de Charlevoix, S. J., visited Illinois in 1721 and wrote a history and general description of New France which was translated by John Gilmary Shea and published in six volumes. He also wrote other letters and journals bearing on his journey through Illinois.

was with La Salle in his first voyage, was a prolific writer, but what seems to be ulterior influences affected some of his later writings.

It should be noted, also, that in the course of some years, another route was established to the Mississippi, leaving Lake Erie thence by the Maumee River to its source, thence by portage to the upper waters of the Wabash, and from there on the Wabash and Ohio to the Mississippi. Many subsequent travelers and settlers followed that route, and the settlements at Fort Miami (now Fort Wayne) Ouiatenon (now Lafayette) and Vincennes in Indiana were reached and built up by this route.

II. THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS AND CIVILIZATION

Settlement

In fulfillment of his cherished ambition and his promise to the Illinois tribes, Father Marquette journeyed again to Illinois, reaching the mouth of the Chicago River December 4, 1675 and, delayed by sickness, remained within what is now the limits of Chicago until the 29th of March of that year. On that day he began his journey to the Kaskaskia village, which he reached on the 8th of April.

Here after three days' preparation, spent in preaching the Gospel and in visiting the Indians in their wigwams, Marquette on April 11, 1675, with elaborate ceremonies established the Catholic Church and founded the mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. This was the first permanent institution on the soil of Illinois and the only one save the Church of the Holy Family at Cahokia, founded in 1698, that has endured from the seventeenth century.

Father Marquette was at the threshold of the grave when he accomplished his great work and died while attempting to return to his former mission, but other missionaries succeeded him in the Illinois and the Kaskaskia foundation was sustained.

With the way opened up and resources and means of access made known, it was natural to expect that immigration would begin to the new rich country. Officially, the settlement of the country was in a measure assigned to La Salle. By letters patent granted by King Louis the XIV, dated May 12, 1678, La Salle was authorized "to endeavor to discover the western part of our country of New France, and for the execution of this enterprise to construct forts wherever

JEAN BAPTISTE BEAUBIEN
Photo by courtesy of Mrs. R. S. Beaubien, granddaughter, 26 North Lang Avenue, Chicago.

MARK BEAUBIEN
Photo by courtesy of Frank G. Beaubien, son, 5737 Race Avenue, Chicago.

THE COMMERCIAL FOUNDERS OF CHICAGO

PIERRE MENARD
Most distinguished man of the Illinois Territory and early State.

NOEL LE VASSEUR
First settler and distinguished pioneer of Kankakee County.

you deem it necessary.'"[1] Accordingly, on his first voyage, as has been suggested, La Salle constructed a fort at Peoria Lake called Crevecoeur and planted a small settlement there, which, as we are aware, was soon put an end to by a mutiny in which the fort was burned,[2] and the only result of La Salle's visit of a permanent nature was the building of the fort at the Rock (Starved Rock) by himself and Tonty in 1682. Here Tonty gathered around him theretofore discordant Indian tribes, and, with a few Frenchmen, kept civilization alive for almost the succeeding score of years.[3] During the last years of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, French traders made frequent trips up and down the Mississippi, and the missionaries established stopping places here and there, while around these little missions the traders came to deal with the Indians attracted by the mission, but immigrants did not come in any numbers until well along in the new century.

The original tribe of Indians to which Marquette preached, the Kaskaskias, in 1700 removed their headquarters from the Rock, and with their missionaries of the original mission went to a point near the junction of the Kaskaskia and Mississippi rivers in southwestern Illinois, and it was here that the effective settlement of the state

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[1] See translation of Patent in Parkman's *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Little, Brown & Co., 1908, pp. 124-125.

[2] A settlement was maintained at Peoria Lake from January 4, 1680, the day on which La Salle and his party arrived, until early in March of the same year. For this reason Peoria may be said to have been the first site of white settlement in Illinois.

[3] For a brief but interesting account of life at Fort St. Louis (now Starved Rock) see *Starved Rock* by Eaton G. Osman.

The military occupation of Illinois seems to have continued, without interruption, from the time when La Salle returned from Fort Frontenac. Joutel found a garrison at Fort St. Louis in 1687; in 1689, La Hontan bears testimony that it still continued; in 1696, a public document proves its existence, and the wish of Louix XIV to preserve it in good condition; and when, in 1700, Tonti again descended the Mississippi, he was attended by twenty Canadian residents in Illinois.—Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 195.

The names of several men who were in this first permanent settlement in Illinois have come down to us. Among them were: Rene Robert Cavelier de La Salle, Henri de Tonti, Daniel Greysolon Du Lhut, Greysolon de la Tournette, François de la Forest, Sieur Juchereau St. Denis, Boisrondet, Michael Dizy, Pierre Chenet, François Pachot, François Hazeur, Louis le Vasseur, Pierre le Vasseur, Mathieu Marlin, François Charron, Jacques de Faye, Michael Guyon, Andrede Chalneau, Marie Joseph le Neuf, Michael de Grez, Phillipes Ensault Jean Petit, Rene Fezeret, Riverin, Chanjon, D'Autrey, D'Artigny, La Chesnaye, Poisset, La Porte, Louvigny, De St. Castin.

begun. For nearly twenty years this new Kaskaskia existed almost without communication with the outer world, and "the only material for historians of this period is to be found in the mission register kept by the priests, and in the periodical reports which they made to their superiors."[4] In the course of years, however, more and more immigrants reached this settlement, and in 1715 a great event occurred, nothing less than the advent of a French woman, one Françoise le Brise, the first white woman ever known to be in Illinois.[5] And by the time France extended its Government over the settlement through the Company of the West, there was quite a little group of settlers there.[6]

Industrial Foundation

It was during the period 1700 to 1725 that the foundations of Illinois were laid, and the guide and leader and builder of the structure, until the time of his death, was Father Pierre Gabriel Marest, S. J. He taught religion and civilization. How to work as well as how to pray. He civilized all the savages and transformed the wilderness into homes, the Indian villages into civilized cities, the best governed—because the least governed—in the world. So rapidly did civilization and culture spread under his tutelage that a college of considerable pretensions was established by his colaborers and successors in 1721, but a few years after his death which occurred in 1715. Gabriel Marest is entitled to be called the industrial founder of Illinois as well as one of its most successful and distinguished spiritual leaders.

Of government during this period Judge Sidney Breese has said:

"No evidence is to be found, among our early records, of the exercise of any controlling power, save the Jesuits, up to the time of the grant to Crozat in 1712, and I have no idea that any such existed in the shape of government, or that there was any other social organization than that effected by them and of which they were the head." Judge Breese cites many evidences to show that the only government attempted prior to 1712 was that of the Jesuits. And

[4] *The story of Chicago and National Developments,* by Eleanor Atkinson, p. 18.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 19.

[6] In 1704 we find it represented that more than a hundred Canadians are scattered in small parties along the Mississippi and Missouri.—Parkman, *Conflict of Half a Century,* Vol. I, p. 354, citing letter of Bienvelle to Minstre, September 6, 1704.

even after Crozat and the Company of the West came on the scene Judge Breeze says that, "Their sway was more in name than in fact, for aside from their power to grant land, all real control over the minds and will of the people was with the Jesuits."[7]

And Blanchard says:

"The French villages in the Illinois country, as well as at most other places, were each under the government of a priest, who besides attending to their spiritual wants, dispensed justice to them, and from his decisions there was no appeal. Though this authority was absolute the records of the times disclose no abuse of it, but, on the contrary, prove that it was always used with paternal care."[8]

"Besides officiating as their religious teacher," says Judge Gillispie, "he (the priest) decides all the controversies and disputes which may arise amongst the people.

"These decisions were (as I have understood) so eminently fair and proper as to satisfy even the disputants. These clerical functionaries were, in the main, men of highly-cultivated minds, with no object whatever in view except to do justice and preserve harmony between the members of their flocks."[9]

It was of this period that Penacaut was writing, as published in Margry, when he said:

"The Kaskaskia of Illinois are very industrious and skillful in the cultivation of the soil: and in this they use the plough, which has not been introduced elsewhere along the Mississippi valley. It was the Jesuit Fathers that taught them its use, more than sixty years ago, when they lived near Lake Pimiteouy (Peoria), whither they had gone down from Canada, among the Illinois, nearly all of whom they converted to the Catholic religion.

"The country where they are now settled is one of the most beautiful parts of all Louisiana, and among the best, too, in regard to the fertility of the soil. As good wheat is to be found there as in France, and every species of vegetable, tubers and herbs as well. In addition they have fruit of all kinds and of excellent flavor.

"In the Illinois country are to be seen the most beautiful prairies of any along the Mississippi Valley. There they grow pastures for the horses, which they procure from the Cadodaquioux in exchange for merchandise.

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[7] *Early History of Illinois*, p. 146.

[8] *Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest*, p. 63.

[9] *Recollections of Early Illinois and Her Noted Men*, p. 5.

"They have large numbers of cattle on these prairies, such as oxen and cows. There are likewise among them great quantities of every species of poultry: besides they have fish in the river by which they dwell, and in the Mississippi River, which is two miles from their village, and in which they catch large quantities of fish, so that they want in none of the things necessary and suitable for sustaining life.

"Near the village they have three mills to grind their corn, namely, a windmill belonging to the Jesuit Fathers, which the inhabitants make very extensive use of, and two other mills worked by horse-power, belonging to the Illinois themselves.

"The women of the Kaskaskia Illinois are very adroit; they commonly spin thread of the hair of the wild ox, which is as fine as the wool of the English sheep. This thread is spun as fine as silk, and it is very white, and it is of it they make their stuffs."[10]

Father Pierre Francis Xavier de Charlevoix travelled through the Illinois country in 1721 and in letters written from here tells of the progress already made. He says that "A Fleming, a servant of the Jesuits, has taught them how to sow wheat, and it thrives well. They have horned cattle and fowl." He tells how the Illinois Indians cultivate the land and mentions that their wives spin buffalo's wool and make it into gowns which they sew "with thread made of the sinews of roe-bucks."[11]

Colonization Movements Fail

In 1712 Antoine Crozat[12] was granted the trade of the country for fifteen years, and assumed to rule it under the government of Louisiana, subject, of course, to the general government of New France. This proprietor made some effort in the direction of settlement, but apparently not profiting as greatly as he expected, he voluntarily surrendered his grant after exercising his powers only five years. On September 6, 1717, the Western or Royal India Company was granted similar but more extensive concessions, and it was this company the famous John Law financed through what

[10] Margry, Vol. V, p. 488.

[11] *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 234.

[12] Two men, Antoine de Lamothe, Sieur de Cadillac, founder of Detroit, and Jean Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville, prominent in their day and destined to become well known in the annals of the West and of the Mississippi Valley, were connected with Crozat's enterprise. Crozat named Cadillac governor and Bienville lieutenant-governor, but Cadillac, being accused and imprisoned in 1716, Bienville became governor.

became known as the "Mississippi Bubble". And though Law's venture proved disastrous to many of the investors, yet it was a most important factor in making known the merits of the Mississippi Valley. Under the impetus of the promotion of this company's affairs, the greater part of the early settlers, especially those from abroad, came to Illinois. A writer says that: "All Paris was talking of the Illinois country, whose soil, it is declared, rivaled the banks of the Nile in richness, and whose mines were equal to those of Peru. The country was described as glistening with gold, silver and precious stones. Everyone was eager to go to the new country, or to invest his money. . . . The bubble was fifteen years bursting, and during that time dazzled all Europe with its promises of the wealth of Goleonda."[13] The result of this publicity upon the character of the immigrants is thus further described: "The Commandant, the Sieur de Bois Briant (the Governor appointed by the company) lead a merry life. Magnificent quarters and luxurious living were provided for the military officers in the fort (Fort Chartres was built in 1618). Some of them had brought their wives, mothers and daughters to form a court. Cannon were planted to command the river, to terrorize hostile Indians and to warn Spaniards not to encroach on French territory. Gay cavalcades of gentlemen and ladies in velvets, brocades, laces, powder and jewels rode over to Kaskaskia to attend Mass in the missionary chapel. The splendor and gayety of Versailles were imitated in the hunting parties and in the balls and dinners at the fort. The mission at Kaskaskia was raised to a parish, and mixed in with the births, deaths and marriages of Indians, were recorded in the parish register momentous events in the lives of numbers of the old aristocracy of France."[14]

It was during the time of the Company of the West that the French settlers in Illinois first began to obtain land grants. Prior to that time, possession had been held by permission from Indian tribes, but in 1722 the company, through Boisbriant,[15] the Commandant, began making grants, and amongst the earliest grants was one to Philip Francis Renault,[16] made on June 14, 1723. A part of this

[13] Atkinson, *The Story of Chicago*, etc., pp. 19, 20.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[15] Pierre Dugué de Boisbriant was the first Commandant appointed by the Royal India Company or Company of the West. The Company was known by both names. He was Commandant or Governor, 1718 to 1724. He died in Canada in November, 1740.

[16] Phillipe François Renault was appointed Superintendent for the Company

grant, one league square, lay in Monroe County, and another tract of 14,000 acres was situated near Peoria.

The company, however, failing also to profit as largely as expected, surrendered its charter in 1732. It is fair to state here that, to the French in Illinois, government was at every period an uncompensated burden. Crozat, the Royal India Company, the direct government from Canada, the sub-government from Louisiana, the mis-government of the English and the virtual default of government during the Virginia Colonial period all brought grief and hardship to the settlers.

For these reasons, these early pioneers are entitled to much more credit than they have ever received. Despite the numerous hardships visited upon them by misgovernment, they applied themselves to the husbanding of the resources within their reach, and worked out their own salvation in a very creditable manner, so long as they were permitted to go on without positive interdiction by the government.

By 1750 there were five vigorous French villages in Illinois with 1,000 white inhabitants and 300 blacks, besides the numerous members of the Indian tribes which were living in the friendliest relations with the French. To such an extent had the villagers taken advantage of the natural opportunities, that "twice each year fleets convoyed by an armed cruiser, and numbering forty vessels, loaded with grain, flour, pork, lead and furs went down to New Orleans."[17]

French Society

Some interesting descriptions of the early settlers have come down to us. The French preferred village life, and accordingly their houses were built in clusters, and their lands or holdings were long

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of the West and came to Fort Chartres in 1720, bringing with him two hundred miners and artisans and five hundred negro slaves. He sought ores and opened the lead mines at St. Genevieve on the Missouri side and elsewhere. The ore was brought to Fort Charters on pack horses and sent down the Mississippi in boats. Renault continued in this work until 1744, when he sold his slaves to the colonists and departed for France.

[17] Atkinson, *The Story of Chicago*, etc., p. 22.

Regarding the French, Parkman says: "As a bold and hardy pioneer of the wilderness, the Frenchman in America has rarely found his match."—*A Half Century of Conflict*, Vol. I, p. 346.

"It was Boré, born at Kaskaskia, in the Illinois district, in 1741, of an old Norman family, educated in France at a military school, and settling in Louisiana in 1768, who successfully introduced the sugar industry there."—Rosengarten, *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States*, p. 39.

narrow strips extending backward from the house to the river or to the bluff. Besides these strips which they cultivated, there were large areas of land laid out and fenced, which were called "commons," and the "commons" were of two kinds—one for pasture for their animals and the other woods from which their fire-wood and timber for buildings and fences were secured. These "commons" were, as the name indicates, held in common, and all were entitled to use them under the regulations agreed upon at the Church door after Mass, and under the supervision of the Syndic, an officer selected by themselves. We are told that "every house in the French settlement had its picket-fenced garden with apple, pear, peach, cherry and plum trees, and its strawberry, asparagus and salad-vegetable beds. Roses draped the veranda pillars, and bulbs and seed brought from France had taken root and flourished."[18]

The pictures we have of the French society are perhaps as interesting as anything we can learn of these early French days. We are told that "every village, as well as the fort, had its evening dance, its spring flower festival, fall nutting parties, and twelfth night ball."[19] Governor Reynolds, who lived amongst the French himself, has given us perhaps the best insight of these good people. In his *Pioneer History* Mr. Reynolds says: "There was no organized government in the country until the Company of the West was established. . . . The leaders of the first French settlements of Illinois were men of talents, and, for the most part, of classic education. They were characters of the first order and rank in any society, while the *payans, voyageurs* and *coureurs du bois* were innocent, honest, and kind and obedient to the commands of their leaders. . . . The society in Illinois before any government was organized was moral, honest and innocent, and perhaps no more happiness in any other condition could be enjoyed."[20] In describing the progress of the French settlement, the same author says: "In olden days, Kaskaskia was to Illinois what Paris is at this day to France. Both were at their respective days the great emporium of fashion, gayety, and, I must say, happiness also. In the year 1721 the Jesuits erected a monastery and college in Kaskaskia, and a few years afterwards it was chartered by the government. Kaskaskia for many years was the largest town west of the Alleghany mountains. It was a tolerable place before the existence of Pittsburg, Cincinnati

[18] Atkinson, *Story of Chicago*, etc., p. 21.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[20] *Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 44-45.

or New Orleans. . . . The Jesuits had erected water and windmills near this village. . . . These people had at that day, in my opinion, found the philosopher's stone of wealth and happiness. . . . The inhabitants were devout and strong believers in the Catholic Church. They were willing to fight and die for the maintenance of the doctrines of their church. They considered the Church of Rome infallible, emanating direct from God, and therefore all the dogmas were received and acted on by them without a why or a wherefore. They performed their devotions in this Church with a confidence that rendered them happy in religious matters. Their spiritual teachers were men of sincere piety and religion. It was the duty and it became also the pleasure of these Christian men to administer to the religious wants of their people. The people being governed by the precepts of the Gospel, enforced by the power and influnce of the Church, formed a pious and religious community, which was the basis of the happiness of the Illinois people in the primitive times.''[21]

''Finally,'' Governor Reynolds concludes, ''these people solved the problem that an honest and virtuous people need no government. Nothing like a regular court of law ever existed in the country prior to the British occupation of Illinois in the year of 1765.''[22]

Judge Breese, who also dwelt amongst the French, has left us this picture of them: ''At the same altar knelt the rich man and the poor man, the same ordinance and sacraments were administered to each, and, dying, both were buried in the same cemetery. The same rites performed and the same *miserere* and *de profundis* chanted. This feeling of equality thus generated and encouraged marked all of the social intercourse and entered largely into their amusements. In the same dance all classes cheerfully participated—in no bosom rankled the cry of family and no one felt or affected superiority. The condition of the greater part of both sexes required from them exertion, they were compelled to labor to live, and labor, being the common lot, was neither odious nor disgraceful.[23] The principles of the Roman Catholic religion were instilled into all and the little spires of its churches arose in every village. In them were the marriage ceremonies performed, the priest consecrating the nuptial tie and recording the act in the presence of witnesses. There, too, the ceremony of Baptism was manifested and there the last sad obsequies

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-55.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[23] *Early History of Illinois*, p. 211.

for the dead and masses said for the souls of those dying in the odor of sanctity."[24]

French Amusements

It is interesting to note how these good people entertained themselves. A few paragraphs from Governor Reynolds will enlighten us in that regard: "The ancient innocent custom was for the young men about the last of the year to disguise themselves in old clothes, as beggars, and go around the village in the several houses, where they knew they would be well received. They enter the houses dancing what they call the *Gionie*, which is a friendly request for them to meet and have a ball to dance away the old year.

"The people, young and old, met, each one carrying along some refreshment, and then they did, in good earnest, dance away the old year.

"About the 6th of January, in each year, which is called *Four de Rais*, a party is given, and four beans are baked in a large cake; this cake is distributed amongst the gentlemen, and each one who receives a bean is proclaimed king. These four kings are to give the next ball. These are called "king balls". These kings select each a queen, and make her a suitable present. They arrange all things necessary for the dancing party.

"In these merry parties, no set supper is indulged in. They go there not to eat, but to be and make merry. They have refreshments of cake and coffee served round at proper intervals. Sometimes *bouillon*, as the French call it, takes the place of coffee. Toward the close of the party the old queens select each one a new king, and

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

Nothing was better calculated to improve the simple and benevolent feelings of unsophisticated human nature, to maintain the blessings of peace and harmony, and the prevalence of brotherly love, than the forms of life and the domestic usages which prevailed in these early French villages. Under this benign influence, peace and competence smiled upon them; joy and mirth beamed from every countenance; contentment sat on every brow. The natural affluence which pervaded the whole village was common to all. The prolific soil, solicited by gentle labor as a mere matter of recreation, yielded abundance of all the necessaries of life, except those which were derived from the still more prolific waters and the chase. With all these advantages, and all these easy enjoyments, in a climate of great benignity, remote from the strife and conflicting interests of a dense population, what should prevent them from esteeming the Illinois a "terrestrial paradise," as La Salle had termed it in 1682?—Monette, *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 185.

kisses him to qualify him into office; then each new king chooses his new queen, and goes through the ceremony as before. In this manner the king balls are kept up all the carnival.

"In the ballroom much order and decorum are observed. Two aged, discreet persons are chosen, who are called *provosts;* one to select the ladies for the dance, and the other for the gentlemen. so that each one dances in proper turn. It is in this manner that these innocent people spend much of their nights in winter. The old people regulate all: the time to retire and the time to meet again. By this regulation, much of the excesses of dancing parties are avoided. The young people are not so capable to judge in these matters as the old."[25]

"Nor were these festive enjoyments confined to any sex or condition." Says Monette: "In the dance all participated, from the youngest to the oldest, the bond and the free; even the black slave was equally interested in the general enjoyment, and was happy because he saw his master happy; and the master, in turn, was pleased to witness the enjoyment of the slave. The mutual dependence of each upon the other, in their respective spheres, contributed to produce a state of mutual harmony and attachment. It has been almost a proverb that the world did not exhibit an example of a more contented and happy race than the negro slaves of the early French in the Illinois country. The numerous festivals of the Catholic Church tended strongly to foster the mutual interchange of friendly feelings among those who were thus removed beyond the reach and influence of wealth and power.

"In religion all were Catholics, and revered the Pope as the great head of the Church, who held the keys of Heaven and of Purgatory, and dispensed his favors or his frowns through the priests, who were their friends and counselors, and whom they esteemed as 'reverend fathers'. They knew no difference of sects, nor

" 'Doctrine framed to suit the varying hour.'

"Ardently attached to their spiritual guides, religion became one of the great rules of social life. They observed strictly all the outward rites and ceremonies of the Romish Church, and their lives corresponded with their professions. Ignorant of creeds, except the 'Apostles' Creed,' they were not skillful disputants; but holydays and festivals were never forgotten or neglected."[26]

[25] *Pioneer History of Illinois,* p. 72.

[26] Monette, *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 185.

The Missions

Any account of the early French settlements in Illinois that would not make extended mention of the missions, would be very lame indeed. As, however, this subject has been treated elsewhere at length, it will not be necessary here to go into great detail. It seems sufficient to state that the mission-tent and wigwam or stockade, chapel or church was the center of every settlement and the point of first and highest interest.

Judge Breese says that "A fort is usually the first erection of all intruders into new colonies, as a protection against those whose animosity is so apt to be excited by the intrusion, but in this part of the valley it was a church; the cross was planted instead of palisades, and the priest in his frock was more potent than the soldier in his armor."[27]

During this period, a mission was established wherever a tribe of Indians was located, and a settlement grew up around the mission. The priest also carried his mission to the Indians on their marches or hunts or wherever they might wander.

No more fitting or romantic language can be selected for an allusion to the missionary work than that of Longfellow in his "Evangeline". It is well remembered how the Acadians were driven from their adopted home and scattered through the French habitations in every part of the New World up and down the Mississippi; and we recall Longfellow's description of the separation of Evangeline and her Gabriel, and how with the blacksmith Basil, she searched the French habitations for her lover. A number of these Acadian exiles settled in the Illinois Valley near what became known as Cahokia, and it is possible Evangeline, in her wanderings, if perchance there ever were an Evangeline and a Gabriel, visited the Illinois country, and as she pursued her sorrowful and vain search, it may have been here that:

The Forest Mission (From Evangeline)

Early upon the morrow the march was resumed; and the Shaunee
Said, as they journeyed along,—"On the western slope of these mountains
Dwells in his little village the Black-Robe chief of the Mission.
Much he teaches the people, and tells them of Mary and Jesus;
Loud laugh their hearts with joy, and weep with pain as they hear him."

[27] *Early History of Illinois*, p. 151.

Then, with a sudden and secret emotion, Evangeline answered,
"Let us go to the mission, for there good tidings await us!"

Thither they turned their steeds; and behind a spur of the mountains,
Just as the sun went down, they heard a murmur of voices,
And in a meadow green and broad, by the bank of a river,
Saw the tents of the Christians, the tents of the Jesuit Mission.

Under a towering oak, that stood in the midst of the village,
Knelt the Black Robe chief with his children. A crucifix fastened
High on the trunk of the tree, and overshadowed by grapevines,
Looked with its agonized face on the multitude kneeling beneath it.
This was their rural chapel. Aloft, through the intricate arches
Of its aerial roof, arose the chant of their vespers,
Mingling its notes with the soft susurrus and sighs of the branches.

Silent, with head uncovered, the travellers, nearer approaching,
Knelt on the swarded floor, and joined in the evening devotions.

But when the service was done, and the benediction had fallen
Forth from the hands of the priest, like seed from the hands of the sower,
Slowly the reverend man advanced to the strangers, and bade them
Welcome; and when they replied, he smiled with benignant expression,
Hearing the homelike sounds of his mother-tongue in the forest,
And, with words of kindness, conducted them into his wigwam.

There upon mats and skins they reposed, and on cakes of maize-ear
Feasted, and slaked their thirst from the watergourd of the teacher.
Soon was their story told; and the priest with solemnity answered:

"Not six suns have risen and set since Gabriel, seated
On this mat by my side, where now the maiden reposes,
Told me this same sad tale; then arose and continued his journey."
Soft was the voice of the priest, and he spake with an accent of kindness;
But on Evangeline's heart fell his words as in winter the snow-flakes
Fall into some lone nest from which the birds have departed.
"Far to the north he has gone," continued the priest; but in autumn,
When the chase is done, will return again to the mission."

A resumé of the progress of this period would show the establishment of five settlements, namely: Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, St. Phillippe, and Nouvelle Chartres, each of which had its church and its pastor. The elevation of the mission of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia from a mission to a church in 1720, and the existence of a Jesuit College at Kaskaskia from 1721 to 1765. An increase in the population to more than three thousand French settlers. So much had the agricultural interests increased that when Captain Pittman visited the region in 1766, he was able to report that one settler, M. Beauvais, furnished 43,000 barrels of flour to the King's Commissary in one year, and that amount was only a part of the harvest he reaped.

Characteristics of the Pioneer

It is attested on all hands that French Illinois was a crimeless community, and whereas certain British travelers, due to their prejudices, have sought to give a bad impression of the French settlers, there is now a common agreement that the leaders were, as Sir William Johnson, the British Indian Commissioner said, "men of ability, influence and address." Mr. Alvord, perhaps the most indefatigable student and investigator of Illinois history, gives full credit to these early French inhabitants, and leaves us an interesting impression he has gained from his deep researches. Mr. Alvord says:

"Although priests and governors made loud complaint of the disorderliness of these habitants, yet their pleasures and vices were of a far milder type than those of their counterparts, the American backwoodsmen. The French always retained a respect for law and constituted authority and preferred to be guided rather than to lead. The expression of their individualism was checked in the presence of officials, for government meant to them authority with a divine right to rule. In all their dealings, business and social, they never neglected to call in the assistance of notary or judge, whose legal papers they preserved, as their records show, with the greatest care and reverence. In their petty quarrels with each other, the Frenchmen saw no disgrace in seeking from the court a 'reparation of honor' instead of ending them with the brutal fights common among Americans.

"It is due to the remembrance of the lower class, the *habitants,* that travelers, both French and English, have condemned in such unmeasured terms the Illinois French settlers; but the picture of the village society would be incomplete if limited to a description of the *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs;* for it was never wholly vulgarized and depraved, owing to the presence here of many persons from the better classes of France and Canada—the gentry, Clark called them—who, accustomed to greater refinements of life than those of the log cabin, endeavored to surround themselves with such little elegancies as might be brought from Canada or elsewhere. . . . Among the gentry, which was a rather elastic term, were also many well-to-do men, who had risen to prominence in the Illinois or else possessed some patrimony, before migrating to the West, which they had increased by trade. Such was Jean Bte. Barbau of Prairie du Rocher, the members of the Beauvais and Charleville families of Kaskaskia and their neighbors and friends, the Viviats, the Lachances,

and the Janis; and at Cahokia, the Sauciers, François Trottier, Antoine Girardin, and J. B. H. La Croix. Next to the commandant the most important individual of the American Bottom was Gabriel Cerré, who had acquired his wealth in the fur trade. He was well educated and had correspondents in Canada and elsewhere. Among the rising young men must be reckoned Charles Gratiot, who had established himself at Cahokia in 1777 and was associated in business with three Canadian merchants. He had an excellent education, spoke several languages, was something of a dandy in dress, and had by his address won for himself a place of influence in the community. These were the men and others like them to whom Sir William Johnson, the British Commissioner, referred when he wrote that the French traders were gentlemen in character, manners and dress, and 'men of ability, influence and address.' "[28]

A careful study of the Illinois Frenchman does not justify the opinion sometimes expressed that he was not able to hold his own in business and otherwise against competition and was accordingly relegated to an inferior place in accordance with the law of the survival of the fittest. In the first place he did survive, so witness the case of Cerré, Beauvais, Laclede, Menard, and many others. In the second place he was grievously hampered by gross discrimination of government. Dr. Alvord's *British Politics in the Mississippi Valley* is one long recital of plans and schemes to transfer trade from the French to the English; but with all the power of the government and all the acumen and even gross unfairness of the traders, it could not be and was not accomplished. The Frenchman was outdone by politics, not by superiority of talent.

Professor Hinsdale in summing up the argument as to which—the French or English—had the better right to the Old Northwest, including Illinois, said:

"When we contrast the heroic ardor of the French voyageurs, soldiers, and priests who opened up the Great West to the vision of men, with the apathy of the English colonists, although our judgment approve the final issue, we can but agree with Mr. Parkman when he says France's 'pretenses were moderate and reasonable compared with those of England.' (Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe,* I, 124,125)."

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[28] Alvord, *Illinois Historical Collections,* Virginia, Vol. I, pp. 18-20.

[29] Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest,* p. 65.

The Relations of the French and Indians

In view of the numerous Indian wars, raids and massacres which occurred in the early part of our history in various parts of the country, it is interesting to inquire how these Illinois Frenchmen got along with the Indians. It is a notable fact that there were no Indian wars in Illinois as was the case around the frontiers of the British colonies, nor were French colonies or residents raided or massacred as so frequently occurred in other places.

The relations of the French with the Indians can be better understood by comparison of their relations with other nationalities, and especially the English and the American backwoodsman.

Russell Errett, writing in the *Magazine of Western History* for April, 1888, puts and answers this question: "As there is a good reason for everything, what is the reason for the different impressions made on the Indian by the English and the French?" and he answers: "One answer is that the French were always kind to the Indians and fair in dealing with them, while the English were not."

Governor Reynolds in his *Pioneer History of Illinois* states the reason thus: "A Frenchman will yield to circumstances. He can adapt himself to a civilized or savage life. He is pliant and accommodating and is willing to permit another person to have some privilege of thinking for himself. An Englishman is the reverse of the above. He is unwilling to yield to almost unavoidable circumstances. He is far from being pliant or accommodating, and he is unwilling to permit anyone to have an opinion but himself.

"With these different characteristics it is not strange that the Frenchmen were on friendly terms with the natives, while the British were disliked by them. Moreover, the French made their settlements in villages and did not occupy so much of the Indian country as the British colonists did. When a Frenchman was with the Indians, he became almost an Indian; he painted, dressed like them, and frequently married with them. Under all these considerations it was quite natural that almost all the Indian population of the Mississippi Valley became warm and efficient allies of the French in the war with Great Britain."[30] And in another connection Reynolds says that "the Indians, throughout the whole length and breadth of the valley, were at peace with the French and rendered them their whole traffic."[31]

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[30] Reynold's *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 61.

We have some contemporary accounts of the relations of these people, one of which from Penacaut's Journal found in the Margry collection reads as follows:

"By far the greater number of the Illinois are Catholic Christians. In their village they have a very large church, in which there is a baptismal font. The church is kept very clean inside; there are three chapels, the large one for the choir and two inside chapels. There is also a tower, and in it is a bell. They attend very regularly at High Mass and at Vespers. The Jesuit Fathers have translated for them the Psalms and hymns from the Latin into their own language.

"The Illinois, both at Mass and Vespers, sing a couplet alternately with the French, who keep to the original tongue; for example, the Illinois sing a couplet of a psalm or a hymn in their own language, and the French sing the succeeding couplet in Latin, and so on; and all in the same tone in which it is sung in Europe by Catholic Christians.

"Following is their way of proceeding in the celebration of marriage: The preliminary arrangements having been made, they go together to see the Jesuit Fathers at their homes, in order to have their names inscribed on the marriage register. The banns are pub-

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Sir William Johnson (a distinguished Irishman), the superintendent of Indian affairs, writing to Secretary Conway, June 28, 1766, said: "Our people in general are very ill calculated to maintain friendship with the Indians; they despise in peace those whom they fear to meet in war. This, with the little artifices used in trade, and the total want of that address and seeming kindness practiced with such success by the French, must always hurt the colonists. On the contrary, could they but assume a friendship, and treat them with civility and candor, we should soon possess their hearts, and much more of their country than we shall do in a century by the conduct now practiced." (N. Y. Col. Doc., VII, 836). The outrageous conduct of the English traders towards the Indians is a constant theme of complaint by Sir William Johnson in his letters to the Lords of Trade (see Idem, VII, 929, 955, 960, 964, 987). He speaks (VII, 965) of the contrast between the French and English traders. The former are gentlemen in character, manners, and dress; the latter, "for the most part, men of no zeal or capacity; men who often sacrifice the credit of the nation to the basest purposes. Can it otherwise happen but that the Indians' prejudices must daily increase, when they are on the one side seduced by men of abilities, influence, and address; and on the other, see such low specimens of British abilities, honor, and honesty? What, then, can be expected but loss of trade, ruptures?" See also Diary of Siege of Detroit, ed. by Hough, preface, XIII, and Dr. Hall's tract on The Dutch and the Iroquois.—Windsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. VI, p. 688-89. Part II.

VERY REVEREND PIERRE GIBAULT, EVANGELIST AND PATRIOT. DISTINGUISHED FRENCH-CANADIAN-AMERICAN. THE SECOND MARQUETTE

Pierre Gibault started from Michillimackinac for Illinois just as did Father Marquette. He journeyed in a canoe over Green Bay, the Fox, Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers as did Father Marquette, and evangelized the white men of the Illinois as did Father Marquette the Redmen ninety-five years before him, and set them free. An ambassador of Christ and a herald of liberty.

lished three times on three consecutive Sundays or holy days, and after this they are married with Mass, as is done in France."[32]

George Croghan, one of the ablest representatives of the English government that ever had dealings with the French and Indians in the West, explained to his government the French and Indian relations thus:

"They have been bred up together like children in that country, and the French have always adopted the Indian customs and manners, treated them civilly and supplied their necessities generally, by which means they gained the hearts of the Indians and commanded their services."[33]

"Could the French have maintained their ground," says Parkman, "the ruin of the Indian tribes might long have been postponed.[34]

The conduct and language of the Indians themselves may be regarded as relevant testimony to the friendly relations between the French and Indians.

Pontiac and the French

It will be remembered that the great chief, Pontiac, at one time espoused the English cause. Although he did not attack the French, yet his associates and allies caused damage to the French inhabitants, of which they complained, and in answer to the complaint, as proof of the esteem in which he had always held the French, Pontiac said: "I do not doubt, my brothers, that this war is very troublesome to you, for our warriors are continually passing and repassing through your settlement. I am sorry for it. Do not think I approve of the damage that is done by them; and as a proof of this, remember the war with the Foxes and the part which I took in it. It is now seventeen years since the Ojibways of Michillimackinac, combined with the Sacs and Foxes, came down to destroy you. Who then defended you? Was it not I and my young men? Mackinac, great chief of all these nations, said in council that he would carry to his village the head of your commandant—that he would eat his heart and drink his blood. Did I not take your part? Did I not go to his camp, and say to him, that if he wished to kill the French he must first kill me and my warriors? Did I not assist you in routing them and driving them away? And now you think I would turn my arms

[32] Margry, Vol. V, p. 488.

[33] Letter of Coraghan to Sir William Johnson, English Indian Commissioner, published in Blanchard, p. 142.

[34] *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Preface to First Edition.

against you! No, my brothers; I am the same French Pontiac who assisted you seventeen yaers ago. I am a Frenchman, and I wish to die a Frenchman."[35]

It is worthy of note that Pontiac remained the friend of the Frenchman all his life, and that his last hours were spent among the French of St. Louis and Cahokia where he was treacherously murdered at the instance of an English trader.

The Undying Affection of the Illinois

Perhaps the strongest evidence of the attachment of the Indians to the French is given in the actions and expressions of the Illinois Indians through their representatives after the attack of the Chickasaws and Choctaws on the French settlements of the Southern Mississippi. These unfriendly tribes had in 1729 fallen upon the French settlements, killing the men, women and children, and had, on the 28th of November, murdered Father Paul du Poisson, S. J., and on the 11th of December likewise murdered Father Jean Souel, S. J. When the news reached the Illinois Father Le Petit says in a letter dated the 12th of July, 1730, that "the Tchikachas, a brave nation, but treacherous, and little known to the French, have endeavored to seduce the Illinois tribes from their allegiance. They have even sounded some particular persons to see whether they could not draw them over to the party of those savages who were enemies of our nation.

The Illinois have replied to them that they were almost all "of the prayer," (that is, according to their manner of expression, that they are Christians); and that in other ways they are inviolably attached to the French by the alliances which many of that nation had contracted with them, in espousing their daughters.

"We always place ourselves," said they, "before the enemies of the French; it is necessary to pass over our bodies to go to them, and to strike us to the heart before a single blow can reach them."

Their conduct is in accordance with this declaration, and has not in the least contradicted their words. At the first news of the war, with the Natchez and the Yazous they came hither to weep for the Black Robes and the French, and to offer the services of their nation to Monsieur Perrier to avenge their death. I happened to be at the governor's house when they arrived, and was charmed with the harangues they made. Chikagou, whom you saw in Paris, was at the

[35] Wood, N. B., *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs*, p. 151.

head of the Mitchigamias, and Mamantoyensa at the head of the Kaskaskias.

Chikagou spoke first. He spread out in the hall a carpet of deerskin, bordered with porcupine quills, on which he placed two calumets, with different savage ornaments, accompanying them with a present according to the usual custom. "There," said he, in showing these two calumets, "are two messages which we bring you, the one of Religion, and the other of peace or war, as you shall determine. We have listened with respect to the Governors, because they bring us the word of the King our Father, and much more to the Black Robes, because they bring us the word of God himself, who is the King of kings. We have come from a great distance to weep with you for the death of the French, and to offer our warriors to strike those hostile nations whom you may wish to designate. You have but to speak. When I went over to France, the King promised me his protection for the Prayer, and recommended me never to abandon it. I always remember it. Grant then your protection to us and to our Black Robes." He then gave utterance to the edifying sentiments with which he was impressed with regard to the Faith, as the Interpreter Baillarjon enabled us to half understand them in his miserable French.

Mamantouensa spoke next. His harangue was short, and in a style widely different from that which is usual among the Savages, who a hundred times repeat the same thing in the same speech.

"There," said he, addressing Monsieur Perrier, "are two young Padouka slaves, some skins, and some other trifles. It is but a small present which I make you; nor is it at all my design to induce you to make me one more costly. All that I ask of you is your heart and your protection. I am much more desirous of that than of all the merchandise of the world, and when I ask this of you, it is solely for the Prayer. My views of the war are the same as those of Chikagou, who has already spoken. It is useless therefore for me to repeat what you have just heard."

Another old chief, who had the air of an ancient patriarch, then rose. He contented himself with saying that he wished to die as he had lived, in the Prayer. "The last words," added he, "which our Fathers have spoken to us, when they were on the point of yielding up their last breath, were to be always attached to the Prayer, and that there is no other way of being happy in this life, and much more in the next which is after death."[36]

[36] Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 68, 203, et seq.

Thus did the Illinois express their settled policy:

"We always place ourselves before the enemies of the French; it is necessary to pass over our bodies to go to them, and to strike us to the heart before a single blow can reach them."

"Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

I think it may be considered well settled that the relations between the French and Indians of Illinois were almost always of the friendliest and most satisfactory character. Various reasons have been assigned for this condition of affairs, some of which are of more or less force, but the existence of these amicable relations is inexplicable, except upon consideration of the influence exerted upon both the French and the Indians by the Ten Commandments and the Precepts of the Church.

III. FRENCH INFLUENCE UPON EARLY ILLINOIS

The good nature and trustfulness of the early French have been painted as supineness, but the French inhabitants of Illinois demanded autonomy from English rule in 1770, six years before the Declaration of Independence and five years before the Declaration of Mecklenburg.

On August 24, 1770, pursuant to a call for the purpose, the French residents met at Kaskaskia, declared for an autonomous government, and commissioned Daniel Blouin to go to New York and lay their demands before General Gage, the English military ruler.

Blouin selected as a fellow commissioner, William Clazon, and after some rebuffs from General Gage, set before that officer a plan of representative government.

The French plan was rejected and an imperial plan suggested and the inhabitants called together in 1772 to consider the substitute plan. When Hamilton, the lieutenant-governor, addressed them, he says: "They were very high on the occasion," and let him know that they "expected to appoint their governor and all other civil magistrates."

Upon being requested to draw up a plan of government, the French informed Hamilton that they had deputed Daniel Blouin to represent them before General Gage, and that until they could learn what success he had met with they would give no definite answer.[1]

[1] Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, p. 51.

In a letter written by General Gage to Governor Haldimand, dated June 3,

While these negotiations were pending, a pamphlet was written by one of the Illinois Frenchmen, presumably Blouin or Clazon, and published in 1772 in which the writer urged his neighbors in Illinois to shake off the lethargy which had so long enveloped them and win economic independence for the colony.[2]

Similar activities continued in the colony, and with this situation in mind, it is easy to understand how the French at the very earliest opportunity, which was the appearance of George Rogers Clark in 1778, gladly threw off the British yoke.

In this connection the French priest, Father Pierre Gibault, deserves special mention. He was in every sense the leader of the inhabitants from his coming to Illinois from Canada in 1768 until 1790. He favored the American cause and was chiefly instrumental in the bloodless but successful conquest of the Illinois posts and of Vincennes and the Wabash country. He sustained the American government in its darker hours in the West and spent himself and his substance for his country and his people and went to his grave wholly unrequited. The record of this devoted priest and patriot is told in detail elsewhere in this periodical but it is imperative that he be mentioned here also.

The important part the French played in the Conquest of the Northwest is well known. It is interesting here to trace their connection with the progress of the territory after the revolution.

Due perhaps to the fact that few French names appear in the list of office-holders in the new governments succeeding the Revolutionary War, it has been intimated that the French population ceased to be an element of importance in the subsequent history of Illinois.

Loose statements are found in accounts of the period to the effect that all able Frenchmen who were men of importance left Illinois and went to Missouri or elsewhere following the accession of the former French territory by the English in 1763 and '65. An examination of the records and known historical data with reference to who left and who remained proves these statements unfounded;

1773, Gage said: "They (Blouin and Clazon) showed me a sketch of a Republican Government two years ago, which they were told would not be received." Can. Arch., series B, vol. 5, p. 142, cited in Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, p. 152.

"The French in Louisiana have the glory of having thought of establishing a republican form of government in America in 1768, eight years before the Declaration of Independence." Rosengarten, *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States*, p. 39.

[2] Brauer, Lydia Meine, in Pub. 13, *Illinois State Historical Society*, p. 261.

for while a number of residents did leave the Illinois side and go over into the Spanish domain west of the Mississippi, it is nevertheless true that in 1790 "Kaskaskia was one of the largest towns west of the Allegheny Mountains,"[3] and the population was almost wholly French.

It was of course a disappointment to the French inhabitants when Great Britain came into possession of their country in 1765 and they were at some loss as to just what to do. In this situation they asked the English commander for a period of nine months in which to decide whether they would stay or sell their property and leave. The commander refused so long a period, but granted a shorter one, and the inhabitants with his knowledge and consent petitioned General Gage, the Governor-General of North America, for a period of nine months' delay.

This petition was forwarded by Captain Stirling, the English commander, under date of October 18, 1765, and contained the names of the leading men of the day as follows: De Rocheblave, Lagrange, Gavobert Duplasy, Du Lude, Charleville, Aubuchon, Jr., Cerré, H. Brazeaux, Gandouin J. Baptiste Beauvais, Blouin, Tessier dit La Vigne, Mere Pilotte, Baptiste Moyot, Jaques Bileront, Hubert La Rue, De Girardot, Calamanderie, J. M. Mercier, Lonoval, Janis, Lachanse, J. Lasource, François Ricard.

Everyone of these prominent people, and some of them became even more prominent afterwards in the community, remained in Illinois until their death, so far as the records disclose, with the single exception of Rocheblave, who afterward became the Commandant for the English and was the representative of the British power in the place when George Rogers Clarke with the invaluable aid of Father Gibault captured the country and sent Rocheblave a prisoner to Virginia.[4]

There were many other influential men not named on the petition that remained, and many others came and stayed.

Amongst the important Frenchmen, men of the very highest standing, who were in Illinois around the early settlements of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher and Peoria at this period, may be named Nicholas Jarrett, who was in Illinois from 1794 to his death in 1832.[5] Jean Baptiste Saucier was one of the greatest among the

[3] Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 161.

[4] Alvord and Carter, *The New Regime*, Illinois Historical Collection, Vol. XI, pp. 112, 113, 114.

[5] Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 211.

great men of early Illinois who remained here until his death. He was the father-in-law of such noted men in the future history of the community as Colonel Pierre Menard, Colonel Choteau, Sr., James Morrison and Adam Snyder.[6]

Jean François Perry was here from 1792 until his death.[7] He also married a daughter of Saucier. Michael LaCroix[8] was a very prominent Frenchman who remained here until the time of his death in 1821. The Quentine village was settled by De Lorme and a number of Frenchmen who came with him into the State in 1804. The Penseneaux[9] were some of the most prominent French people that ever came to Illinois, and the three brothers with their large families were here during that period.

August Choteau remained in the territory, and at the end of the War of 1812 was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the Indians.[10]

As is well known, Pierre Menard was a leading public figure from the time he came into the territory until his death, being the leading spirit in the territorial legislature and the first Lieutenant-Governor of the State.[11]

The foregoing are but a few of the prominent Frenchmen and Catholics that remained in the territory during this darkest period of our history and bore nobly the extraordinary burdens of that time.

Judge Joseph Gillespie, one of the ablest of the early pioneers who knew most of the early Frenchmen of the period in question, says:

"Certain of these old French families have displayed a vigor and energy which cannot be surpassed. Take for instance the Choteaus, the Valles, the Pratts, the Gratiots, old Pierre Menard, and Nicholas Jarrot and his son Vital, were men whose lives were given to almost romantic business adventure. They were the first to develop the Missouri and Galena lead mines. The 'fur trade' was, by some of them, carried to a distance of thousands of miles. They had their trading posts all along the foot of the Rocky Mountains. They explored every river that runs into the Mississippi to its source in their trading excursions, and even took in New Mexico when it

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 287.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 362.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 369.
[11] See *Pierre Menard Papers*, Vol. IV, Chicago Historical Society's collections.

was a province of Spain. I know of none who has been so instrumental in bringing to light the inexhaustible resources of Missouri, and developing the iron industry of St. Louis, as Choteau, Harrison, and Valle.

"The 'Mound City' would never have been what she is but for the enterprise, judgment, and daring of these old French families.

"The old French inhabitants treated their slaves with great kindness; slavery, with them, was a kind of patriarchal institution.

"I regret that I am compelled to forbear any further consideration of the life and character of these eminent old French and Swiss pioneers. Without them, this country would not have been discovered so soon. Without them, we should have had greater difficulties to encounter from the Indians. They could penetrate farther into the Western wilds than the Americans. They were better acquainted with the Indian character than we were. To some of these we are largely indebted for services in more recent times. It may not be generally known, but it is nevertheless true, that one of the finest military engineers in the world was General Gratiot, who designed and constructed Fortress Monroe, and who, for a long time, was at the head of the engineering department of the United States. He was a man of the strictest integrity added to great professional ability. If that fortress had not been so formidable, and had fallen into the hands of the rebels, it might have cost greater efforts, and loss of life and treasure, to have maintained the supremacy of the laws and the integrity of the Union.

"General Gratiot belonged to one of those French families. I can say that, after devoting all his energies to the promotion of the welfare of his country, General Gratiot was poorly requited.

"Nicholas Jarrott, and his son Vital, also deserve favorable mention in this connection. The father was born in Rochelle, in France, and emigrated to this country at an early day, and settled in Cahokia, where his son was born. The old gentleman was ardently devoted to the institutions of our country. He directed his attention principally to business, in which he was highly successful, and died leaving a large estate to his numerous offspring.

"Vital Jarrott was a very enterprising, intelligent, and public-spirited citizen. Late in life he sunk a large fortune in endeavoring to sustain the East St. Louis rolling-mill, whereby he was reduced from affluence to poverty after he was seventy years of age. So punctiliously honest was he, that he paid out the last cent of his private means before one of the employes should suffer. His energy

was so great, however, that he pushed out, at the age of seventy-three, to try to retrieve his fortunes in the 'Black Hills,' where he died from toil and exposure not long ago.

"Mr. Lincoln was a warm friend and great admirer of Vital Jarrott, and almost forced upon him the office of Indian Agent. No better selection could have been made. He was honest, enlightened, and humane, and discharged the arduous duties of the position with remarkable ability and fidelity. He soon gained the confidence and respect of the Indians, and I feel sure that had it been retained, and his policy adopted, the relations between the whites and the aborigines would have been much more satisfactory than they are. He was intimately acquainted with the Indian character, having spent a good deal of time trading with them in the mountains, and he had just and humane views respecting the treatment they should receive. He did not adopt the prevalent dogma, that the 'red man had no rights that the white man was bound to respect.' He felt that the finger of destiny pointed unerringly to the speedy annihilation of the race, but he was for smoothing their pathway as much as possible.'"[12]

French in Chicago and Elsewhere in Illinois

The French connection with Illinois was not confined to Kaskaskia and the southwestern Illinois country. Frenchmen founded Chicago. When all the arguments are gone over from first to last, it will be plain to anyone who is willing to admit the truth that Antoine Ouilmette is known to have been around the site of Chicago several years before anyone else came here to reside permanently. I have before me a *fac simile* of a letter written for Ouilmette by James Moore, dated Racine, June 1, 1839, in which he says: "I caim into Chicago in the year 1790 in July.[13] Probably the next Frenchman and next white man was Francis Le Mai. Le Mai and Jean Baptiste Peltiere and their wives and families were living in Chicago in 1799 as appears from the baptismal record of the St. Louis Cathedral of October 7, 1779. Le Mai and Peltier had their children baptized that day in St. Louis by Father C. Lusson.[14]

The first white men to come to Chicago after the Fort Dearborn Massacre were Frenchmen including the Beaubiens, John Baptiste

[12] *Recollections of Early Illinois and Her Noted Men*, pp. 7 and 8.

[13] McGovern, *New World*, April 14, 1900, p. 22.

[14] Garragahan, *Early Catholicty in Chicago*, Illinois Catholic Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1918, p. 19.

and Mark and their families,[15] Paul and Joseph La Framboise, Pierre Le Clerc and others.[16] At the time the town of Chicago was incorporated in 1831 there were about one hundred and forty people there,

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[15] In a letter just recently received from Frank G. Beaubien, now living at 5737 Race Avenue, Chicago, occurs the following:

"My father, Mark Beaubien, came to Chicago in the Fall of 1826 from Monroe, Michigan, to visit his brother Jean Baptiste Beaubien who was living here then. He then went back to Monroe and brought his family with him to Chicago in the spring of 1827.

"My uncle, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, visited Chicago as early as 1802, and again in 1804, buying furs from the Indians. He had a daughter born here in 1805 whose name was Marie Beaubien. The Church records of Detroit, Michigan, show her baptism and marriage record.

"We claim that we are the first Catholic family of Chicago. My brother, George W. Beaubien, being the first one baptized a Roman Catholic in Chicago, May 22, 1833, by Father St. Cyr. The record of his baptism may be seen in the records of Old St. Mary's church.

"My father bought a log cabin from John H. Kinzie, at the southeast corner of Market and Lake Street, and added a frame addition which was the first frame house built in Chicago. This was in 1830. Chicago was then in Peoria County, the county seat was Peoria, where the county records were kept. He named his hotel 'The Sauganash,' after an Indian chief, a friend of his. 'Sauganash' was his Indian name and he was a great friend to the Whites. His right name was William Caldwell, commonly called 'Billy Caldwell.' His father was an Irish colonel in the British army on the Detroit frontier, and whose name he bore. His mother was a Potawatomi Indian.

"There were about five Catholic families here and they held a meeting at the Sauganash to see about getting a priest and building a church here. Before this there used to come here a missionary priest, Father (Stephen Theodore) Badin, from the region of South Bend, Indiana. He would occasionally come here and celebrate Mass at the headquarters of Colonel Whistler in the garrison of Fort Dearborn. We wanted a resident priest here. At one of the meetings the Catholics communicated with Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, who in reply said he would send a priest to Chicago and told them to send someone to escort him. Anson H. Taylor was appointed to go after him. Taylor went to St. Louis, Missouri, on horseback and lead another horse for Father St. Cyr to ride back. They arrived here on the first of May, 1833.

"Father St. Cyr was received by my Father, Mark Beaubien, who gave him a kind hospitality in his hotel for over a year. My father owned a log cabin across the street from the 'Sauganash,' on the southwest corner of Market and Lake Streets. It was about twelve feet square. Here Father St. Cyr held services and said Mass until they finished the church which was located at the southwest corner of Lake and State Streets. Augustin Deodat Taylor was the builder of the church. These facts I got from my father."

(Signed) FRANK G. BEAUBIEN,
5737 Race Avenue, Chicago.

[16] Garraghan, *Early Catholicity in Chicago*, supra.

most of whom were French. Of men of distinction in early Chicago besides those already mentioned there were Joseph Baies, better known as Joseph Bailey, Medard Beaubien, a successful business man, and Charles Henry Beaubien, a graduate of Princeton College who became a teacher in Chicago in 1829, almost the first school teacher there.[17]

Tracing down to later years we find such prominent men as Peter de Mevelle, who came to Chicago in 1837. Later there were P. J. Rofino, David Franchere, Joseph le Pitre, Dr. Marguerat, Dr. Henrotin, J. Menard, P. L. Labbe, Joseph Poitras, Paul Populorum, Cyrril Le Beàu, J. B. Valliquet, Victor Gerardin, Duchene de Moville and others.[18] And still later such as G. Franchere, Z. P. Brosseau, M. Cyr, J. Plamondon, J. Chalifoux, N. Catellier, O. J. Franchere, Dr. Cyrier, N. Franchere, Dr. Q. L. Bergeron, J. A. Bell, P. Proteau, A. Plamondon, A. Brousseau, and others.

The first Catholic pastor, Rev. John Mary Iranaeus St. Cyr,[19] was a Frenchman and there were five French Catholic churches in Chicago at the beginning of the present century.

French at Kankakee

Kankakee County has always been a center of French and French Canadian population. Bourbonnais Grove is the place of pioneer settlement in that county and Noel Le Vasseur was the pioneer settler, coming there in 1832. He was soon joined by Henri Boucher, Dominique Brais, Louis Grandpre, Eloi Bergeron and John Flageole. They were all Catholics, and others followed them. They early sought the ministrations of religion and were honored by the visits of many distinguished early missionaries, amongst them, Father Lalumerie, Father Hypolite Dupontavice, Father Maurice de St. Palais, later the bishop of Vincennes, and later by Rev. Theodore Stephen Baden, the apostle of Kentucky and Indiana and the first priest ordained in the United States. Father Badin was ninety-eight years old when he went to Bourbonnais on this occasion.[20]

French Names in Western History

Amongst the deserving French pioneers of a later day than that of old Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, may be mentioned Pierre

[17] Houghton, *Our Debt to the Red Man*, p. 105.

[18] McGovern, *New World*, April 14, 1900, p. 106.

[19] For Father St. Cyr's work in Chicago see Garraghan, *Early Catholicity in Chicago*, Illinois Catholic Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 1 and 2.

[20] McGovern, *New World*, April 14, 1900, p. 106.

La Clede, the founder of St. Louis and his but little less noted associate, Pierre Chouteau; Francis de Langlade of Wisconsin, Antoine Le Clair of Iowa, the founder of Davenport, the Baubiens of Chicago, Solomon Juneau and Joseph La Croix of Milwaukee, Louis Viviat of several lake states, Pierre Navarre, thirty-six of whose name and connections fought in the war of 1812, the Godefroi brothers and their numerous descendants whose name has become Godfrey.[21]

The Geography of Illinois bears the impress of the French in a long list of names of counties and cities, such as Champaign, Fayette, Hennepin, city and canal, Joliet, Lagrange, La Harp, La Salle, Marengo, Marseilles, Massac, Menard, Meredosia, Prairie du Rocher, Rochelle, Saint Anne, Toulon and others.

The reader interested in the record of the French in this part of the world or smarting under the neglect of these early benefactors will appreciate a little book written by Louise Seymour Houghton under the title *Our Debt to the Red Man, The French Indians in the Development of the United States.* In her introduction Mrs. Houghton says, "The American people influenced in childhood by school histories, based upon works of English origin, have not always entertained so high an estimate of the French people," and she proceeds to prove the excellent qualities of the French and to demonstrate the value of their admixture with the Indian. *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States,* by J. G. Rosengarten, is likewise an interesting publication.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in an article in the *Century* (September, 1891), "The Distribution of Ability in the United States," reprinted in his *Historical and Political Essays,* (Boston, 1892), says:

"If we add the French and the French Huguenots together, we find that people of the French blood exceed absolutely, in the ability produced, all other races represented in Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography, except the English and Scotch-Irish, and show a percentage in proportion to their original immigration much higher than that of any other race."

The French Forte

In the race for what is generally thought to be success, namely the acquisition of riches and power, it may perhaps be admitted that the French of the Middle West have been outrun, but as appears in

[21] See for all those noted mixed bloods Houghton, *Our Debt to the Red Man,* various chapters.

a charming personal letter from one of the ablest scholars and historians of my acquaintance who has not given me permission to use his name, there are considerations other than this kind of success. "If we take the pagan standards to measure our deeds," runs the letter, "They can outrank us. . . . A cannon makes a bigger noise than a silent prayer even in Gethsemane. Old Rome was a greater city than any that Christianity constructed in the heyday of its influence. . . . In the building of towns, construction of railroads, laying out of farms in Illinois, Catholics were not perhaps so enterprising as persons to whom these things are life and death, the be-all and end-all of their existence. But at that, even in the weakest periods Catholic influences were strong in the deeper things of life. The Frenchman, the hunter, has gone from American life; but this very year of grace his wife's and daughter's influence in holding high in the very heavens the ideal of domestic life—no divorce, patience unspeakable, love unquenchable—is one of the greatest moral forces in the civilization of this day. It was greater when more visible in former days; when too, the contrast with the wild American woman, pictured by Randolph as drinking her whiskey at the husking bees, was more apparent. This influence flowed from St. Louis into western Illinois, from Louisville into southern Illinois, and from Vincennes into your western window."

Frenchmen discovered, explored and settled Illinois. A French missionary planted Christianity in the State and for more than a century French priests spread the Gospel here. The French laid the foundations of our prosperity and transformed the wilderness into a civilized habitation. The Frenchmen of Illinois brought success to the Virginia conquest and gave the United States a vast empire. A French priest led in that the most important movement that ever occurred west of the Allegheny Mountains. Frenchmen gave the world the first and best example of civilizing the savage. But what profiteth it the Frenchman. So far as honors or distinctions are concerned it is as if he never had being. Tens of thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands of dollars, have been spent from the public treasury to raise monuments and tablets to men of note of Illinois, but so far as is known to the writer there has not been a single monument, tablet, or other memento raised or placed to any Frenchman at public expense within the limits of the entire state of Illinois.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

A BIT OF HISTORY OF THE FRANCISCANS IN ILLINOIS

Why They Emigrated From Germany

The city of Warendorf in Westfalia, a place of some seven thousand inhabitants, located on the meandering river Ems, harbors, in addition to two parish churches, a Franciscan monastery, the motherhouse of the "Saxonia province". The Fathers connected with the monastery did great missionary work both in the pulpit as well as the confessional, gave missions and retreats, assisted the secular clergy wherever needed and demanded. They were great favorites with the people, their hospitality became proverbial, whilst the needy poor at all times found in them generous benefactors. From this motherhouse they subsequently branched out into a number of other independent provinces such as in Holland, St. Louis, Missouri, Santa Barbara, California, and Brazil, South America.

The poor and humble friars are deserving well of Church and State, as to both they have at all times proven potent aids and intrepid and fearless champions, upholding right, defending authority and flaying vice and corruption wherever found. Moreover, they are powerful seconds to the secular clergy, thus fulfilling a mission for which their founder, St. Francis, had partly destined them.

Together with other allied religious orders, these Franciscans in 1875 fell under the bann of eviction and expulsion from their homes and fatherland. The omnipotent State had so decreed it. The Bismarckian era of church persecution had at that time reached its highest stage of iniquity. The odious Falk Laws, better known as May Laws, spared neither bishops nor priests, neither members of monasteries, congregations nor sisterhoods. There was no alternative left these unselfish benefactors of society and State than exile. And into exile they went. In those years there occurred a great exodus of saintly men and God-consecrated women, banished from their native soil, to whom the government any longer refused to accord an humble asylum. Men were among those exiled religious whose breasts had been decorated with the Iron Cross for valor and bravery shown on the battlefields of 1870-71, devoted women who on the fields of slaughter and carnage, as well as in hospitals, had nursed and

succored thousands of wounded and dying. Under the semitic leadership of this notorious Falk, then in possession of the portfolio of a Minister of Cult and Education, they were ordered to leave. Churches were closed, convents despoiled of their contents, and properties confiscated. The Bishop's residence in Muenster was forcibly entered, doors and windows battered down, furniture and library taken out into the street and auctioned off to the highest bidder, whilst the gentle prelate, Bishop Johann Bernard Brinkmann, languished behind iron bars in the district jail at Warendorf. At the expiration of his jail sentence this heroic Confessor of the Faith lived for several years incognito in a small village across the borders of Holland. A similar fate was meted out to that great champion of the Faith, Bishop Conrad Martin of Paderborn. Other bishops and archbishops, together with a number of their faithful priests, fared not better under this tyrannical Prussian regime. And what had been their criminal offences? Teaching Catechism in schools, hearing confessions, saying Mass and preaching in the pulpit, nursing the sick, smoothing the pillow of the dying, and taking care of homeless, parentless waifs. The omnipotent State sent its minions of the law, secret service men prowled about convents and monasteries, and upon a given signal the unwary inmates were dragged forth and jailed, sentenced and banished from their own native soil. So unbearable had become the lot of these religious that in great numbers they emigrated, seeking shelter and protection from the brutal forces of persecuting Prussia elsewhere. Wide were the doors of inviting hospitality thrown open to these proscribed men and women by Belgium and Holland, Spain and England, China and Japan, North and South America, even the far-away colonies of the South Sea beckoned these victims of religious intolerance to come and make their homes among them.

In close relationship and tendency with the infamous May Laws, whose ultimate object was the suppression of the Catholic faith and the subversion of the Church, we may mention the aggressiveness of two fanatical institutions, viz.: the *Evangelische Bund* and the *Los von Rom* movement, both countenanced, fostered and upheld by an inimical government. Whilst the anti-Catholic agitation, however, was loud and boisterous, shameless and impudent, there appeared upon the scene bold and fearless champions of the Church and her rights, the gallant founders of the grand Centre Party in the Reichstag, a Mallinckrodt, Lieber, Schorlemer, Windhorst, and others, all men of mental brilliancy and intellectual energy, of indomitable

fearlessness and convincing eloquence. Guided and encouraged in their verbal duels with their sworn antagonists in the debating arena of the Reichstag by the illustrious Pontiff Leo XIII, who then had ascended the chair of St. Peter, that autocratic German aggression was gradually brought to an end, the arrogant and vengeance-snorting Iron Chancellor Bismarck reluctantly confessing his defeat, or, as the popular phrase had it, "going to Canossa". The Church emerged from this warfare of hate and persecution, slander and villification victorious, the banished orders were gradually re-admitted to their former convents, even the much-maligned Jesuits enjoying again their former habitat on German soil.

In that year 1875 the good Franciscans had likewise to yield to autocratic, superior power. They emigrated from their beloved Convent-homes, which for centuries had been to them a haven of rest and refuge from a tumultuous, sinful world. Whither should they go? Some of their confréres had established themselves in 1858 at the instance of Bishop Damian Junker of Alton at Tentopolis. There they had started a small community and assumed parochial duties of the parish. For Teutopolis, then, they set out in 1875. It was a big caravan of Fathers, Brothers and Scholastics, numbering more than seventy. They arrived there early in July of that year. Leaving their beloved monasteries in the second week of June, they travelled by rail to Dusseldorf, where more Franciscans joind them, thence by steamer to Rotterdam, where they embarked and took passage on a steamer of the same name with Captain Koenig in command. On July 2 the exiles from Germany reached the port of New York safely without the least mishap. The old vessel "Rotterdam," which had borne the banished Franciscans to the new world, foundered at sea a few years later. On July 5 the evicted victims of Bismarckian ruthlessness and tyranny reached their destination in the land of tolerance and religious freedom, Teutopolis, Illinois. From that day dates a new era of prosperity and expansion of the Franciscans in America. Bismarck, with his implacable enmity towards the Church, has lamentably failed, while his gallant antagonists in the Reichstag, especially Windhorst, saw the ostracized victims of hate and intolerance gloriously vindicated. *Laus Deo!*

As supplement to the above, explanatory of the emigration of the Franciscan Fathers from inhospitable Germany to free America, it may be of interest to record that the chosen Moses and acknowledged leader of the band of exiles on that occasion was the Reverend Eugene Puers, O. F. M., who had had already previous

experience in America, with Reverend Damasus Ruesing, O. F. M., as helpful second. Both good priests are long since dead; the former died in Memphis, Tennessee, August 8, 1891, while the latter answered the supreme summons on the streets of Fulda in Germany, October 18, 1893, whither he had been recalled in the latter part of the 80's, dying a sudden death caused by an apopleptic stroke.

From among the number of these outlawed friars who landed at Teutopolis, several have risen to distinction and prominence, such as P. Bernard Doebbing, who became Bishop of the Italian Sees of Sutri and Nepi, P. Alfons Goetti, Bishop in the Chinese Missions of Shantung, P. P. Vincent, Cyprian, Benedict and Hugolin, Provincials of their order, whilst others were installed in minor and less responsible offices.

All these new comers to our American shores, however, proved themselves useful and zealous workers in the great cause of humanity, leaving to a younger generation bright and untarnished examples of true, ardent followers of their seraphic founder, St. Francis, chaste, humble and poor. The older members of that band of refugees have almost all gone to their graves, but few survive; small headstones in various cemeteries of the country mark their resting places. Some died during the yellow fever epidemic in the South, others succumbed early to exhaustion and over-work, whilst but few attained the biblical age of three score and ten.

The subsequent history of the Franciscans in Illinois and elsewhere, dating from the arrival en masse of these good Fathers in 1875 at Teutopolis, forms a glorious page of noble deeds well performed in the annals of American Church history.[1]

(Rev.) A. Zurbonsen.

Quincy, Illinois.

[1] Rev. Silas Barth, O. F. M., of St. Joseph's Seminary, Teutopolis, Illinois, will write of the Franciscans in Illinois for the October and perhaps subsequent numbers of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review.—Ed.

MISFIT MONUMENTS

Memories of the Fort Dearborn Massacre*

Who Was David Kennison?

The mortal remains of David Kennison were, on the 25th day of February, 1852, interred in the city cemetery of the City of Chicago, now a part of Lincoln Park, and though most of the dead who were buried there were removed when the premises were taken over for park purposes, Kennison's was one of the graves that remained undisturbed. In 1905 the Kennison grave was rediscovered and a large granite monument erected thereat by several patriotic societies of Chicago.[1]

But, the question is asked, who was David Kennison? In his life time he declared he was one of the soldiers present and participating in the defense of the Fort Dearborn garrison on the fateful day of the Fort Dearborn massacre, August 15, 1812. And although his name was not mentioned in the contemporary accounts of the tragedy, the belief prevailed in Chicago at the time of his death and for many years prior thereto, and, so far as the writer is aware, still obtains, that he was a member of the ill-fated garrison.

So firmly, indeed, did Chicago believe in Kennison that the City Council purchased a lot in the City Cemetery for his interment and paid his funeral expenses, besides burying his remains with full military honors.[2]

According to the best information obtainable, Kennison was at Fort Dearborn as early as 1804, when the fort was first established. The records show that he enlisted (most likely a re-enlistment) in

*The preparation of this article was begun as an answer to an inquiry made by the Chicago *Tribune* to test the memory of its readers. It was stated that the best answer to the inquiry would be published, and while we had no desire to enter a contest we had in mind the fact that the anniversary of the Fort Dearborn massacre was approaching and also that it was quite likely that some action might be considered with reference to memorials after the alteration of the streets in the neighborhood of the old fort. Before the article was complete the *Tribune* announced a change of plans as to publishing a single letter and published the substance of several answers sent in. Because of the length of this article it is doubtful if it could have found room in the columns of a daily, but we have thought in view of the now altered situation due to the establishment of new facts any new attempt at commemoration of this great tragedy ought to be influenced by these facts.

[1] Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 257.

[2] *Ibid.*

1808. His name appears on the muster roll of the garrison for May, 1812.[3]

According to his own story he was born in New Hampshire in 1736, was a member of the Boston Tea Party, a soldier of the Revolution, and fought in the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill.[4]

After the war of 1812 Kennison settled in New York and while in that state met with several serious mishaps. A tree fell upon him, fractured his skull and broke his collar bone and two ribs. At a military review a cannon was discharged near him and broke both his legs. A horse kicked him and left a deep scar on his forehead which he carried for the remainder of his life.

He came back to Chicago in 1845. Up to that date he had been married four times and had been the father of twenty-two children. He had become separated from all the members of his family, however, and lived precariously thereafter to the end of his life. He had an eight-dollar pension as a veteran of the Revolutionary War and did manual labor to supplement his little income until about 1848 when he entered the Chicago Museum as one of the curiosities, from necessity, as he explained. He was bed-ridden for twenty months before his death.[5]

If only a part of what is told of Kennison be true he was a remarkable character. To survive to the age of one hundred fifteen years and to remain active almost to the end, to have been of the Boston Tea Party and of the Fort Dearborn garrison and to have been seventy-six years old when attacked with the others and yet to survive the tragedy, all were notable circumstances.

It is pleasing to remember that Chicago people, believing in the old man, treated him well. Too often old, useless, garrulous people are put aside regardless of past services, especially if they have neither rank nor riches as was the case with poor old Dave Kennison. As will be seen, the others who helped defend Fort Dearborn have not been shown as much consideration as Kennison.

The Evacuation of Fort Dearborn

It is so long since the Fort Dearborn Massacre and so many great events have since occurred that have absorbed attention, many people now living in Chicago and trampling upon the same ground that was once familiar to Kennison and the other members of the Fort

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 256.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*

Dearborn garrison have either forgotten or never were familiar with the story of the awful tragedy of Fort Dearborn.

It is regrettable, too, that there have been serious errors made in the accounts that have been published and become current about the Massacre, and regrettable also that while some people who were connected with this great event in the history of Chicago received honors that were not their due, others very deserving have been neglected or overlooked.

Captain John Whistler established Fort Dearborn in 1803, and is justly entitled to be known as the Father and founder of Chicago.[6] That distinction has been repeatedly assigned to another, John Kinzie, who has no rightful claim thereto either by priority of residence or on account of his character or conduct. Whistler preceded Kinzie by near a year and was, as was all of his family, an eminently public-spirited man, as well as a man of high character.

Before the Fort Dearborn Massacre Captain Nathan Heald had succeeded to the command. British aggression had brought about a state of war between the United States and Great Britain and the British were inciting the Indians to hostilities against the Americans. Under these promptings the Indians became troublesome and made attacks upon some of the posts and threatened others. General William Hull was in general command of the Western posts and issued an order to Captain Heald to evacuate Fort Dearborn. He instructed him to give the goods at the fort to the Indians and arrange for a transfer of the garrison to Detroit or Fort Wayne. Heald let it be known that he had orders to evacuate and all the other officers and especially Ensign George Rowan (quite generally called Ronan) who was third in command, opposed evacuation. In spite of the protests, joined in also by Captain William Wells who came with thirty Miami Indians from Fort Wayne to assist the garrison, Heald insisted upon evacuating the fort and entered into an agreement with the Indians to that effect, the Indians promising not to molest the garrison and to grant them safe conduct.

Accordingly all was set in readiness for the evacuation. In addition to the garrison there were in the neighborhood of the fort at that time fifteen men, civilians, besides John Kinzie and Antoine Ouilmette. Three of these civilians disappeared before the morning of the evacuation. Antoine Ouilmette does not appear to have been near the fort at the time, and John Kinzie, although he moved his family into the fort and was present, did not participate in the fight.

[6] Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 148.

The twelve civilians had a short time prior to the massacre formed themselves into a militia company with Thomas Burns as sergeant and marched out with the regulars. There were present in the evacuating body nine women and eighteen children, all of whom except the wives of Captain Heald and Lieutenant Linai T. Helm, who rode on horseback with their husbands, were placed in wagons and when the march began were in the rear.[7]

The Massacre

The garrison consisted of fifty-five officers and men and there was of the force, also, Captain William Wells, with thirty Miami Indians, who came from Fort Wayne to assist the Fort Dearborn garrison and a militia company of twelve residents.

As the account will be remembered, Captain Wells with his Miami lead the procession, next came the regulars, then the militia and lastly the women and children in the wagons, guarded by Ensign Rowan, Sergeant Otho Hayes, and the twelve militiamen.

It will be remembered that the party had scarcely more than left the fort when the treacherous Indians began their preconcerted attack and the short, sharp battle which preceded the massacre took place.

As has been before noted, Ensign Rowan was the most outspoken in his opposition to the evacuation of the fort. He had not only opposed surrender and urged resistance, but had denounced the proposed evacuation as cowardly and unworthy and predicted that the Indians would be false to their promises and would use the advantage of their greatly superior number to slaughter the garrison in the open. When the fight begun, however, amongst all the contenders, save perhaps the gallant Captain Wells alone, Rowan proved the boldest and most valorous defender and sold his life at a higher price than any of his fellows. In the best account which we have of this sanguinary battle Rowan is singled out as the hero of the fight. In *Waubun,* Mrs. Juliet A. Kinzie, who was present during the battle, is reported as saying to Doctor Isaac Van Voorhis, surgeon's mate of the garrison, whom she says was acting in a cowardly way:

"I pointed to Ensign Rowan, who though mortally wounded and nearly down, was still fighting with desperation on one knee: 'Look at that man,' said I, 'at least he dies like a soldier.' "[8]

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[7] For the story of the massacre see, Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest; Waubun;* Kirkland, *The Chicago Massacre;* Andreas, *History of Chicago;* Kirkland, *Story of Chicago;* Currey, *Chicago, Its History and Its Builders;* Gordon, *The Fort Dearborn Massacre.*

[8] See Nellie Kinzie Gordon, *The Fort Dearborn Massacre,* p. 56.

Again Mrs. Kinzie says:

"I vividly recalled a remark of Ensign Rowan, as the firing went on. 'Such,' turning to me, 'is to be our fate—to be shot down like brutes.'"

"'Well, sir,' said the commanding officer who overheard him, 'are you afraid?'

"'No,' replied the high-spirited young man, 'I can march up to the enemy where you dare not show your face.' And his subsequent gallant behavior showed this was no idle boast."[9]

The women and children were singled out for especial brutality of the savages and the fighting was desperate in that quarter. There Sergeant Hayes, giving his best efforts for the protection of the helpless women and children, is in mortal conflict with several savage beasts, and after he had a ball through his body is pressed by a giant Indian, Chief Naw-non-gee, whom he succeeds in bayoneting, but just as his blade pierces the savage, the tomahawk in the Indian's hand falls upon the head of the helpless sergeant, he falls, is set upon by other savages and killed.[10]

Even while the fierce fight wages between Hayes and Naw-non-gee a multitude of Indians have beaten down the little band of militiamen and killed outright all save Sergeant Burns. He has been wounded and while lying helpless is brutally killed with a stable fork by a mad squaw. The brave fellow had the good fortune to be remembered, and the soldierly bearing with which he fought to the last against overwhelming odds is mentioned in a letter of Sergeant Griffith, a survivor of the fight, to Captain Heald.[11]

The wagons now cleared of their defenders, the women and children are attacked by the brutal savages and beaten, lacerated, and many of them killed, not, however, without any effort on the part of the little band at self-defense. In this attack a heroic figure, that of Susan Corbin, the wife of Phelim Corbin, one of the soldiers of the garrison, stands out. Like a tigress she defends her young and her companions. She has possessed herself of a sword and with it she lay about her, striking down a savage brute here and there. She sees her little children grabbed up by the fiends making the attack and

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 59, also Quaife, p. 229.

[11] Sergeant Burns is the "'01' Tom Burns" of Parrish's *When Wilderness Was King*. An eye witness speaks of "the soldierlike conduct of ——— Burns while engaged with an unequal force of savages and the manner in which he was inhumanly murdered (in your presence) after he was a prisoner." Griffith to Heald, quoted in Quaife, p. 234.

their brains dashed out against the walls of a nearby building.[12] At length she is overcome, brutally murdered, and being in an advanced state of pregnancy, her child is cut from her very womb and killed before her dying eyes.[13]

Of Susan Corbin's heroic resistance Mrs. Kinzie in her *Waubun* says: "The heroic resolution shown during the fight by the wife of one of the soldiers, a Mrs. Corbin, deserves to be recorded. She had from the first expressed the determination never to fall into the hands of the savages, believing that their prisoners were invariably subjected to tortures worse than death. When, therefore, a party came upon her to make her prisoner she fought with desperation, refusing to surrender, although assured by signs of safety and kind treatment. Literally she suffered herself to be cut to pieces rather than become their captive."[14]

The brave Captain William Wells also sold his life dearly. So well did he impress the savages with his bravery that when they had killed him by foul means they cut out his heart and dividing it in small pieces several Indians ate of it in the belief that such act would make them brave like the murdered Captain.[15]

Irony in the Bestowal of Honors

The story of the Fort Dearborn Massacre is an oft-told tale, and the memory of it has been perpetuated, but in a strange manner. A statue has been erected at the corner of Prairie Avenue and Eighteenth Street, approximating the point of attack by the Indians,[16] and a tablet was set in the wall of a building near the Rush

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[12] "White Elk, an Indian chief and the tallest I ever saw, was pointed out to me as the savage that dashed out the brains of the children of Sukey Corbin against the side of this very (her Father's) house." Letter of Mrs. Callis quoted in Hurlburt, *Chicago Antiquities*, p. 105.

[13] The *Niles Register* of October 23, 1812, stated: "Mrs. Corbin, wife of Phelim Corbin, in an advanced stage of pregnancy, was tomahawked, scalped, cut open and had the child taken out of her womb and its head cut off." See also Kirkland, *Chicago Massacre of 1812*, p. 119.

[14] Gordon, *The Fort Dearborn Massacre*, p. 63.

[15] Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 228. "They cut off his head and put it on a pole, took out his heart and having divided it among the chiefs ate it up raw." Letter of Jordan in *Niles Register*, May 8, 1813, quoted and discussed in Quaife, pp. 394-5-6.

[16] The statue is the gift of George M. Pullman. The scene depicted is that of Black Partridge, an Indian chief, rescuing Mrs. Linai T. Helm from another Indian. The prostrate figure is that of Dr. Isaac Van Voorhis, and the figure of a child represents the murdered children. See *Currey*, Vol. I, pp. 69, 70.

Street Bridge,[17] (the building is being remodeled and the tablet has been removed for the present). One of our streets has been named Wells Street[18] and a monument has been erected to David Kennison in Lincoln Park (while that portion of the park was a burying ground). The persons specifically honored by these monuments are: the wife of Lieutenant Linai T. Helm, the stepdaughter of John Kinzie, who was slightly wounded but not imprisoned or afterwards molested; Dr. Isaac Van Voorhis, the surgeon's mate, who is described as acting in a cowardly manner during the fight; two Potawatomi Indians of the attacking party, the little children, Captain William Wells, and David Kennison. As for Kennison it should be remembered that there is really nothing whatever to indicate that he was in the fight except his statement alone. In passing it should be noted that all these little attempts at honor, whether rightly or wrongly bestowed, are, except in the case of the naming of Wells Street, purely private efforts. The City or the State or the United States have never done anything to memorialize this great tragedy of pioneer days.

Real Heroes Unsung

It seems proper also to point to the fact that the real heroes of this early stand for civilization, namely: Ensign George Rowan, Sergeant Otho Hayes, Sergeant Thomas Burns, and Susan Corbin deserve to have their names perpetuated to all generations of men and women of Chicago and of Illinois, and that the names of those who fought and those who died should be familiar to us their heirs and beneficiaries.

Of those who marched out of Fort Dearborn on that fateful August morning in 1812, twenty-six men of the garrison were killed in the fight,[19] eleven died of wounds after the fight or were killed by

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[17] Mr. William M. Hoyt, a member of the Chicago Historical Society, had the tablet prepared and it was unveiled under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society in 1881. Mr. Hoyt presented the tablet to the City of Chicago, to be under the control of the Chicago Historical Society, in whose possession it now is awaiting a place in the new arrangement of the street.

[18] This, the only honor deservedly bestowed, has been in a sense curtailed by changing the name of the street to Fifth Avenue. As the result of more or less indignant protest the name has been changed again to Wells Street.

[19] Those killed in the battle were: George Rowan, ensign; Isaac Van Voorhis, surgeon's mate; Isaac Holt, sergeant; Otho Hayes, sergeant; Thomas Forth, corporal; George Burnett, fifer; Hugh McPherson, drummer; John Hamilton, drummer. Privates: John Allen, George Adams, Priestley Andrews, Asa Campbell, Stephen Draper, Nathan A. Hurtt, Rhodias Jones, Samuel Kilpatrick, John Kelso, Jacob Landon, Frederick Locker, Peter Miller, William Moffett, William Prickett, Frederick Peterson, David Sherror, James Starr, John Simmons.

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THE FIRST FORT DEARBORN

Built by Captain John Whistler in 1803 and partially destroyed at the time of the Indian Massacre, August 15, 1812. The separate building was the agency house, called "Cobweb Castle". (Courtesy of Chicago Historical Society.)

CHICAGO IN 1804

From picture belonging to the Chicago Historical Society and reproduced in Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders.*

their captors,[20] three women[21] and twelve children[22] were killed, eighteen men,[23] six women[24] and six children[25] survived. Besides these the twelve militiamen were killed. Of the survivors but few were ever afterwards heard of.[26] Shall the memory of these heroic dead and neglected survivors remain unhonored?

[20] Those killed after the fight were: Micajah Dennison, private, badly wounded in the fight, tortured to death during the night. John Furey, same. Richard Garner, same. William N. Hunt, private, frozen to death while still in captivity. James Latta, tortured to death night after massacre. Michael Lynch, badly wounded in fight, killed by the Indians en route to the Illinois River. Hugh Logan, private, tomahawked in captivity because he was not able from exhaustion to keep up with the fleeing Indians. August Mortt, tomahawked in captivity for the same reason. John Needs, private, died in captivity. Thomas Poindexter, private, tortured to death night after the massacre. John Suttenfield, private, badly wounded in fight, killed by the Indians while en route to the Illinois River.

[21] The women killed were: Susan Corbin, wife of Phelim Corbin. Cicely, negro slave of wife of Captain Heald. The wife of John Needs died in captivity after the battle.

[22] No one has been able to ascertain exactly the identity of the twelve children that were killed. Neither Mrs. Heald nor Mrs. Helm had any children. All the other women had one or more. Most of the children were killed by a single Indian who boarded the wagon and killed the helpless little ones before anyone could intervene. It is known that Mrs. Corbin's children were killed, that the slave girl had a child that was killed. The Needs child was tied to a tree and left behind to die. It is likely that all of the mothers, namely, Mrs. Corbin, Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Holt, Mrs. Burns, Mrs. Simmons, Mrs. Needs, and Black Cicely lost a child or children. The fate of the twelve-year-old Lee girl was sad. She was tied on horseback and her horse ran away, throwing and dragging her, so that she was mortally injured. Black Partridge caught the horse, but seeing the girl was mortally injured, put her out of suffering with a blow of his tomahawk.

[23] The men of the garrison who survived were: Nathan Heald, captain; Linai T. Helm, first lieutenant; John Crozier, sergeant; William Griffith, sergeant; Joseph Bowen, corporal; John Smith, fifer. Privates: James Corbin, Phelim Corbin, Dyson Dyer, Daniel Dougherty, Nathan Edson, Paul Grummo, David Kennison, Duncan McCarty, Elias Mills, Joseph Noles, John Smith, James Van Horn.

[24] The women who survived were: Mrs. Heald, Mrs. Helm, Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Holt, Mrs. Burns, and Mrs. Simmons.

[25] Of the six children that survived the fight, it has been seen that one, the Needs child, was tied to a tree and left to die; of the other five, two belonged to Mrs. Burns, and one each to Mrs. Simmons, Mrs. Holt and Mrs. Lee.

[26] Mrs. Lee, who survived, had quite a romance as described in *Waubun*. Mrs. Burns was afterwards known to be in Detroit. Mrs. Simmons and her daughter had a most thrilling after-experience. All that is known of these unhappy victims can be found in Quaife's admirable book, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*.

The neglect of the memory of the worthy victims of this early tragedy is more marked by reason of the contrast in honors paid to others less worthy as especially illustrated in the case of the Kinzies. As has before been suggested, Kinzie was present but avoided any part in the sanguinary conflict and managed to preserve himself and his family. As is said by Quaife, "Kinzie and his family passed through the massaere unseathed."[27] After the massacre he and other survivors were protected and assisted by two worthy men, William Caldwell[28] and Alexander Robinson,[29] Indian chiefs who arrived too

[27] Page 268, note 69.

[28] Caldwell, familiarly known as "Billy Caldwell" amongst the white people and as "Straight Tree" and "The Sauganash" or Britisher among the Indians, was born in Canada about 1780. His father was an Irish officer in the British service and his mother a Potawatomi Indian, a relative of Tecumseh. He was educated by the Jesuits at Detroit, spoke fluently and wrote with facility both the English and French languages and spoke a number of Indian dialects. He had a fine physique, strong and sinewy and straight as an arrow. For many years Caldwell was Tecumseh's associate and interpreter and represented him frequently. He fixed his residence in Chicago in 1820, but had often been in the neighborhood before. His timely appearance after a desperate effort to reach here at the time of the massacre saved many lives and put an end to the Indian orgy. Caldwell after his residence in Chicago became a man of prominence. He many times protected the white inhabitants from harm by the Indians and retained a very strong influence over the Indians. He was judge of elections on more than one occasion and was appointed Justice of the Peace in the county. He prevented his tribe joining in the Blackhawk war and was rewarded by the government by a land grant. When the government ordered the removal West of the Indians, it was Caldwell's influence and his agreement to accompany them to their new home that persuaded them to leave peacefully. He died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, whence he had removed with his tribe, in 1841. Caldwell was a Catholic and one of the signers of the petition for a priest for Chicago. For good sketch see Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders*, pp. 123-4.

[29] Alexander Robinson was a chief of the Potawatomi, his mother an Indian and his father a Scotchman. He was in Chicago as early as 1809 and at the time of the Fort Dearborn massacre was friendly to the whites. After the evacuatoin and massacre he took the Kinzie family to St. Joseph in a boat and then took Captain Heald and his wife to Mackinac in a canoe. Later he gave a home to the Kinzie family who took refuge with him at St. Joseph. Robinson was the first man to return to the site of Chicago after the massacre. When he came back in 1814 he found old, faithful Antoine Ouilmette here. He had never left. These two were the only white men here for the next two years. They planted the site of Fort Dearborn in corn and when Major Bradley arrived in 1816 to rebuild the fort, Robinson and Ouilmette sold their standing crops to him for the government. Robinson became government interpreter. He was married to Catherine Chevalier on September 28, 1826. She was the daughter of

late to prevent the massacre, but who by their prompt and decisive action prevented further slaughter. They, too, are entitled to have their names inscribed upon the roll of honor, but like the rest of the heroes of that bloody day they are virtually unknown, while Kinzie, though neutral in the fight, quite unconventional to say the least in his marital relations,[30] a slave holder[31] and a homicide,[32] has been

François Chevalier, chief of a Potawatomi band, and upon the death of Chevalier, Robinson became chief. He joined with Caldwell and Shabona, another Indian chief, in maintaining friendly relations between the Indians and the whites and helped to prevent the Potawatomi from joining Blackhawk. Robinson did not go West with the Indians but settled on his reservation allotted him by the government on the Desplaines River, where he died April 22, 1872. See Currey, p. 122. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I, p. 108. Robinson also was a Catholic, one of the signers of the petition for a priest for Chicago and of the first congregation of Old St. Mary's. See Garraghan, *Early Catholicity in Chicago*, Illinois Catholic Historical Review, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2.

[30] Some years before coming to Chicago, Kinzie lived with Margaret McKenzie (it is not known whether they were married or not) and her sister Elizabeth sustained a similar relation to a Scotchman named Clark. Quite a romance has been woven around the circumstance. The McKenzie girls were supposed to have been stolen by Indians and to have been rescued by Kinzie and Clark, but after several years and after three children had been born to Kinzie and two to Clark, along came Isaac McKenzie, the father of the girls, and away went the McKenzie women and their children with Father McKenzie. "Conflicting explanations, colored in each case by partisan pride, have been given as the reasons of the untimely breaking up of these two families. Since the only evidence in the premises is family tradition, it seems vain to seek to determine where the truth lies. Margaret McKenzie later married Benjamin Hall while her sister became the wife of Jonas Clybourn. Two of the former children by Kinzie, James and Elizabeth, in later years came to Chicago; so too did the Halls and the Clybourns; and these various family groups comprised a considerable proportion of the population of Chicago in the later twenties. . . . For obvious reasons the Kinzie family historian makes no mention in *Wau Bun* of this feature of her father-in-law's career. Mr. Clarence M. Burton has a genealogy (Ms.) of the Kinzie family, to which descendants respectively of John Kinzie's first and second families have contributed their views concerning the legitimacy of the former." In 1798 Kinzie married Mrs. Eleanor McKillip, who was the mother of Margaret McKillip that became the wife of Lieutenant Linai T. Helm. She became the mother of Kinzie's Chicago family. On this subject see Blanchard, *The Northwest and Chicago;* Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities;* Andreas, *Chicago;* Gordon, *John Kinzie, the Father of Chicago.* Footnote in Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, pp. 146-7.

[31] Jeffrey Nash was indentured to John Kinzie and Thomas Forsyth on May 22, 1804, while the site of Chicago was a part of Wayne County, Indiana, under the government of the Territory of Indiana. After being held as a slave for many years, Nash ran away and made his way eventually to New Orleans. Kinzie and Forsyth sought to recover possession of him through court proceedings in

held up as the "Father and Founder" of Chicago, honored by the name of a city street, he and his family enriched by government bounties[33] and reputed worthy of exaltation and reverence.

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the courts of Louisiana, which eventually reached the Supreme Court and were decided adversely to Kinzie and Forsyth on the ground that the Ordinance of 1787 for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River forbade slavery. See *Kensy and Forsyth,* plaintiffs, vs. *Jeffry Nash,* defendant, 2 Martin, (Louisiana Supreme Court Reports), 180.

[32] A few weeks before the Fort Dearborn massacre John Kinzie stabbed John La Lime to death outside Fort Dearborn. The Kinzie family tradition represents that La Lime was jealous of Kinzie and attacked him and that Kinzie acted in self defense. "La Lime's side of the story has not been preserved, except in the form of unreliable verbal tradition, which pictures Kinzie in the light of aggressor and murderer." Read Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* pp. 148-9, on this subject.

[33] It will prove interesting to read Mr. Quaife's analysis of the claims filed by the Kinzie heirs and allowed to them by the government in the Indian treaties, found on pp. 361-365. A summary reads: "Of the one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars paid out under Schedule B, over one-eighth was given to the four sons and daughters of John Kinzie, and to his step-daughter, Mrs. Helm." Mr. Quaife makes it appear quite plainly that they were not very clearly entitled to the payments.

OLD KASKASKIA DAYS AND WAYS

The Martyrdom of D'Artaguette, Vincennes and Father Senat

It was a chilly day in January, 1736, when a "canot-maitre" came up the river and stopped at Old Kaskaskia. People were wearing buffalo robe coats and worsted stockings and were stamping around the landing watching the big ice cakes whirl down the rapid-running Mississippi. In the stern of the canoe was a man wrapped in a couple of blankets; his nose was blue and his teeth chattered when he asked if Major D'Artaguette was in Kaskaskia. The major happened to be there on that day and the stranger walked rapidly up to the town, leaving his men to take care of themselves as best they could. The curious followed after and soon it was noised about that Captain Le Blanc was come from New Orleans with news that a great campaign was to be commenced against the Chickasaws, and now couriers pushed across country to order Sieur Vincennes, who was well known to Kaskaskia people as a nephew of Joliet's and a brave fighter, to gather together his French militia and Miami Indians and join D'Artaguette down the river. Orders were also sent to Moncherval at Cahokia to bring his Cahokias and Mitchigamias from the Illinois, and chiefs of the Kaskaskias and Missouris were hastening to their lodges to light the fires and dance the war dance. The trappers and hunters from many a winter hut on the Kaskaskia and the Merrimac came quickly to town and there was a general burnishing and sharpening of arms and tinkering with batteaux and canoes. For everyone hated the Chickasaws because they had cut off many a boat load of furs and flour on the way to New Orleans and many a family had lost a voyageur.

It was a long time though, as things go, before they were ready, and not till late in February did the expedition start. After a special Mass in the little church and a long procession to the boats the old men, the women and the children, saw the thirty regular troops with the white coats, the blue epaulets, and the funny hats, with the bright-eyed D'Artaguette and the black-robed Father Sénat at their head, and the one hundred militia of the wood and river men, in white capots and elk-skin leggings, take to the boats. Then came the two hundred Illinois and Missouri Indians properly bedecked in paint and feathers, in their log canoes. Many an eye was sad, for

the Chickasaws were valiant warriors; but there was a great chatter of *bon voyage* and a great waving of caps and handkerchiefs as the long procession dropped down the river and faded away. It was many weeks before Moncherval and his Cahokias passed on the same errand and then there were weeks of weary waiting.

The Tragic Tidings

It was Sunday in old Kaskaskia and the cherry blossoms had come and gone, the June was here and the full-leaved cottonwoods were dipping thirstily to the stream on the river banks. The whole population had gone to the church and the morning service was just finished when a man with his clothing torn and bloody, with a face that looked like a death's head and eyes that were burning up with fever staggered to the door. A woman cried, "Jules," and the priest stopped in his concluding remarks. The man walked in with his cap on, and, like a child who has a confession to make, began to speak hurriedly and with all his soul alert, and as he spoke, he feebly waved his hands as one who seeks for air and gets it not.

" 'Tis malediction I bring to you blessed ones, but I must tell it now and quickly. We went to Fort Prudhomme with the Major, and Vincennes joined us with twenty French and one hundred Miamis. We waited long for Bienville; he came not; we waited longer for Moncheval, he was not there. Our maize and hog meat ran short; our Inidans were clamorous to begin. We marched alone to the attack. We marched a weary twenty leagues and came to the towns of the Chickasaws; they were awaiting us, and we were forced to attack. We pass two lines of fortification. We are successful but we pay the price. At the third line D'Artaguette falls severely wounded. The Miamis betray us; the Illinois and Missouris run like sheep. They who were so eager to fight are cowards when we need them. We try to drag Father Sénat and Vincennes away but they will not come and leave their wounded friend. These, with fifteen others are taken by the fiends. I hang around to try and help them. Bienville attacks from the other side and is defeated with great loss. them. We try to drag Father Sénat and Vincennes away, but they of the Chickasaws. Then comes a day of feasting and noise and in the afternoon they bring out the French. They tie them by fours to saplings and dance the death dance, while I watch from a near-by tree. They build piles of hickory poles in circles around them and set fire to the poles, and when the fires burn down they rush in toward them in crowds; they stick them with the hot poles; they discharge

their guns loaded only with powder into their bodies. Ah, Jesus. I hear their hateful screams and above all the din the song of Sénat as he chanted his requiem Mass. My ears ring with it. My eyes burn with the sight, until I cannot eat or sleep. And then there was silence and they are all dead—all! all!'' And while he said this the people of Kaskaskia stood and listened and shivered, first a sweat and then a fever, and little groans ran through the crowd and lips were bleeding and hands were clenched and when the man threw up his hands and fell full length on the floor, it was as if a demon had seized the crowd for it rushed out the doors as if with a common impulse to seek the pure, fresh air.[10]

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[10] D'Artaguette, the pride and flower of Canada, had convened the tribes of the Illinois at Fort Chartres; he had unfolded to them the plans and designs of the great French captain against the Chickasas, and invoked their friendly aid. At his summons, the friendly chiefs, the tawny envoys of the North, with 'Chicago' at their head, had descended the Mississippi to New Orleans, and there had presented the pipe of peace and friendship to the governor. ''This,'' said Chicago to M. Ferrier, as he concluded an alliance offensive and defensive, ''this is the pipe of peace or war. You have but to speak, and our braves will strike the nations that are your foes.'' They had made haste to return, and had punctually convened their braves under Artaguette. Chicago was the Illinois chief from the shore of Lake Michigan, whose monument was reared, a century afterward, upon the site of the village, and whose name is perpetuated in the most flourishing city of Illinois.

In due time, D'Artaguette and his lieutenant, the gallant Vincennes, from the Wabash, with their respective forces and Indian allies, had descended the Mississippi to the Chickasa Bluff, and, agreeably to his orders, had penetrated the Chickasa country, and, on the evening before the appointed 10th of May, had encamped among the sources of Yalobusha, probably not six miles east of the present town of Pontotoc, near the appointed place of rendezvous, and not more than thirty miles from the point of Bienville's debarkation. Here, ready for co-operation with the commander-in-chief, D'Artaguette and his brave troops were prepared to maintain the arms and honor of France.

With his lieutenant, Vincennes, the youthful Voison, and his spiritual guide and friend, the Jesuit Senat, D'Artaguette sought in vain for intelligence of his commander. But he maintained his post, and from the 9th until the 30th of May he encamped in sight of the enemy, until his Indian auxiliaries, becoming impatient for war and plunder, refused all further restraint. D'Artaguette then consented to lead them to the attack. His plans were wisely devised and vigorously executed; but, unsupported by the main army, what could he effect against a powerful enemy?

The attack was made with great fury against a fortified village; the Chickasas were driven from their town and the fort which defended it; at the second town, the intrepid youth was equally successful. A third fort was attacked, and, in the moment of victory, he received a severe wound, and soon after another, by which he fell disabled. He distinguished himself, as he had

D'Artaguette's Successors

After the cruel death of D'Artaguette, Alphonse de la Buissoniere was sent to Fort Chartres; in 1739 he led the Kaskaskians again to war on the Chickasaws. In 1740 came Captain Benoist de St. Clair and in 1743 Chevalier de Bertel. In 1744 the war with England brought many apprehensions to old Kaskaskians; the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 allayed the suspense, but you must remember that it was months before it was known at Kaskaskia.

In 1749 came back the popular Captain St. Clair who married a daughter of the town on his arrival. In 1751 came Chevalier de McCarty, an Irishman by descent and a Major of Engineers. He built the new stone Fort Chartres, said to have cost a million dollars. It was finished in 1756. Now came the seven years war with England, beginning with Fort Necessity and Braddock's defeat followed by Louisbourg and finally by Quebec. Kaskaskians saw George Washington march out of Fort Necessity and tramp back to Virginia. Kaskaskians shot at him on Braddock's field. Kaskaskians were at

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done before in the Natchez war, by acts of great valor and deeds of noble daring. "The Red Men of Illinois, dismayed at the check, fled precipitately. Voisin, a lad but sixteen years old, conducted the retreat, having the enemy at his heels for five-and-twenty leagues, and marching forty-five leagues without food, while his men carried with them such of the wounded as could bear the fatigue." But the unhappy D'Artaguette was left weltering in his blood, and around him lay others of his bravest troops. The Jesuit Senat might have fled; but he remained to receive the last sigh of the wounded, regardless of danger, and mindful only of duty. "Vincennes, too, the Canadian, refused to fly, and shared the captivity of his gallant leader."

D'Artaguette and his valiant companions who fell into the hands of the Chickasas were treated with great kindness and attention; their wounds dressed by the Indians, who watched over them with fraternal tenderness, and they were received into the cabins of the victors in hopes of a great ransom from Bienville, who was known to be advancing by way of the Tombigby with a powerful army. But the same day brought the intelligence of the advance and the discomfiture of the commander-in-chief. His retreat and final departure soon followed, and the Chickasas, elated with their success, and despairing of the expected ransom, resolved to sacrifice the victims to savage triumph and revenge. The prisoners were taken to a neighboring field, and while one was left to relate their fate to their countrymen, the young and intrepid D'Artaguette, and the heroic Vincennes, whose name is borne by the oldest town in Indiana, and will be perpetuated as long as the Wabash shall flow by the dwellings of civilized men, and the faithful Senat, true to his mission, were, with their companions, each tied to a stake. Here they were tortured before slow and intermitting fires, until death mercifully released them from their protracted torments." Monette's *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*. See also for an account of the martryrdom of Father Senat, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 68, pp. 309-310.

Quebec and saw Wolfe storm the heights of Abraham, and Wolfe and Montealm die gloriously on that field where the lilies of Franee in the New World were eaten up by the English lion.

The English Regime

By the peace of 1763 Kaskaskia became English, but it was not until the first week of October, 1765, that Captain Thomas Sterling eame from Fort Pitt with 100 Highlanders of the 42nd to take possession of Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres. It fell to the lot of Captain St. Ange de Bellerive to deliver up the possession.

On Dec. 4, 1765, eame Major Robert Farmar from Mobile with a strong detaehment of the 34th foot, then Colonel Cole and Capt. John Reed. Lieut. Col. John Wilkins of the 18th Royal Regiment of Ireland, eame from Philadelphia in 1768; his administration was unpopular. His suceessor, Capt. Hugh Lord of the 18th British Regiment eame in 1771, and staid until 1775. In the freshet of 1772 one wall and bastion of Fort Chartres was undermined by the Mississippi River and fell; and the garrison was hastily transported to Kaskaskia which eame back to its own as the capital. Fort Gage, just across the Kaskaskia river, was renovated and remained the seat of British authority on the Mississippi until the eonquest by George Rogers Clark in 1778. When the English took aetual possession of Kaskaskia, many of the wealthiest people, although they were permitted the free exereise of religion, would not be ruled by the English and departed for Louisiana or to St. Genevieve and St. Louis. The Jesuits had been banished from Franee in 1764 and soon after the order was eondemned by the Pope.

The French method of government by a eommandant and the parish priest was not suited to the Saxon education or temperment. The bulk of the population however remained in Kaskaskia for the English oeeupation was not a real settlement but only a military occupation.

American Ascendency

I shall not attempt to portray in detail the eonquest of Kaskaskia by George Rogers Clark and his four small companies of rangers. How he assembled them at the head waters of the Ohio; brought them down in boats to Southern Illinois; made the weary mareh aeross the wilderness; surprised M. Rocheblave the Frenchman and English governor; how he took the town and by efficient aid of Gibault retained it and made our peace with the assembled Algonquin

tribes.[11] * * * I shall only point out how all the past dovetailed in to make our position more secure. If valiant old Champlain in his suit of plate armor had not met the Iroquois in the early part of the seventeenth century and thus obtained the fealty of the western tribes by antagonizing their mortal enemies, the eastern sea coast would have been an easier prey for the French. But, on the other hand, Father Marquette and the voyagers could not have made friends with theAlgonquins. If France had not made a treaty of alliance with the United Colonies in February, 1778, Clark could not have secured the willing aid of the Kaskaskian French in July, 1778, and their Indian friends would not have been so easily dealt with.

The Great Catastrophe

In 1784 came *"le gros hiver"* and the deep snow to make life more miserable for our gay subjects at Kaskaskia. In 1785 came the greatest overflow of the 18th century and the water rose to the floor of the old tavern. This caused more of the wealth and quality of Kaskaskia to desert the town for St. Genevieve and St. Louis in Missiouri. But now there were other troubles gathering around Kaskaskia. It is true it was the capital of the great County of Illinois of Virginia and the place of residence of Col. John Todd, the Lieutenant-Governor, but the American troops were badly paid and were boisterous and troublesome. They took what they needed and did so with a high hand and Monsieur B. Tardiveau was sent by the French inhabitants to the Continental Congress at New York to obtain redress and likewise to obtain some confirmation of the individual and communal grants which had been made by French authority to Kaskaskians. For Virginia had by that time made a grant of all that country to the Congress. There are rumors that Tardiveau had some opportunity to settle with the various members of Congress; that he had an anxious and weary time in obtaining Kaskaskian right. The history of the transaction shows that it is not alone in our time that rings and political jobbery has had its birth. It was not until 1788 that Congress confirmed a portion of the French titles. It was then stated that there were eighty families at Kaskaskia.

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[11] For a circumstantial account of the gaining of Kaskaskia see Thompson's, *Illinois' First Citizen—Pierre Gibault*, Illinois Catholic Historical Review, vol. 1, No. 1, July, 1918.

The Territorial Period

On July 13, 1787, the ordinance of the North West Territory was passed and Arthur St. Clair was made Governor. One of the provisions of that ordinance prohibited slavery in the new territory and many Kaskaskians moved with their slaves to St. Louis, which had been ceded to Spain in 1763. With the coming of the territory of the Northwest, Kaskaskia again ceased to be a capital and went back to be the county seat of the new county of St. Clair which was the third county organized in the territory of the Northwest. In March, 1790, it was visited for the first time by Governor St. Clair. Later, in 1795, it became the county seat of Randolph county.

In 1800 Illinois became a part of the Indiana Territory and in 1809 it became a territory of the second class, governed by a governor and judges appointed by the President. Ninian Edwards of Kentucky was the first territorial governor and Kaskaskia again came into prominence as the capital. The residence of Governor Edwards was not, however, in the old town, but at a country seat called Elvirade, near there. In 1812 Illinois became a territory of the first class with a governor, legislature and a delegate in Congress, and Kaskaskia was still the capital.

Up to 1800 Kaskaskia had not greatly changed in character of population or in the number of inhabitants. In that year Governor Reynolds says there were but seven or eight English families that had settled there. There were then only about 3,000 persons other than Indians in the whole Territory of Illinois, of whom the French and their slaves were the large majority. After that date the population began to increase rapidly and by 1810 numbered 12,282. Kaskaskia became a centre of much influence. The American Bottom, as the strip of alluvial ground extending from Kaskaskia to Cahokia was called, was recognized as a most fertile soil. Immigrants came to Kaskaskia and halted, while they looked around for a place to locate and make a permanent home. The French element looked on with dismay when they saw the machinery of government beginning to turn, for they reasoned that this would breed taxation. They thought that a people which installed judges, a sheriff, a jail, and lawyers must be looking for litigation; that a community which needed two doctors must expect to be an unhealthy one.

Besides, the individuals who came to the new places were of a totally different type. They were Protestants by inclination and looked on the French observance of the Sabbath with its strict church duties in the morning and its gayety of the afternoon and night as

an inheritance from the devil.[12] Also those who drank were not as temperate as the French. They were too, like all the English, unwilling to fraternize with the Indian. They killed him when he was bad; they robbed him when he was drunk. They took his lands away from him and were not particular as to the manner of doing so. They encouraged the Indian in his dissipations and soon the Indian tribes began to melt away and the fur-bearing and food-producing animals departed with the coming of the settler and his farm; and so many more of the gentler spirits among the French left the old home and their places were taken by a more vigorous yet ruder, by a more energetic, yet more common type of the pioneer or forerunner of civilization. The sprightly but somewhat refined dance[13] of the

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[12] As has been observed by Major Stoddart, who was lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana in 1804, "Perhaps the levities displayed, and the amusements pursued by the French people on Sundays, may be considered by some to border upon licentiousness. They attend Mass in the morning with great devotion; but after the exercises of church are over, they usually collect in parties and pass away their time in social and merry intercourse. They play at billiards and other games, and to balls and assemblies the Sundays are particularly devoted. To those educated in regular and pious Protestant habits such parties and amusements appear unseasonable, strange, and odious, if not prophetic of some signal curse on the workers of iniquity. It must, however, be confessed that the French people, on those days, avoid all intemperate and immoral excesses, and conduct themselves with apparent decorum. They are of opinion that there is true and undefiled religion in their amusements, much more, indeed, than they can see in certain night conferences and obscure meetings in various parts among the tombs.

"When questioned relative to their gayety on Sundays, they will answer, that men were made for happiness, and that the more they are able to enjoy themselves, the more acceptable they are to their Creator. They are of opinion that a sullen countenance, attention to gloomy subjects, a set form of speech, and a stiff behavior, are more indicative of hypocrisy than of religion; and they say they have often remarked that those who practice these singularities on Sunday will most assuredly cheat and defraud their neighbors during the remainder of the week.

"Such are the religious sentiments of a people of superstition; of a people prone to hospitality, urbanity of manners, and innocent recreation, and who present their daily orisons at the throne of Grace with as much confidence of success as the most devout Puritan in Christendom." Monette, *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 187-88.

[13] "Nothing was better calculated to improve the simple and benevolent feelings of unsophisticated human nature, to maintain the blessings of peace and harmony, and the prevalence of brotherly love, than the forms of life and the domestic usages which prevailed in these early French villages. Under this benign influence, peace and competence smiled upon them; joy and mirth beamed from every countenance; contentment sat on every brow. The natural affluence which pervaded the whole village was common to all. The prolific soil, solicited

old French gave way to the tavern [14] revel, the jig and reel; the gay flash of the voyageur wit was displaced by the rude practical joke. The manners which imitated the air of the royal court were roughly cast aside for the boisterous ways of the trapper, the ranger, and the cow boy; and horse races, foot races, and wrestling were the amusement of the people.

The Decline of Kaskaskia

The years 1811 and 1812 were years of trouble and dismay in Old Kaskaskia. In the first of these years, the inhabitants were frightened beyond description by a terrible earthquake which was felt in different degrees of intensity by the whole Mississippi Valley. At Kaskaskia, the earth several times waved like a river agitated by the winds; the steeple of the church bent like a reed; the old bell rang with tremulous strokes like some unseen demon pulling on the bell cord; the cattle wild with a nameless fear, ran to and fro filling the air with howling; the soil cracked so deeply in the very streets that they could not sound the bottom of the crevice, and the water drawn from it exhaled a most disagreeable odor; stone and brick chimneys fell down; houses cracked as if it were doomsday. The people, believers and unbelievers, flocked to the church and listened with a Catholic zeal to the stout old Father Donatien Olivier as he implored mercy from Him whom the elements obey.

Those Kaskaskians who had presence of mind enough to watch the Indians saw that but few of those who had professed christianity had the faith of their former promises. The many camps around Kaskaskia were greatly disturbed and elaborate ceremonies were carried out to appease the visible wrath of Manito. Amidst the wailing and lamentations of the squaws and children the warriors cleansed their hands and faces and prepared for sacrifice to Manito.

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by gentle labor as a mere matter of recreation, yielded abundance of all the necessaries of life, except those which were derived from the still more prolific waters and the chase. With all these advantages, and all these easy enjoyments, in a climate of great benignity, remote from the strife and conflicting interests of a dense population, what should prevent them from esteeming Illinois a 'terrestial paradise,' as La Salle had termed it in 1682." Monette, *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 185.

[14] "Taverns were unknown, and every house supplied the deficiency. The statute-book, the judiciary, and courts of law with their prisons and instruments of punishment, were unknown; as were also the crimes for which they are erected among the civilized nations of Europe." Monette, *History of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 191.

Deer freshly skinned were hung upon trees with their heads up to heaven. The calumet was smoked with sighing and groans. For three days the men did not speak to women or children and at night lay upon fresh skins with the hair next to the body. No food was taken during this time. All this to provoke dreams which to the Indian was the only mode of communication with Manito. At the end of the three days the council was held and those who had had unfavorable dreams appeared with half the face painted black. After the relation of all the dreams, and not until then, did they feast. If in the general opinion the auspices were favorable then the young men adorned themselves and spent hours laying on the colors with a hand glass, arranging their tresses. When one finally appeared in full paint and with hair and body anointed with bear's grease with two or three broad clasps of silver about each arm; with jewels in his ears; with a thin circular piece of silver about the size of a silver dollar depending from his nose resting on the upper lip; with painted porcupine quills in his hair; with tails of animals hanging down his back; with a necklace of bear's teeth or the claws of the bald eagle; with little perforated cylindrical pieces of silver or brass around his legs from the knee down, which tinkled as he proudly stepped; he would not laugh or jest, speak loudly or express surprise; he was colder, more moody and more stolid than ever, but he was ready for the dance and there was the proud triumph of irresistible charm in his eye.

In the year 1812 while England and America were preparing for war, came the great cyclone; and now Kaskaskia families took to the cellars while chimneys were humbled, log houses inverted, fences and strong posts carried away for miles, killing people and cattle, and wide swaths cut through the forests around.

Kaskaskia the Capital City

The first territorial legislature of the Territory of Illinois, met at Kaskaskia on Thursday, the 26th day of November, 1812. Dr. George Fisher of Kaskashia was elected Speaker of the House, and Mr. Thomas Swearengen doorkeeper. In view of certain recent controversies, it may be interesting to note that Mr. Swearengen was doorkeeper for both House and Council; that he was expected to carry all messages, both public and private; to provide wood and keep good fires in each room when the weather required it; to have each House swept clean every morning; to provide water for each House; to call any member by his proper name, and execute any other reasonable

demands which a majority of either House might require. The Senate at this time was composed of five members and the House of seven. It is said that they boarded at the same public house and lodged in the same room. This, however, is not surprising when we understand that the entire amount of money collected for the territorial expenses from Nov. 1, 1811, to Nov. 8, 1814, was $2,516.89.

And now again there was a change, and between the years 1812 and 1818 it became pronounced. Men like Ninian Edwards, John McLean of Shawneetown; John Rice Jones, the Welsh lawyer from London, and his talented brood of boys; Nathaniel Pope, the secretary of Governor Edwards, the polished and educated gentleman; D. P. Cook, the editor of the Intelligencer; John Reynolds, chastened by his Tennessee education; Elias Kent Kane, the Yale graduate; Edward Coles of Virgina, private secretary to two presidents; the learned Sidney Breese, General Edgar J. Semple, Judges Lockwood and Wilson, Forquer, the Dodges, began to assert their places and exercise that influence which tells greatly in the formative period of a State; and to these were joined a great number of merchants who were men of rare common sense and ability, like the Mathers, the Lambs, the Morrisons, the Menards, the Judys. I wish I could go more deeply into this phase of Illinois history as it was fixed at Kaskaskia in order to give their proper meed of credit to these men, but time forbids.

Illinois a State

The first State Legislatures, and the convention which framed the first constitution were held at Kaskaskia, and the town was then at the height of its glory. It is said that the admission of the State to the Union was delayed until the Constitution was so amended that Menard [15] might hold office. Finally, on Dec. 3, 1818, Illinois was

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[15] Pierre Menard was one of the most distinguished men of his time. The Constitution proper contained a provision to the effect that none was qualified for Governor or Lieutenant except one who had been a citizen for thirty years. To qualify Menard a clause was inserted in the schedule providing that "Any person of thirty years of age, who is a citizen of the United States and has resided within the limits of this state two years next preceding his election, shall be eligible to the office of Lieutenant-Governor; anything in the thirteenth section of the third article of this Constitution contained to the contrary, notwithstanding." Citizen Thorpe, Constitutions, 2; 985, and commenting on the provision Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, says: "This section must have been incorporated just at the close of the convention as there is no record of it in the only available copy of the 'journal.' He (Menard) had not been naturalized until a year or so before." Ford, *History of Illinois*, p. 26

admitted to the Union and Kaskaskia was a State capital. And now again fate was unkind to Kaskaskia, for but a short time was she permitted to hold that honor. Vandalia was selected and built as a State capital, and Kaskaskia begins her last and fatal decline. St. Louis began to absorb the growing trade with the great West. The polticians desert her for Vandalia; her merchants move to more inviting fields of effort.

In April, 1825, General Lafayette, who had been touring the country, was persuaded by Governor Coles to stop at Kaskaskia on his trip from St. Louis to Nashville, Tenn. The visit was unheralded, but the townspeople trooped to the boat, and carried Lafayette in an informal procession to the residence of his old friend, Gen. John Edgar. Here he held an improptu reception, which was followed by a banquet at Col. Sweet's, and a grand ball in the evening at Col. Morrison's: Levasseur, in his charming account of the trip was not as much impressed by the history and characteristics of the place as we would wish, but spent the greater part of the day in studying the Indian tribes, which were encamped around the town, and discovered an Indian woman, the wife of one Skiakape, whose father had been a chief in New York State at the time Lafayette was in command in northern New York at the close of the Revolution. This woman had been raised and educated by Col. Menard, but when she became of age had run back to the woods and married an Indian Chief.

Kaskaskia was now visibly on the decline. It was only sustained by the facilities it offered to trade in the river highways, but here it was greatly handicapped by larger places on the north and south. In 1833 a colony of nine nuns from the Convent of Visitation at Georgetown, D. C., started an academy for girls at Kaskaskia and it bade fair to become a school of importance. This academy was after the flood of 1844 removed to St. Louis where it became of great importance.[16]

Kaskaskia Flood-Swept

In 1844 came the greatest flood of all and Kaskaskia was almost destroyed. Water stood five feet deep in the old hotel building where the high water of 1785 had only reached the floor. The bottom was covered many feet deep. Steamboats sailed from bluff to bluff. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, chartered a steamboat and went to Kaskaskia, where the young ladies of the convent were drawn

[16] For complete account of this academy see *The First Convent in Illinois,* Illinois Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 1, No. 3, January, 1919.

through the second story windows to the boat.[17] *On April 20, 1881,* the neck of land separating the Kaskaskia and Mississippi rivers was washed away. Three days after the cut off was made steamboats passed through the new channel. Since that time the State of Illinois has moved the bodies in the old grave yard to Chester and the site of the old town has steadily crumbled away.

The story of Kaskaskia is but the story of the germ. It is, is planted, produces the seedling, the stalk. It does not die it but gives up its being to the plant. Older than St. Louis or New Orleans, this mission post, voyageur's rest, garrison town, capital of all the empire between the Alleghenys and Rockies, this district capital, territorial capital, State capital, lives only in history as a place to hang a story on, as a dream for the poet. The river has changed its course; the town has disappeared beneath the waves; the Indians have been destroyed; voyaging and hunting for a living are no longer occupations; the bark canoe has been displaced by the steamboat, which now in its turn gives way to the railroad. Yet, Kaskaskia and her interesting types and people were influences, causes of great events, and the dream is a pleasant one."

STUART BROWN.

In Transactions Illinois State Historical Society.

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[17] There was an entry in Bishop William Quarter's diary of May 25, 1844, as follows: "Found the nuns at Colonel Menard's, being obliged to quit their convent, the water being as high as the second story. The inhabitants of the village were crowded along the bluff to witness much destruction of property and animals by water. Chartered the boat 'Indiana' and took the nuns and young ladies (boarders) to St. Louis." As a matter of fact both Bishops, Quarter and Kenrick, were there, as were also Father John Timon and Reverend Jacques Maurice de St. Palais, who afterwards became Bishops of Buffalo and Vincennes, respectively. See *The First Convent in Illinois,* ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, January, 1919, p. 369.

[18] See Burnham, *Destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River* in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 1914.

A CHAPTER IN ILLINOIS' FINANCES

The material side in the progress of a nation, state or community, even if not so attractive as some other features, claims attention. A consideration of means and resources frequently thrusts itself upon notice. The financial side of the history of early Illinois was, like many another new venture, somewhat checkered.

It might be of some interest to inquire into the expenses of the French Government or of the Company of the West, and even to read again the story of the Mississippi Bubble; or to run over the financial reports and budgets of the early missionary establishments when the rather meagre allowances were forwarded by the Home Missions in Canada to the workers in the field, or to know the rather extended accounts of officers and agents during the British regime, but the reader will be more interested in examining the manner and extent of the financing of the territory after it was headed in the direction of the United States.

It will be remembered that to carry out the Clark project of the Conquest of the Northwest, by means of which he was to take the British forts in the territory northwest of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi, the Virginia Assembly voted the munificent sum of twelve hundred pounds—about $6,000. It will be also remembered that this bounty when translated into Virginia scrip or Continental currency was ultimately worthless. It did service in buying some supplies, but fell dead in the hands of the holders. Yet, nevertheless, Clark expended, in connection with his conquest, a sum in excess of $100,000.00.[1]

How these expenses were met and the distress occasioned by them, is an interesting if uniformly sad story, which may be prefaced by saying that the burden fell chiefly, and in the order in which they are mentioned, most heavily upon Oliver Pollock, then of New Orleans; Francis Vigo of St. Louis, Kaskaskia and Vincennes; Father Pierre Gibault, Vicar-General of the Illinois country; ten or a dozen prominent Frenchmen in Illinois and the French inhabitants of Illinois.

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[1] For Clark's account against Virginia see English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio and Life of General George Rogers Clark,* Vol. II, p. 1040 *et seq.* This account, as will be seen, aggregates $2,201,392.83 1-3. This statement is copied from report of Committee 30 Congress, Report H. R. No. 216.

Oliver Pollock

Even before the conquest of the Northwest by Clark was sanctioned by the Council of Virginia, Oliver Pollock had been selected as an agent both of the Colony of Virginia and of the Continental Congress of the United States. Oliver Pollock was the son of Jared Pollock, who emigrated in 1760 from near Coleraine, Ireland, to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, accompanied by his sons—James, Oliver and John. Oliver was born in 1737 and removed to Havana, Cuba, in 1762 or 1763 and engaged in mercantile pursuits there. He mastered the Spanish language, married a lady of Havana and became identified with the Catholic Church. Through the influence of Father Butler, President of the Jesuit College, he won the friendship of Count Alexander O'Reilly, Governor-General of Cuba, and attained a high reputation as a financier and business man of ability.[2]

On the 12th of June, 1777, the secret committee of the Revolution, composed of Franklin, Morris and Lee, appointed Pollock Commercial Agent of the United States at New Orleans, directing him to ship at once to Philadelphia $50,000.00 worth of goods, blankets, etc., for the army. Later in the same year, the Governor of Virginia also appointed him special agent for that colony. He held these positions until 1783, having during these years advanced to the United States and Virginia, on the basis of his own credit, over $300,000.00 in specie.[3]

When the Clark Conquest was sanctioned by the Council of Virginia, the burden of financing the project fell upon Pollock, and the first move toward the Clark invasion, namely the securing of powder, was the occasion of the first help given by Pollock to the conquest, when he secured "out of the King's store in New Orleans for Virginia" the powder which Captain Linn brought from New Orleans.[4]

During the month of January, 1778, Governor Henry ordered Pollock to draw bills on France for $65,000.00 to aid Clark, which Pollock did on his individual bond, and during the same year he borrowed on his special security from the Spanish Royal Treasury at New Orleans $70,000.00 in specie, which was also expended for the furtherance of Clark's campaign and the advance of Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers.[5]

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[2] See *Oliver Pollock, His Connection with the Conquest of Illinois in 1778*, by Horace Edwin Hayden in *Magazine of American History*, Vol. 22, pp. 414-420.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See notes on Linn, English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, 2, 143.

[5] Hayden *supra.*

Complications growing out of the flood of bills drawn by Clark and his commissaries for the expenses of the conquest, resulted in the arrest of Pollock and his imprisonment for debt incurred in cashing Clark's drafts. To discharge such debts, he was forced to dispose of his large estate at much below its value, and was kept financially harassed and embarassed for a decade. Such was his ability, however, that by honest efforts he retrieved his losses and again became a wealthy and influential citizen.[6]

In 1792 Pollock returned to Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, and bought a large estate near Carlisle. He was a man of the highest reputation and greatly honored in his community. He was an active member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia and a charter member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In his old age he made his home with his daughter and son-in-law, Samuel Robinson, at Pinckneyville, Mississippi, where he died December 17, 1823.[7]

Such a man was Oliver Pollock, and such was his contribution to the conquest of the Northwest. It is apparent that, without his aid, the venture would certainly have failed,[8] and it is no answer to say that some one else might have been found to do what he did. The same thing might be said of Washington, Lincoln, Grant and Wilson. Despite the indispensable aid given America by Oliver Pollock, I have seen no page in the history of Illinois and I have heard no voice from Illinois honoring Oliver Pollock.

Francis Vigo

Next after Oliver Pollock entitled to high honors for furnishing supplies and funds to make the conquest of the Northwest possible came Pierre Gibault and Francis Vigo, and it is a difficult question to determine which of these two is entitled to the greater credit. Vigo furnished more money than Father Gibault, but he had more to furnish, and he was no doubt greatly influenced in his actions by Father Gibault.

Francis Vigo was an Italian by birth, but in his migrations about the world he became attached to the Spanish and served in the Spanish Army. At the time of the Clark conquest he was in civil

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Clark so acknowledged. See his certificate of July 2, 1785. *Copy in Calendar of Pollock Letters and Papers,* Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives. CXV. Miscellaneous Letters, January-April, 1791.

life, engaged in mercantile business with the Spanish Commandant at St. Louis, Don Francisco De Leyba.

Though probably without the advantages of a great deal of education, Vigo was well informed, and, in his trading activities, traveled extensively, making frequent trips to Vincennes, Detroit and the settlements of Illinois and Indiana. He was on one of his regular journeys at the stirring time of George Rogers Clark's Conquest, and visited Vincennes after the British Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton had retaken possession of that settlement. Knowing Vigo was from one of the French settlements in Illinois, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton suspected him of being in sympathy with the Americans and imprisoned him, but Father Gibault, being present in Vincennes at the time, after the Sunday Mass led a demonstration of protest to Governor Hamilton, and the inhabitants informed the British Governor, through Father Gibault, that, unless he at once released Vigo, they would furnish no more supplies for his garrison. Hamilton grudgingly yielded to the demands thus made and set Vigo free, after seeking to impose conditions upon him as claimed by some writers.[9]

Once free, Vigo hastened to Clark with the information that Vincennes had been recaptured. Clark's own language with reference to the information given him by Vigo is:

> In the heighth of the hurry, a Spanish merchant who had been at St. Vincennes arrived and gave the following intelligence that Mr. Hamilton had weakened himself by sending his Indians against the frontiers and to block up the Ohio. That he had not more than eighty men in garrison, three pieces of cannon and some swivel mounted and that he intended to attack this place as soon as winter opened, and made no doubt of clearing the western waters by fall.[10]

And in his *Memoir*, Clark said:

> On the 20th of January, 1779, Mr. Vigo, then a Spanish merchant who had been at St. Vincennes, arrived and gave information that Governor Hamilton with thirty regulars and fifty French volunteers, Indians, agents, interpreters, boatmen, etc., that amounted to a considerable number, and about four hundred Indians had in December last taken that post, and as the season was so far

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[9] For the most authoritative statement of Vigo's Activities and sacrifices see Law, *A History of Vincennes;* and English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, pp. 260, 262, 267, 275, 276, 277, 396, 436, 568. For an appreciation see my *Penalties of Patriotism*. See also Clark to Patrick Henry, April 29, 1779. See *George Rogers Clark Papers. Illinois Historical Collection*, Vol. 8, p. 170.

advanced, it was thought impossible to reach the Illinois, he sent some of the Indians to Kentucky and to watch the Ohio, disbanding others, etc.[11]

Clark's account in his letter to Mason is more specific. He says:

> In the heighth of our anxiety on the evening of the 29th of January, 1779, Mr. Vigo, a Spanish merchant, arrived from St. Vincennes and was there the time of its being taken and gave me every intelligence that I could wish to have. Governor Hamilton's party consisted of about eight hundred when he took possession of that post on the 17th of December past.[12]

This was the beginning of Vigo's aid to the American cause. Being a merchant of high standing and well connected with the Spanish, he established friendly relations between Clark and the Spanish Commandant and immediately began to furnish funds for the new government. He sold supplies in large quantities to the army and received in payment Virginia scrip or continental money as it was called, which became worthless. He accepted bills drawn upon the Agent at New Orleans, Oliver Pollock, some of which were honored, but $12,000.00 of which, through the total lack of funds and the exhaustion of Pollock's estate, were dishonored.

For the purchase of supplies, Vigo bound himself by guarantees for large sums of money and was later sued by the holders of such guarantees and impoverished. After the war was over, he sought reimbursement of the funds advanced to the Government, and wore out his life in actions and appeals made necessary by the procrastination and postponement of consideration. The last years of his life were spent in actual poverty, and even his funeral expenses remained unpaid for forty years after his death. Forty years after he had been in his grave, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down an opinion adjudging a debt of the United States to Francis Vigo[13] for moneys advanced by him for the George Rogers Clark Conquest amounting with interest to more than $40,000.00, but none of the name or blood of Vigo ever profited by the judgment.[14]

After the Revolutionary War, Vigo lived in Vincennes and was for many years a highly honored citizen. He was for twenty years one of the trustees of the old St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church of Vincennes, and served the United States Government in many confidential capacities, but his declining years were made most miserable

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[11] *Ibid.*, 266.

[12] *Ibid.*, 138.

[13] See Vigo v. U. S. 91 U. S. 442.

[14] English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, Vol. I, p. 267 et seq.

by poverty and ruin into which he was driven on account of the aid he rendered the Government in the Conquest of the Northwest.[15]

Very Rev. Pierre Gibault

As to the part played by Father Gibault with respect to the finances of the new government, it may truthfully be said that his work could not be measured in dollars and cents. He had championed the new government, recommended it to all of his people and affectionately received their allegiance for it. He believed in it, and therefore, when the government was in financial straits, he did everything in his power to sustain it. He not only received the worthless continental currency at its face value, returning for it specie, but also by word and deed did everything in his power to have all his people act similarly. Out of his meagre resources he provided a sum of 7,500 livres for which he held only Virginia scrip and from which he never received a farthing. In order to provide this fund, he was obliged to sell his personal belongings, to sacrifice his servant, to assign his tithes and to live in poverty.[16]

While, therefore, Father Gibault's contribution to the support of the American cause at this critical juncture was not so great in dollars and cents as that of some others, yet, nevertheless, it was his all, and the spirit which actuated him and the influence he exercised would seem to entitle him to the fullest measure of credit and honor.

It will be remembered that the espousal of the American cause not only cost Father Gibault all his little worldly possessions, but his ecclesiastical standing as well. The Canadian bishops who remained in control of the Church in the Illinois country until after the close of the Revolutionary War were partisans of the British and strongly disapproved Father Gibault's attitude toward and assistance to the Americans, "so much so," in the words of the bishop in a letter written to Prefect Apostolic Carroll, "that I propose to give him no employment for the future."[17] And strange as it may seem, this disapproval of the Canadian Bishops, coupled with the slanders of British officers, chagrined and angry at his success in bringing the inhabitants over to the American cause, and the falsehoods and

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[15] See *Penalties of Patriotism.*

[16] See Law, *History of Vincennes;* English, *Conquest of the Northwest; Thompson, Illinois' First Citizen, Pierre Gibault,* in Illinois Catholic Historical Review. See also *Penalties of Patriotism.*

[17] Briand to Carroll, original text and translation published in *Illinois Historical Collections,* Vol. V., pp. 586 to 590.

misrepresentations of other irresponsible and dissolute characters, so influenced Bishop Carroll that he denied Father Gibault his confidence and thus left him adrift. In the circumstances he found welcome in the Spanish possessions across the Mississippi, only, a virtual exile from his chosen and cherished land.

Regarding the ingratitude shown Father Gibault through all the years since his exile and death, Mr. J. P. Dunn, the talented historian, said:

> In truth, our French friends fared hardly under the American rule and none so badly as Father Gibault who did not get any return in land as a militiaman or the head of a family and lost his ecclesiastical support on account of the change of jurisdiction. He never received a particle of compensation from Virginia or the United States for his services and he never received one cent of repayment for money and goods actually furnished to our troops. The situation seems almost incredible, but it was a horrible reality.[18]

Mr. English, in his valuable work, *The Conquest of the Northwest*, says:[19]

> There was no reason, however, why his great services should not have been properly recognized, but they never were. As far as the author is advised, no county, town or post office bears his name; no monument has been erected to his memory, and no headstone marks his grave, as its location is entirely unknown. It is well for him that he could turn to the religion of which he had been so faithful a servant and find consolation in the trust that there was a heaven where meritorious deeds, such as his, find reward since they were so poorly appreciated and requited on earth.

Needless to say that what was thus written several years ago remains true to this day. Not only have Vigo and Gibault remained unhonored but their very names have all but faded from the memory of men.

Catholic Frenchmen

In a letter written by George Rogers Clark, July 24, 1778,[20] he said: "Several merchants are now advancing considerable sums of their own property rather than the service should suffer, by which I am sensible they must lose greatly, unless some method is taken to raise the credit of our coin."

Doctor Alvord concludes from an examination of documents that

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[18] Paper read before Illinois State Historical Society, published in Transaction Illinois State Hist. Soc., 1905.

[19] *Conquest of the Northwest*, pp. 189-90.

[20] Published in *American Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 501.

the merchants who gave their aid were: Daniel Murray, Winston Cerré, Janis, the Charlevilles, the Beauvais, Duplasy, the Bienveneaus of Kaskaskia, Barbau of Prairie du Rocher, Godin, Trottier, Girault, La Croix, Gratiot, and McCarty of Cohokia, La Gras, Huberdean, and Bosseron of Vincennes, and Vigo with possibly others of St. Louis.[21]

In a note Alvord says: "In fact the list of those who at this time or later furnished supplies on credit is a very long one, including almost every man of property in Illinois. Gratiot of Cohokia, Cerré of Kaskaskia, and Vigo of St. Louis have always received due credit [English, Law, and other historians differ with Mr. Alvord as to that] for the assistance they furnished, but they were more active than the other members of the French villages. In the end these three never suffered from their efforts [but see Law and English on Vigo's suffering] at this period as did others. Richard Winston who at the time of Clark was regarded as wealthy, died in poverty: and the Bauvais family was reduced to almost the same extremity. These are only two instances among many."[22]

When glorifying the military achievements of our state or praising its financial impregnability a thought of gratitude for its earliest sponsors who sacrificed so much for it would be most appropriate.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

[21] *Alvord, Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. LI.

[22] Note 3. Ib.

TRANSCRIPTS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES AT THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO

Archives are "documents or records relating to the rights, privileges, claims, treaties, constitutions, etc., of a family, corporation, community or nation". (Century Dictionary, *s. v.*) Archives are thus the original material of history, of priceless value alike to the governments and to the historians of nations. Their importance to governments is evinced in a striking manner by the former practice of belligerent countries. In the frequent wars between European nations in past centuries sometimes "cartloads" of archives were seized in the capitals of conquered nations by the conquerors and were transferred to their own capitals, to be reclaimed and sometimes restored later when the balance of power between contending parties had turned.

The Spanish archives at Seville contain a host of documents, letters and reports sent to the home government by Spanish governors and other civil or military agents of Spain in parts of America formerly under Spanish dominion. These archives have been consulted and extracts have been made and printed to some extent by historians of Spanish America; but an immense mass of documents still awaits examination and exploitation.

The Edward E. Ayer Library of works relating to the Indians and to the early history and description of North America, now a part of the Newberry Library, Chicago, has for the past five years been receiving transcripts of such documents at Seville as relate to New Mexico and the early Southwest, Louisiana, Mexico, Florida and the Pacific Coast. These transcripts are available for consultation during the day at the Newberry Library and form a priceless mine of information for the historical student competent to use them. Taken in connection with the more than thirty-eight thousand volumes, maps, manuscripts, photographs, and other items contained in the Ayer Library all bearing upon its chosen field of Americana, these Spanish transcripts afford unrivaled facilities for the original study of early Spanish, and thus largely Catholic, history of those parts of the United States formerly under Spanish rule.

The Annual Reports of the Librarian of the Newberry Library for the past five years make brief mention of the successive acquisitions in this special field; but they indicate to some extent the scope of the transcripts thus far received. The following passages are accordingly extracted from the reports from 1914 to 1918 and are reprinted here.

W. S. M.

Among the manuscripts acquired [by the Library in 1914] were 7,085 folio pages (of which only 533 pages have hitherto been printed) of transcripts from manuscripts in the archives of the Indies at Seville, Spain, relating to the early exploration, conquest, and settlement of New Mexico. These transcripts include a particularly full account of the expedition and explorations of Juan de Onate, and an apparently unknown chronicle, 436 pages in extent, by Baltasar Obregon, entitled *Cronica, comentarios ô relaciones de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernes de Nueva Espana y del Nuevo Mexico, Mexico, 1584;* narratives of expeditions into Texas by Alonso do Leôn, and Domingo Terán do los Rios, 1690-91, the result of La Sallo's unfortunate landing in Matagorda Bay; and about one thousand pages descriptivo of the encroachments of the English, that is, of the colony of Georgia on territory claimed by Florida, 1733-38.[1]

The manuscript additions [acquired in 1915] included further transcripts from the Archives of the Indies in Sevillo, Spain, among them being: (1) Early Florida documents concerning Esteban do las Atlas, 1571; (2) Documents relating to the expulsion of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680; (3) an *Expediente* on the establishment of the English in Georgia, 1736-1742; (4) Reports from Cuba and Louisiana, 1776-1777, in which the progress of the American Revolution is commented upon. There were also acquired eleven volumes, numbering 1,608 pages, of blueprints made from typewritten copies of documents in the Cuban Archives. These relate mostly to Florida and Louisiana and, among other important paper, comprise three letter books of Bernardo de Galvez.[2]

The transcribing of original documents relating to America in the Archives at Seville which has been carried on for the Ayer Collection during the past three years was continued [during 1916]. This body of transcripts now comprises over twenty-three thousand pages, folio and quarto. They deal with affairs in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and, to a less extent, the West Indies and Philippine Islands. They also describe the relations of the former Spanish colonies with the neighboring English and French colonies, particularly with the beginnings of those among the latter colonies which were considered to be infringing upon Spanish territory. Further, they contain valuable data concerning the American Revolution, as the Spanish governors of Louisiana and Cuba and the Spanish envoys at Philadelphia kept the home government very fully informed upon American affairs. With respect to the transcripts of documents relating to the exploration, conquest, and settlement of New Mexico, Professor Bolton of the

[1] Report 1914, p. 17.

[2] Report 1915, p. 15-16.

University of California, a leading authority on Spanish-American history, is reported to have said that the new facts which they reveal will necessitate the entire rewriting of the history of the Southwest. The transcripts relating to the history of Florida are also of the first importance as historical material. It has been said that there is perhaps no portion of the United States of whose early history so little is known as that of Florida.[3]

The Edward E. Ayer Collection added during the year 1917 10,703 pages to its collection of transcripts from the *Archivo general de Indias* at Seville. These include some very notable and interesting, as well as unexpected, documents. Among the latter may be mentioned *Copie du journal de voyage du Sieur Cauelier, pretre frère de Monsr. de la Salle, lesquels entreprirent tous les deux par mer la découverte du fleuve Missisipi lan 1684 avec plusieur nauires. Ce journal fust presanté a Monsr. de Segncley par ledit Cavelier au retour de son penible voyage.* This journal begins in July, 1684, and ends August 22, 1688. It is the final report of the Abbé Cavelier and is not identical with the fragment of the first draft, July, 1684-February 16, 1687, which was printed by John Gilmary Shea in 1858. Another important set of documents is from the papers of José de Galvez, minister for the Indies. They consist of official letters, with numerous inclosures, from the governors of Louisiana and Cuba, the commandant-general of the *Provincias internas,* and the Spanish envoys at Philadelphia, Juan de Miralles, 1777-80, and Francisco Rendon, 1780-84. With the reports of Miralles and Rendon were sent many translations, and sometimes printed documents and papers. These latter included some numbers of the little French paper, *Courrier de l' Amérique,* printed at Philadelphia by Boinod & Gaillard in 1784. We have typewritten copies of the following numbers: July 27 and 30; August 3, 6, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, and 27; September 28; October 1, 5, 8, 12, 15, 19, and 22.[4]

To the Edward E. Ayer Collection there were added 9,025 pages of transcripts of documents relating to American affairs in the Spanish official archives at Seville and Simancas. Among those from Simancas are twenty-five short reports on the English colony of Virginia. Those from Seville include important documents concerning Diego de Ibarra, Francisco de Urdiñola, the northern provinces of Mexico, and many reports and letters from the various viceroys of Mexico. The most important book added was François Joseph le Mercier's *Relation de ce qui s'est passé . . . en la Nouvelle France aux années mil six cent soixante cinq, and mil six cent soixante six.* Paris, S. Cramoisy, 1667, an original Jesuit Relation. Of the original series of these famous relations in the Ayer Collection now lacks only two, viz., those published in 1656 and in 1660.[5]

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL.

Chicago.

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[3] Report 1916, p. 20.
[4] Report 1917, p. 16.
[5] Report 1918, p. 13.

ILLINOIS' FIRST CITIZEN — PIERRE GIBAULT

I. The Patriot. II. The Priest.
III. The Victim of Injustice and Ingratitude.

II. GIBAULT THE PRIEST
(Fifth Paper)

Studies of Father Gibault

As heretofore stated, the study of Father Gibault by Pauline Lancaster Peyton,[1] is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and satisfactory that has been made, but there is so much of value in what Father J. J. Conway, S. J.,[2] and the Herbermanns[3] have said that the reader should have at least their conclusions as to Gibault's merits.

Father Conway was writing as a Missourian and naturally stressed his work in that State. In part he says:

Result of Father Conway's Study

A study of the rise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in St. Louis would remain very incomplete without some appreciation of the life and character of one who did so gigantic a work for the Church in the West. He added an empire to our State; and yet he is a man to whom, notwithstanding his eminent merits, the Church, the country, even history, have done, in return, little or the barest justice. "To him next to Clarke and Vigo," says Judge John Law in his *History of Vincennes,* "the United States are more indebted for the accession of the States comprised in what was the original Northwestern Territory than to any other man." And yet, "as far as we are advised, no county," to quote Mr. English in his *Conquest of the Northwest,* "no town, no post-office, not even an alleyway in St.

[1] Records American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. XII, No. 4, p. 452 *et seq.*

[2] The Beginnings of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Archdiocese of St. Louis, Publication No. 14, 1897, of the Missouri Historical Society, p. 21 *et seq.*

[3] Very Reverend Pierre Gibault, V. G., Historical Records and Studies, United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, Vol. VII, Part II, pp. 131-133 and 148-9.

Louis, Vincennes or Indianapolis, no monument has been erected to his memory," not even a headstone marks his grave, so completely has he passed out of the thoughts of men. "It was well for him," writes Mr. English, "that he could turn to the religion of which he had been so faithful a servant and find consolation in the trust that there was a heaven, where meritorious deeds such as his find reward, since they were so poorly appreciated and requited on earth."[4]

Pierre Gibault, son of Pierre Gibault and Marie St. Jean, was born at Montreal, April 7, 1737. I am not sure where his elementary studies were pursued. Possibly in his own district school in Montreal, inasmuch as at that time no discrimination on the part of the Church existed between the state and parish schools. His classics were acquired at the Seminary of Quebec, from whose literary courses he graduated about the age of twenty-four. Like most young Canadians of that time, Gibault left school for the woods and the prairies of the West. He spent some years—probably three or four—we are told, in this western world; but where, exactly, I am not clear enough to say. He had a married sister at Kaskaskia and a brother in the English garrison at Vincennes at the time that these posts were captured by Colonel Clarke in 1778. But whether they were at these places fourteen or fifteen years previously, and whether he stayed out here with them I could not say. I have in fact seen no sure grounds for stating what his object was in coming West after his studies. It is certain, however, that he returned to Quebec in 1764 or 1765, and that he was ordained in that city, by Mgr. Briand, on March 19, 1768. He remained at the cathedral until the end of spring, and then left for the Illinois Missions. He followed the Ottawa trail, going around by Michilimacinac, where he spent a week hearing confessions, baptizing, revalidating marriages, and attending to a hundred cares[5] which had been neglected ever since the last pastor of the place, Father Lefranc, had been driven from the mission by the English, in 1761. For in Article 33, of the Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between England and France at Montreal in 1762, the English authorities peremptorily refused to permit the Jesuits to maintain their Indian missions. Father Gibault left Mackinac at the opening of summer and descending by the Marquette-Allouez route—Green Bay, the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers—to the Mississippi, he reached Kaskaskia by water in September, 1768. For

[4] *Conquest of the Northwest,* pp. 189-90.

[5] *Gibault to Bishop Briand,* July 28, 1768.

his bold and characteristic signature appears upon its registers under date of September 8, 1768, as Parish Priest of Kaskaskia.[6]

Father Gibault, Parish Priest of Kaskaskia

Kaskaskia was then at its zenith, or, to employ the extravagant comparison of Governor John Reynolds in his *Pioneer History of Illinois,* "Kaskaskia was then to Illinois what Paris is at this day to France—the great emporium of fashion, gayety and happiness."[7] It contained between fifteen hundred and two thousand inhabitants, all, if not indeed all, Catholics, although a very sorry sort of Catholics. The women—there as almost everywhere—better, of course, than the men, were not so sadly lacking in their duties to God and their Church. But the men—all Frenchmen—proverbially therefore angels or devils—were not, I am afraid, angels, at least all of them. For Pierre Gibault, no more than Abraham in the City of the Plain, could not find ten just men in Kaskaskia. At all events, he could not find ten who had been to their religious duties for the last four or five years, which, certainly, was a very poor index of their godliness.

But Father Gibault did not shrink from the task of reforming Kaskaskia. This we easily gather from the toilsome ordeal of his apostolate. Writing to Mgr. Briand from Vincennes in 1786, whither he had removed as pastor in 1785, he says: "I give the boys and girls an instruction twice a day: after mass, and in the evening before sunset. After each instruction, I send the girls home and make the boys repeat the responses of the mass and the ceremonies of the Church for Sundays and holydays. I preach, too, on these days as often as I can."[8] This was the same plan and method which he had pursued at Kaskaskia; only that at Kaskaskia, he gave special catechetical instructions to the congregation four times a week, over and above preaching as often as he could on Sundays and holydays. Now to preach a decent sermon but twice on every Sunday and holyday upon the Canadian Calendar of that time, was a matter that called for considerable brains, great zeal, and a fund of personal piety and self-sacrifice. And if, moreover, we will reflect that this priest was forever afoot in a hundred directions, it called for industry, much meditation, and a miserly husbanding of time, to preach the sermons

[6] Parish Records Immaculate Conception in St. Louis University.

[7] *Pioneer History of Illinois,* p. 50.

[8] This letter is published in full in the original text and an English translation in Vol. V, *Illinois Historical Collections,* pp. 534 to 547.

that Father Gibault did preach and as often as his Calendar required him to preach them. For, besides the fifty-two Sundays of the year, the holydays of obligation in Canada were very numerous. By an official act of Bishop Laval, the first Bishop of Quebec, in 1694, the same holydays were made obligatory in all the French settlements in Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Louisiana and the country west of the Mississippi, until that territory, passing under Spanish domination, was, about 1776, reclaimed as part originally of the diocese of Santiago de Cuba, in virtue of De Soto's exploration of the Mississippi. These holydays were those of the reformed Calendar of Urban VIII., and included The Feast of the Circumcision, January 1st; The Epiphany, January 12th; Candlemas Day, February 2d; The Feasts of St. Mathias, February 24th; of St. Joseph, March 19th; of the Annunciation, March 25th; of St. Michael, May 8th; of St. John the Baptist, June 24th; of St. Bartholomew, August 24th; of St. Louis, August 26th; of The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, September 8th; of St. Mathew, September 24th; of SS. Simon and Jude, October 28th; of All Saints, November 1st; of St. Andrew, November 30th; of St. Francis Xavier, December 3d; of the Immaculate Conception, December 8th; of St. Thomas, December 21st; of St. Stephen, December 26th; of St. John the Evangelist, December 28th; besides, Christmas Day, Easter Monday and Tuesday, Ascension Day, Whitsun Monday and Tuesday, Corpus Christi, The Titular Saint of the Cathedral of Quebec and the Patronal Feast of the Parish of Kaskaskia. But Father Gibault was equal to the ceasless task, and that he did his work well, the result amply declares. For by Easter, 1769, he brought nearly all the Kaskaskians to their duties —the French folks of the town, the Indians camped up the river, and all the Catholics of the 18th Royal Irish Dragoons in barracks at Kaskaskia.

Father Gibault's Missionary Travels

But Father Gibault's zeal was not confined to Kaskaskia. Between September, 1768, and February, 1770, he had crossed the river to Ste. Genevieve, visited La Salines, Old Mines, and on the east side Fort Chartres, St. Philip, Prairie du Rocher, the Indian camps and Creole farmers scattered up and down the Mississippi as far as Prairie du Rocher. In the winter of 1770 he inaugurated that long series of missionary excursions which have made him famuos as the Stout Priest of the West. Early in February, 1770, he traveled to

Vincennes. That post had not seen a priest since their pastor, Father Duvernay, was carried to New Orleans in 1763.[9] This will explain the reception which they gave to Pierre Gibault. "On my arrival," he writes to Mgr. Briand, June 15, 1770, "all crowded down to the banks of the Wabash to receive me. Some fell on their knees, unable to speak; others could speak only in sobs. Some cried out to me, 'Father, save us, we are almost in hell;' others kept repeating, 'God has not abandoned us, for he has sent you to us to make us do penance for our sins;' others in tears kept asking me: 'Oh, sir, why did you not come sooner, my poor wife, or my dear father, or my dear mother, or my poor child would not have died without the sacraments.' "[10] Father Gibault remained two weeks at Vincennes. On his return to Kaskaskia, he visited the newly arrived Spanish Commandant at Ste. Genevieve, and Lieutenant-Governor de Piernas, in St. Louis. The Spaniards came to these posts unattended by clergymen. Father Gibault continued, therefore, to visit Ste. Genevieve and promised de Piernas to include St. Louis in his missions. In 1775, he made a second visit to Vincennes. He was then on his way to Canada; and on his route tarried among the Indian camps on the Wabash, the Peoria and St. Joseph Rivers. On his return from Canada, he was unable to get around by Mackinac, where he was therefore detained from November to December 3, 1775. He retraced his steps to Detroit, helping in that city until late spring enabled him to resume the trail to the West. On February 23, 1777, he buried old Father Meurin in St. Joseph's church at Prairie du Rocher, and remained, himself, from that time until 1788 the only member of his calling within the broad domain of the Illinois Missions. In 1778 he was sent by Colonel George Rogers Clarke to Vincennes, to win that people over to the American cause. It took him just three days to conquer this English stronghold on the Wabash and the key to the situation in the West. He captured it not by fire and sword, but by the well-known disinterestedness of his personal character, his long-proved zeal for the people's true welfare, and the eloquent voice of his patriotism.[11] He visited the place again in 1779, when he spent between three weeks and a month there; sometimes at the Post itself

[9] Reverend Julian Duvernai, S. J., was pastor at Vincennes at the time the Superior Council of New Orleans adopted its edict against the Jesuits and was dragged to Kaskaskia and thence down the Mississippi with Father Watrin and the others to be sent to France. *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 70, p. 281.

[10] *Gibault to Bishop Briand*, June 15, 1769, Archives of Quebec, p. 249.

[11] See as to Winning of Vincennes, Illinois Catholic Historical Review.

but the greater part of the time along the headwaters of the Wabash among the Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Miamies and a hundred other nations constituting the once famous League of the Wabash. The League had been the ally of England against France. Gibault succeeded in securing its allegiance to Clarke and the Commonwealth of Virginia. Father Gibault's time between 1779-1785 was occupied at home, from Kaskaskia to Cahokia. During this period it is assumed by some that he visited the various groups of Indian fires south of Green Bay and clustered about the base of Lake Michigan, comprising the Chipaways, Ottawas, Pottawattomies, Musessogies, Puans, Sacks and Foxes, Sayges, Tauways and Maumies. This, however, is but a plausible conjecture.

Up to this time Father Gibault's headquarters had been Kaskaskia. But in 1785 he removed to Vincennes. Why I could not say certainly. But I would rationally conjecture that by the change he sought to live more central to his growing work in Illinois, without prejudice to the older parishes on the Mississippi. These could now be readily and regularly attended by the Spanish curates of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, permitting Father Gibault to live nearer to the scattered portions of his flock in the northwest and north. He remained at Vincennes until the advent of Bishop Carroll's Vicar-General, Reverend Huet de la Valiniere, in 1788. After the advent of this clergyman, he retired for a year to Cahokia, and later, spending a brief space once more in Vincennes in 1789, he went back to Kaskaskia. He lived a year in Kaskaskia, and thence crossed the river to New Madrid. He was at New Madrid until the close of 1792, when he traveled south to Post Arkança. He was on the Mission of the Arkança a full year, leaving that post February 15, 1793. He returned to New Madrid, where he died eleven years later, as assistant to the resident pastor, Reverend James Maxwell.

The Spirit Animating Gibault

From this cursory glance at the missionary travels of Pierre Gibault we see that the territory covered by his ministry was immense, considering the miserable facilities for transportation in those days. His powers of Vicar-General, in the first place, extended, like those of Meurin, from Mackinac on the north to New Orleans and Mobile on the south, and while his active ministrations did not, as far as we can gather, reach Mobile or New Orleans, they embraced all the old French forts and Indian missions, on the St. Joseph, in the

vicinity of South Bend; Fort St. Louis and Fort Crêve Cœur, on the Illinois River; Ouiatenon and Fort Vincennes, on the Wabash; Post Arkança, on the Arkansas; Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi; Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, La Salines, Old Mines, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, St. Philip, Cahokia and all the Christian Indian camps that traversed the broad and luxuriant savannahs that reach out over the great commonwealths of Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Kentucky, or were hidden within the pathless fastnesses of the somber timber vales of Michigan and Wisconsin. All this empire of then practically savage people he traveled time and time alone, now afoot, now in a *calêche* or cart, but ordinarily in canoes or a horseback, with the utensils of his sacred ministry in saddle-pouches behind him, his gun across the saddle-bow, and a belt about his waist, with pistols and bowie-knife. For the frontier priest went armed. He lived on game, and, moreover, he might, at any moment, be called upon to defend himself against some wild beast, and always to protect himself against the otherwise unawed Indian thieves and murderers, as well as against the white ruffians who then infested as they do yet infest our Western frontier. And yet these extensive fields of labor exhibit but the time and space of his activity. They do not reveal the apostle; they do not tell us of his pains and hardships; they do not show what courage he possessed, how unselfish he was, and how unremitting he continued to be in the discharge of his arduous stewardship. He alone could say here what no other being but his God could know—what spirit animated all his life. And he has said one word. In it we read volumes of his worth. For his was the fate of all great men. He was slandered and accused of giving scandal. With honest indignation at the charge, he writes to his bishop: "How can I, in all the pains and hardships I have undergone in my different journeys, winter and summer, to points the most separated, attending so many villages, so distant from each other, in all weathers, night and day, snow or rain, wind, storm or fog on the Mississippi, so that I never slept four nights in a year in my own bed, never hesitating to start at a moment's notice whether sick or well; how, I ask, can a priest who sacrifices himself in this way with no other view than God's glory, and the salvation of his neighbor, with no pecuniary reward, almost always ill-fed, unable almost to attend to both spiritual and temporal; how, I again ask, can you know that such a priest, zealous to fulfill the duties of his holy ministry, careful to watch over his flock, to found them in the most important tenets of religion, to

instruct the young unceasingly and untiringly, not only in Christian doctrine but in reading and writing; how can you know that he is one who gives or has given scandal to his people.'"[12] These forced expressions of his own merits not merely uphold the integrity of his toilsome life, but they further establish its apostolic character.

Herbermanns on Father Gibault

The Herbermanns' view[13] of Father Gibault may be gathered from the following passages from their study:

When the young priest arrived at Cahokia, for which mission he seems to have been intended, he found the old mission property, church, residence, barns, orchards, in short everything rapidly going to ruin and the outlook for the future gloomy. Father Meurin was still at Kaskaskia, some seventy-five miles south of Cahokia, and a place far better provided with means for carrying on missionary operations. On the arrival of Pierre Gibault the aged Jesuit without any hesitation surrendered his comparatively comfortable home at Kaskaskia to the new missionary and retired to Cahokia, where he was received with the greatest affection by the French settlers. But even Kaskaskia was no bed of roses for the younger priest. We must here recall the fact that, only some five or six years before, in 1763, as the result of the Seven Year's War, Canada and the northern French possessions, which included the Illinois country, had been turned over by France to England. This change of government, always the source of disorder even in civilized countries, produced even greater disorganization in these distant outposts of civilization. The task of controlling these unruly frontiersmen and inducing them to fulfill their religious duties was a source of constant labor and worry. But Gibault was not only a pious and zealous pastor of souls but a man of great energy. Though disabled for weeks by Western fever, his work soon bore fruit. Every night he assembled the faithful for prayers in the church and four times a week he instructed the adults in Catholic doctrine. In 1769 most of the parishioners fulfilled their Easter duty. His flock included, besides the French Creoles, a part of the soldiers of a detachment of the

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[12] Original text and English translation published in Vol. V, *Illinois Historical Collections*, pp. 534-47.

[13] See note 3.

Eighteenth (Royal Irish) regiment and most of the neighboring Indians, who had been converted by the Jesuit Fathers.[14] It is needless to say that parishioners made up of such elements were the cause of much trouble, anxiety, and labor to the young priest, but he soon gained their good will by his attention to his duties, his frequent instruction to the young, whom he even taught to read and write, and by his regular preaching. Of course, he did not confine his attention to the faithful of Kaskaskia; he was constantly traveling from place to place. In 1770 we find him in old Vincennes, a post nearly one hundred miles to the east of Kaskaskia, where he purchased a site for a chapel upon which, however, he did not build until some fifteen years afterward. In the same year he also crossed the Mississippi and blessed a small frame chapel at Paincourt, better known under the present name of St. Louis. Here, where in consequence of the Seven Years' War the Spaniards bore sway, although most of the inhabitants were French Creoles, and at St. Genevieve (also west of the Mississippi and under Spanish rule), he seems to have been as active as in the Illinois country. In this way he spent about eight years incessantly on the alert, seldom sleeping in his own home and often saying his breviary in the glaring sun or by the side of a smoking camp-fire. The population made up, as it was, of roving Indians, hunting and fur-trading Creoles, haughty Spaniards and speculative Americans from the East, all disposed to quarrel and all provided with guns and knives, were not of a character to make his ministry agreeable. When brawls and murders were of daily occurrence we may well believe the good man's statement that even his life was often exposed to danger. If this was true in the early years of his missionary work it was even more true of the years which followed the withdrawal of the British troops from the Illinois country in 1776. Withal Father Gibault was not a mere roaming missionary, as we see from the letter written by him in 1786[15] to Bishop D'Esglis. Pierre Gibault had with him at Vincennes, where he then resided, a library of serious, mostly theological, books which he had probably accumulated in the course of his ministry. This fact indicates that he was a man of scholarly instincts and literary taste who took his vocation as teacher of the faithful seriously.

The hardships undergone by this saintly pioneer priest may be

[14] Shea, *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 126, citing letter of Gibault to Bishop Briand, June 15, 1769. "Pennsylvania Packet," October 5, 1772.

[15] Published in full in *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. V, pp. 534 to 547.

imagined from a passage in one of his letters. He visited Canada in 1775 and reached Michilimackinac on his return in September and waited there for suitable weather to proceed upon his journey. There being no improvement, he left Michilimackinac in November, retracing his way to Detroit, steering the canoe which was paddled by a man and boy who had never before made the trip. In constant peril of the ice and in great suffering, he finally arrived at Detroit from whence he wrote the Bishop: "The suffering I have undergone between Michilimackinac and this place has so deadened my faculties that I only half feel my chagrin at being unable to proceed to the Illinois." Even in that lamentable condition, however, he thinks only of duty. "I shall do my best," he writes, "not to be useless at Detroit and to relieve the two venerable old priests who attend it."[16]

Gibault's Later Years

Our narrative shows that the old Canadian missionary, during the last years of his activity in the Illinois country, was beset by many awkward difficulties. The unsettled condition of ecclesiastical affairs in Illinois after 1783, his undefined relations to the Church authorities at Quebec and at Baltimore, and the generally disturbed state of the country, made his position uncertain and uncomfortable. His relations to the political authorities in Canada and the United States helped to complicate his troubles. A more diplomatic and tactful man might no doubt have avoided many of the shoals and whirlpools which wrecked Father Gibault and cast him on the Spanish bank of the Mississippi. But the simple missionary had to depend on his native wit to steer him through his sea of troubles. Only a few days after his ordination, when in experience he was but a raw youth, he was sent away to learn practical wisdom among drinking and tomahawking savages, half-civilized *coureurs de bois,* swindling and lying Yankess, and fanatical Spanish blackguards. With all his youthful simplicity, he was probably wiser than any man among his surroundings and could learn from them neither prudence nor knowledge. It is astonishing that a man such as he, in the midst of wars and rumors of wars, entrusted with the guardianship of a helpless body of people, deprived of the feeling of patriotism by recent conquest, uninspired by confidence in the new friends who needed their assistance, had wisdom and boldness enough to follow

[16] *Gibault to Bishop Briand,* December 4, 1775, quoted in Shea, *Life of Archbishop Carroll,* p. 130.

the path which an impartial judge would today prescribe for him. He guided his flock through turmoil and danger, counseling them so as to escape ruin and death without openly revolting against the British. Young, quick, energetic, and bold, the descendant of French forefathers who had only recently been conquered by the English, naturally filled with a love of liberty which was the heirloom of the native American, when every native American had to provide for his life and living and thought little of the suzerain beyond the ocean, what wonder that Father Gibault should become the friend of Colonel George Rogers Clark and his helpmate in his daring enterprise? Judge Law of Vincennes, three-quarters of a century ago, declared that the Great Northwest was won and secured for the American Union by Colonel Clark, Mr. Vigo, and Father Gibault, and every American who appreciates the value of Gibault's share in the taking and re-taking of Vincennes, the influence he exerted on those of his race and his faith by giving them an example of self-sacrifice and of generous support of the soldiers of struggling Virginia, and his manly readiness even at the risk of his life to aid by his presence the agents of the American cause, would readily endorse the verdict of the historian of Vincennes.[17]

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

[17] In the next paper we will discuss the unjust treatment and false charges to which Father Gibault was subjected.

THE BEAUBIENS OF CHICAGO

An Interesting Letter from One of Them

I will commence with the Beaubien or Cuillerier family of Canada and Detroit, Michigan.[1]

Ancestry

René Cuillerier, the first of the family mentioned in the Canadian archives, was the son of Julien Cuillerier and Julienna Faifen of Clermont, near La Fléche, France. René was born in Clermont in 1640, came to Canada a young man and married Marie Lucault, at Montreal, April 13, 1665. It is said that he was a companion of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, and the founder of Fort Cuillerier at La Chine, Canada, where he was an interpreter.

Their second son, Jean Cuillerier, was born November 2, 1670, married Marie Catherine Trotier at Batiscan, May 3, 1696, had several children.

Their seventh child, Jean Baptiste Cuillerier, was born at La Chine, January 6, 1709, and married, January 26, 1742, Marie Ann Lothment Barrios at Detroit, daughter of François Barrios and Marie Ann Sauvage. The bride was then sixteen years old. She died November 8, 1809, aged eighty-four years.

It is not known that Jean Cuillerier ever came to Detroit, and if he did visit the place it was probably after the birth of his youngest child. The date of his demise is not given in Tanguay, but it is there

[1] This interesting letter was written by Frank G. Beaubien, a son of Mark Beaubien, still living at 5737 Race Avenue, Chicago, now in his sixty-ninth year of age. The writer was born in Naperville, Illinois, on one of the occasions when his father was living there with his family, on June 21, 1851. He became a member of the police force of Chicago forty-five years ago. Was a patrolman ten years, a sergeant five years and lieutenant in the office of the Chief of Police for twenty-two years. Since severing his connection with the police department he has lived in quiet retirement but has always taken a deep interest in public affairs, is a keen observer, and has an excellent memory. He has always been active in the interest of the Chicago Historical Society, of which he is a member, and early became a member and valued friend of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society and the Illinois Catholic Historical Review. He is a devout Catholic, a member of the Knights of Columbus, Phil Sheridan Council, and states that practically all of the Beaubiens and their connections were and have remained Catholics.

noted that his widow, Marie Catherine Trotier, married François Marie Picote Sieur de Belestre in 1712, but the place of marriage is not given. The members of the Cuillerier family in this generation took the name of Beaubien. Some of them were called "Beaubien *dit* Cuillerier," others simply "Cuillerier," while all of them in the course of a few years became known as we now know them by the name of Beaubien.

The wife of Jean Cuillerier was Marie Catherine Trotier, and her brother Michael was Sieur de Beaubien, and it is probably from this incident that this name was attached to the family. He lived at *Trois Riviers,* Canada, and it is possible that the children lived with him after their father's death.

Antoine Cuillerier *Dit* Beaubien, brother of Jean Baptiste Cuillerier *Dit* Beaubien, was an officer in the Detroit Militia in 1756, his daughter Angelique (she is the heroine of Miss Crowley's novel "The Heroine of the Strait") married James Sterling, who was collector of the King's Revenues, surveyor of the district, military store keeper, official interpreter, and also held several other positions in the department at Detroit during the Revolutionary War.

Jean Baptiste Cuillerier Dit Beaubien became a citizen of considerable importance in Detroit and it is remarked in the church records that when he died August 30, 1793, there was a great concourse of people at the funeral and that two priests, Fathers Frechette and Dupaux, officiated. He was the father of fourteen children.

The seventh child, Joseph Beaubien, was born in Detroit, March 20, 1752, and married March 10, 1777, Josette Bondy, daughter of Joseph Bondy, Captain in Militia at Le Assumption, and Josette Gamelin. He died in Monroe, Michigan, March 6, 1821. They had ten children.

The third child, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, was born in Detroit, September 5, 1787, and the youngest child, Marc or Mark Beaubien, was born in Detroit, April 25, 1800. Both came to Chicago, Illinois, to live. Their names are frequently mentioned in Chicago's early history.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien

Jean Baptiste Beaubien went to Mackinac, Michigan, at an early age where he remained for a while working for the American Fur Company, and he made trips to Chicago as early as 1802, buying furs from the Indians. Then he came to Chicago to live for a while, then went back to Mackinac and came back to Fort Dearborn right after

the Massacre of 1812. He arrived in the spring, bringing his two sons, Charles Henry and Medore Benjamin with him.[2]

While in Chicago before the Massacre he married an Indian woman by whom he had a daughter named Marie.

In the church record at Detroit is an entry to the effect that Marie Beaubien was born in Chicago in 1805, lived with Louis Genereux at the Grand River of Lake Michigan, and there Lucille was born on March 12, 1827. They came to Detroit and were married there July 28, 1828, recognizing their child as legitimate. This Marie must have been the daughter of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, for he was the only person by that name in Chicago at the time of her birth.

There is a further church record that Marie Beaubien, daughter of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, an "Ottawasse Libittoit," aged about twenty-three years old, was baptized at Detroit, July 28, 1828. Louis Campau was the god-father.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien's first wife was Mah-naw-bun-no-quah, an Ottawa Indian, sister of the Chief Shabbona. Shabbona died July 17, 1859, near Morris Falls, Illinois, aged eighty-four years. He was a great friend of the whites and if he had been in Chicago at the time he would have prevented the Fort Dearborn Massacre.

Mah-naw-bun-no-quah died in 1812. It is not imporbable that she was the mother of Marie mentioned above. Her other children were:

Charles Henry Beaubien, born in Grand River of Lake Michigan, 1807; died March 11, 1858, at Grosse Pointe, Illinois, aged fifty-one years. He taught school in Chicago in 1829 and had five children.

Medore Benjamin Beaubien, born July 15, 1809, at Grand River of Lake Michigan.

Charles Henry Beaubien and Medore Benjamin Beaubien were sent to Princeton College. After their graduation from college, Charles Henry taught school in Chicago in 1829 and Medore Benjamin

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[2] There is some uncertainty as to the exact time when Jean Baptiste Beaubien came to live permanently in Chicago. The writer of the above letter says that it is a firm family tradition that he came in the spring immediately after the Fort Dearborn Massacre, which would fix the date as 1813. It is frequently stated that Antoine Ouilmette and Alexander Robinson were the only men in Chicago in 1813 and 1814. (See note 29, page 58, this number.) Beaubien evidently came here soon after the Massacre and had his son Medore with him as appears from the statement by Medore contained in the letter above. In any event Jean Baptiste Beaubien was the first substantial permanent white resident of Chicago.

became the first merchant in Chicago and also was clerk of election held in Chicago in August 2, 1830, the poll list containing thirty-two names; also one of the first trustee's present at the first Town-Board meeting which was held in Chicago, Monday, August 12, 1833, at Mark Beaubien's Tavern, the Sauganash, southeast corner of Lake and Market Street.

In speaking of Medore Benjamin Beaubien, Hon. John Wentworth said: "I met Medore at Washington a few years ago, where he attracted great attention for his remarkable personal beauty. He joined the Pottawatomi Indians in Kansas and settled with them on their reservation near Topeka and was chief and interpreter for them. He then moved to Silver Lake, Shawnee County, Kansas. At the time of his death he was Mayor of Silver Lake. He died December 26, 1883.

"After Mah-naw-bun-no-quah's death Jean Baptiste moved to Chicago with his two sons in the spring of 1813, because I have heard Medore Benjamin, one of his sons, tell about his father taking him and his brother Charles and his stepmother Jossette La Framboise over the ruins of Fort Dearborn after the Massacre of 1812."

Jean Baptiste Beaubien remained here and became the first citizen, which has not been credited to him. John Kinzie did not return to Chicago until about 1816. Jean Baptiste Beaubien, when he arrived here, was buying furs from the Indians for the American Fur Company, also he made trips here as early as 1802, buying furs from the Indians. Jean Baptiste Beaubien and his second wife, Jesette Laframboise, had been married in Mackinac before coming here. She was the daughter of François Laframboise, Sr. Her mother was a half-breed Indian of the Pottawatomi.

Josette was living with the Kinzie family before and at the time of the Massacre of Fort Dearborn. She made her escape with the Kinzie's.

Josette Laframboise Beaubien was a second cousin to Joseph Laframboise who was living at Mackinaw and whose daughter, named also Josette Laframboise, married Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin K. Pierce, a brother of President Franklin Pierce, when he was in command of Fort Mackinac, about 1815-16.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien was one of the sixteen witnesses to the signing of the treaty with the Indians in 1821. The compact was made by Lewis Cass and Solomon Sibley as commissioners with the Ottawa, Chippewas, and Pottawatomi.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien was commissioned Justice of the Peace

September 10, 1825, for Peoria County at Chicago (now called Cook County.) The Clerk of Peoria County, Illinois, writes that his earliest records commence March 8, 1825. From these records I learn that John Kinzie was commissioned Justice of the Peace July 28, 1825. He was the first Justice of the Peace resident in Chicago. Alexander Walcott, his son-in-law, and Jean Baptiste Beaubien were commissioned September 10, 1825. The clerk also sent me copies of two poll-books used at Chicago, one at an election held August 7, 1826, containing thirty-five names; the other at an election held August 2, 1830, containing thirty-two names; thus showing a decrease of three voters in four years.

The judges in 1826 were John Kinzie, Jean B. Beaubien, and Billy Caldwell. The clerks were Archibald Clybourne and John K. Clark. The election was held at the Agency House (called "Cobweb Castle") in Chicago Precinct, Peoria County. The Agency House was on the north side and was the second house built in Chicago, the house John Kinzie lived in being the first. The Indian Agent was Dr. Alexander Wolcott, who died in 1830. He was a son-in-law of John Kinzie and his marriage was the first one in Chicago. It occurred in 1823.

The judges in 1830 were Russell E. Heacock, the first lawyer to settle in Chicago, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, and James Kinzie. The clerks were Medore B. Beaubien and Jesse Walker. The election of 1830 was held in the house of James Kinzie, Chicago Precinct, Peoria County. This house was on the West Side, near the forks of the river. The South Side had no status at that time, there being nothing then on that side except the fort and lighthouse building and the log houses of the two Beaubien brothers and of Medore B. Beaubien, son of Jean B. Beaubien, who kept a store on South Water and Dearborn Streets; one brother residing at the Lake shore and one near the forks of the river with such a marsh between that much of the time their most convenient way of visiting each other was in boats on the river.

The names of voters in 1830 indicate the influx of Americans of different racial origin, among them one Irishman, probably the first Irishman who ever trod the Chicago soil.[3] His name was Michael

[3] Several writers have said that Michael Welch here spoken of was the first Irishman in Chicago. He was no doubt the first Irish-born permanent settler and resident, which of course is a distinction worthy of claiming, but there were several others of Irish nationality here prior to Welch as shown by the records of the government and of Fort Dearborn garrison and otherwise. The first act in the location of Chicago was the establishment of Fort Dearborn by Captain John

Welch. What have our many Irish aldermen been thinking of that they have never given us in honor of this early permanent settler a Welch avenue, or Welch street, or Welch school-house? He was a discharged soldier, and having faithfully served out his time he stopped long enough to vote the straight Jackson ticket and joined Captain Jesse Brown's Rangers.

Whistler in 1803. Whistler was the first white man to dwell upon the site which was first officially named Chicago. True, Marquette and the two Frenchmen who accompanied him had remained within what is now the limits of Chicago for four months as early as the winter of 1674-5. Frenchmen had touched here often and there was perhaps a French post here at an early day. A French woman, Madam La Compt, is said to have lived here with her husband and family in the middle of the eighteenth century. The colored man, Point du Sable, lived here some years. He was succeeded by Le Mai and there is a tradition of a De Guary. Antoine Ouilmette is known to have been in the neighborhood of what is now Chicago as early as 1790, but when Captain Whistler came here and established the fort, he and the white men he brought with him were the only white men in the territory that is now included within the city of Chicago. It seems fair, therefore, to say that Whistler and his men were the first Chicagoans.

Captain John Whistler was born in Ireland and he had with him several men of Irish birth or blood. Very soon after the establishment of the fort, several Irishmen were here. Thomas Burns and Charles Lee, who resided in the second and third houses respectively on the north side of the river, adjoining the old house that Point du Saible or Le Mai built, and that John Kinzie bought in 1804 when he came here first, were Irish, and probably Liberty White, who lived on Lee's farm on the south branch of the river called "Hard Scrabble," was Irish. These men and some of their families were killed in the Fort Dearborn Massacre. A very distinguished Irishman in the person of Matthew Irwin was the Government Factor here in 1810. William Caldwell, the son of an Irish colonel in the English army and a man of merit, was here as early as 1812 and became a resident in 1816.

A goodly number of the members of the garrison at Fort Dearborn at the time of the Massacre in 1812 were Irish. Amongst them may be mentioned: Ensign George Rowan, Sergeant Otho Hayes, Sergeant William Griffith, Corporal Thomas Forth, Fifer John Smith, Drummer Hugh McPherson, Drummer John Hamilton, Privates James Corbin, Phelim Corbin, Dyson Dyer, Daniel Dougherty, John Fury, Samuel Kilpatrick, Michael Lynch, Hugh Logan, Duncan McCarty, John Smith, and John Simmons.

Welch was, however, a very early and a worthy resident. He came here some time between 1816 and 1820 and bought 160 acres of land from the government with hard cash he brought with him. He had been a soldier in the service of the United States government and soon became a soldier again. He was the pioneer of a very worthy Irish Catholic family that has done honor to Chicago ever since and was a credit to his race. The story of Michael Walsh, as he was more frequently called, is being prepared for publication in the near future in the columns of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW and we predict it will prove of great interest to our readers.

I also have the assessment-roll of John Bogardus, assessor of Peoria County for the year 1825, dated July 25th.

The entire valuation, land then being not taxable, of all the property in Chicago was $9,047, and the rate was one per cent. But the property of the American Fur Company was assessed to John Crafts, its agent, at $5,000. He was a bachelor and died the next year and Mr. Kinzie was appointed in his place. Deducting the American Fur Company's assessment we have only $4,047 as the personal property of Chicago in 1825, $40.47 as the tax, and thirteen as the number of tax payers.

On December 8, 1829, Archibald Clybourne, Samuel Millar and Jean B. Beaubien were appointed as the first school trustees. Jean Baptiste Beaubien was elected president of the Debating Society about 1830. The Militia of Cook County was organized in 1834 by electing Jean B. Beaubien as colonel at the tavern owned by Barney H. Laughton near Lyons on the Desplaines River, now Riverside, then kept by Stephen J. Scott. He was commissioned Brigadier-General in 1855 by the Governor of Illinois. The first piano brought to Chicago was by Jean B. Beaubien about 1834, also the first carriage, and one of his oldest daughters, Monique, was sent to Detroit to be educated in a convent.

Josette Laframboise Beaubien, wife of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, died in 1845 at Desplaines, Illinois. From this marriage twelve children were born. The first one, George Beaubien, was born in Chicago in 1814, and died in 1829. All of the children from this marriage were born in Chicago.

General Jean B. Beaubien's third wife was Catherine Louise Penney. They were married in 1855. She was twenty-seven years of age at the time of her marriage. She came from New York City. She had four children from this marriage.

General Jean Baptiste Beaubien died at Naperville, Illinois, January 25, 1863. He was buried at the old Beaubien family burying ground at Naperville, January 27, 1863.

Catherine Louise Penney Beaubien died in Chicago, December 30, 1910. She is buried at Forest Home, Chicago. Her son, Isadore Beaubien, is the donor of the epauletts worn by General Jean Baptiste Beaubien in the Fort Dearborn case at the Chicago Historical Society library and museum.

Mark Beaubien

Marc or Mark Beaubien, born April 25, 1800, at Detroit, Michigan, who was a brother of General Jean Baptiste Beaubien,

married Monique Nadeau, March 13, 1817, at Monroe, Michigan. She was seventeen years of age at the time of her marriage. They had six children born in Monroe and their names are—Josette, Mark, Oliver, Joseph, Emily and Soliston. They moved to Chicago in 1827, Soliston then being the baby. He was born in 1826. It is known by all the family that Soliston was nursing when they came to Chicago and that the father came here first to visit his brother in 1826. His oldest son, Mark, Jr., became a merchant in Chicago in 1836. His ninth child, George W. Beaubien, was the first child baptized a Roman Catholic in Chicago on May 22, 1833. Monique Nadeau Beaubien had sixteen children by their marriage. She died at Naperville, 1847.

Mark Beaubien's second wife was Elizabeth Mathieu, who was born in Quebec, Canada, March 6, 1817, daughter of François Mathieu. They were married at Aurora, Illinois, September 3, 1848, and had seven children by their marriage. Mark Beaubien was adept on the violin and he aroused the spirit of the pioneers with dances at the Sauganash Tavern in the thirties.

Mark Beaubien on June 8, 1830, got his license to keep Tavern at the Sauganash. He named the Sauganash after Billy Caldwell, whose Indian name was Sauganash. Archibald Caldwell was the first one to receive a license to keep Tavern on December 8, 1829, and Mark Beaubien and Alexander Robinson got their licenses on the same date, June 8, 1830 (which comes next to Caldwell). The Sauganash Hotel was at the corner of Lake and Market Streets. Rovinson tavern was on the west side of the river near Caldwell's. Samuel Miller afterwawrds had a tavern on the north side of the river and east side of North Branch near the Forks.

In the spring of 1834 he sold the Sauganash to John Murphy, who continued the hotel, and John Wentworth boarded there in 1836. Then Beaubien bought a small brick house that stood at the northwest corner of Lake and Wells Street from Archibald Steele, which was the first brick house in Chicago. Mr. Steele made the brick himself. He sold the house in the spring of 1834 to my father, Mark Beaubien, who added on a frame addition. Mark called it the "Illinois Exchange". He did not keep the hotel very long. He then rented it and moved across the street. Then again he moved to Kishwaukee, near Rockford, Illinois, and stayed there a short time, then came back to Chicago in 1840. He finally traded the Illinois Exchange to Richard Sweet for a farm of 260 acres at Naperville, Illinois, where he kept Tavern and Toll-gate for the Chicago Plankroad in 1841.

Mark Beaubien moved back to Chicago in 1854. He was

appointed lighthouse keeper. The lighthouse stood where the Rush Street Bridge now stands on the south side of the river and on the west side of the bridge. The stone house connected to the lighthouse, and which belonged to the government, stood east of the bridge and extended part way into the river the same as the lighthouse. I remember when the river was being enlarged, one corner of the stone house which we were living in at the time gave way and next morning we moved to the north side on Pine Street near Ohio Street. The lighthouse was abandoned and the government built a new lighthouse and residence for the keeper in 1856 or 1857.

Father resigned as keeper about 1858. I remember the ferry that crossed the Chicago River where Rush Street Bridge is now located. One morning a vessel struck the rope which guided the ferry, loaded with laborers going to work, capsized the ferry boat and several were drowned. I was standing on our fence near the edge of the river and saw them bring in the bodies; this was about 1856. The new lighthouse was built at the north pier at the mouth of the river.

After father resigned as keeper he moved back to his farm at Naperville in 1859. Then he moved back again to Chicago in 1862 and kept the Fort Dearborn Hotel on River Street near Rush Street Bridge, where Hoyt's Wholesale Store stands.

Father was always a jolly fellow and a good entertainer. I have often heard him say that when people came here in the early thirties and saw Chicago but a mud hole and swamp, they would get discouraged and wanted to go back East. He would tell them that Chicago would be a great city and would show them all the advantages for it and coaxed some of them to stay here. He would then give them a lot and tell them to pay for it when they could or he would give them a lot free. This is one of the reasons he was so beloved by the pioneers of Chicago.

He also kept the ferry at Lake Street and the South Branch of the Chicago River about 1831. He also built the first frame house, "The Sauganash Hotel," in Chicago. The first Mass that was said here by an ordained priest of the Roman Catholic Church was by Father St. Cyr and was held in a small house adjacent to the Sauganash, owned by Mark Beaubien. I have copies of two letters received from Father St. Cyr by Hon. John Wentworth in 1880, which I insert here:

CARONDELET, MO., January 19, 1880.

John Wentworth.

DEAR SIR—I must in the first place thank you for the pamphlet you had the kindness to send me, and in which I found several names of persons with whom

I was well acquainted: for instance, Mr. Mark Beaubien and also Medore B., the Taylors and others. As to the questions proposed in your letter, I will answer them as briefly as possible. I was born in France on 2d November, 1803, in the Department of the Rhone, in the Archdivision of Lyons. My classical, philosophical and theological studies I also made in France. But in the beginning of June, 1831, I left my native country for America. My destination was St. Louis, Mo., where I arrived on the 1st day of August, 1831; and after eighteen months spent in the study of the English language, I was ordained priest on the 6th day of April, 1833, by the Rt. Rev. Rosati, first Bishop of St. Louis. Twelve days after, I was to Chicago, Ill., by the same Bishop: at which place I arrived on the 1st of May, 1833. I was received by Mark Beaubien who gave me a kind hospitality for over a year. Immediately after my arrival I set to work to build a church, which was completed for divine service about the middle of October, 1833. I had no predecessor, for I was the first Catholic priest that ever resided in Chicago. My immediate successor was Father B. Schaeffer, who came to Chicago in November, 1836, and remained with me until I left again for St. Louis on the 17th of April, 1837. Rev. B. Schaeffer (who died soon after) had as successor Father O'Meara, who was succeeded by the Very Rev. Maurice de St. Palais, afterwards Bishop of Vincennes. He remained as pastor of the English-speaking congregation in Chicago until the appointment and consecration of Very Rev. Quarter as first Bishop of Chicago. As to the records of baptism and marriages, I left them in the hands of the above named, Rev. B. Schaeffer.

I remain, dear sir, your most humble servant,

J. M. I. St. Cyr.

From this it appears that although the Methodists had Rev. Jesse Walker and Rev. Stephen R. Beggs, and the Presbyterians had Rev. Jeremiah Porter here before Father St. Cyr came, yet to him should be credited the erection of Chicago's first church building, which will be remembered by many of our old settlers.

(Continued in October number)

Frank G. Beaubien.

Chicago.

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COMMENDATION OF MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN

This publication is one we can be proud of. It is gotten up in an attractive form and its contents are interesting and instructive. I have been complimented on it and have heard it praised in many quarters. * * * The Society should receive encouragement from every source, and all who possibly can should enroll in its membership. * * * I need not add that your work has not only my blessing, it has my encouragement. It has every aid I can give it.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

An Objective—Reports from the seat of war during the last few years have made us familiar with the term "objective". Every army move had an objective, and so we have learned to talk of our civilian affairs when directed to a given end as having an objective.

In this sense the objective of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a subject of interest; what may we hope to accomplish and when may definite stages along our road of progress be expected to be reached?

With respect to the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, the answer to these inquiries can be quite definitely given. Concerning the REVIEW, our objective is the publication of a strictly first-class historical quarterly, permanently maintained at the high standard set by the first volume just completed. Stages of accomplishment will be marked by the completion of each succeeding volume and their finding a place on the shelves of high-class libraries and collections throughout the State and country.

We think it will be conceded that this alone is a worthy and worth-while objective, and there may be those who would be content with this alone.

We are convinced, however, that there is a need for something more which the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY is peculiarly adapted to provide, and that is a concrete body of authentic history. And as we see it, the presentation of the history of the Illinois country in a manner to do justice to the Catholic aspect of such history involves two quite extensive works which may be termed (1), Sources; and (2), Narrative.

Under "Sources" should be gathered all reliable data of a documentary nature having a bearing upon the Catholic record as it has been made during the

progress of civilization in the territory. This data consists mainly of four classes: 1, the writings of the early discoverers, missionaries and explorers, some of which are to be found reproduced in the *Jesuit Relations* and others in other publications; 2, parish and other records; 3, letters and reports of later missionaries and travelers such as are to be found in the Annals of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and of the Leopoldine Association; 4, letters, documents and files of the several diocesan archives, churches, colleges and other institutions.

Coming now to the "story": We would find that both an interesting and an extensive undertaking. It would seem both advisable and feasible to divide such a work into five or six volumes: Volume one of which might cover the Church in Early Illinois for the period from 1673 when Father Marquette first visited the region to 1844 when the Diocese of Chicago was organized; volume two, the History of the Chicago Diocese; volume three, the History of the Peoria Diocese; volume four, the History of the Alton Diocese; volume five, the History of the Belleville Diocese; and volume six, the History of the Rockford Diocese.

Needless to say, both of these works, Sources and Narrative, should be both exhaustive and entirely reliable and should be published as scientific works without the slightest element of local or other coloring.

Here then are two sets of books aggregating ten volumes, and the question naturally arises: How can such an undertaking be successfully accomplished and when can the work be completed?

In answer to these inquiries it may be suggested that with respect to the source books, the work of gathering together documents and letters that have been published here and there can be rather expeditiously done, and with some organization all of the source matter can be collected within a reasonably short period. As the story depends largely upon the sources, it will necessarily await to a certain extent the completion of the source books.

The entire Mississippi Valley from Canada to New Orleans and from the Alleghenies to the Rockies is interested in the publication of such a source work as we have indicated. Catholics throughout that entire region should assist in the production of such a work. Catholic Historical Societies where organized, and each state at least should maintain a Catholic Historical Society, should participate in this work, and there can be no question but that a projected work of that kind can be sold upon a prospectus on subscription for a sufficient sum to pay for its publication.

Regarding the story or history proper, an arrangement would seem feasible by which volume one might be prepared and published independently, and each of the other volumes prepared and published by the diocese it represents, all to be uniform, however, and under the superintendence and editorship of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society.

Now as to the completion of the work: April 11, 1925, will be the 250th anniversary of the establishment of the Catholic Church in the Illinois Country, the foundation of the Church in the entire Mississippi Valley. This generation of Catholics will hardly witness a more important anniversary. What would be more appropriate as a memorial of such a period in our history than an authentic record such as the history we have outlined would constitute?

If, therefore, by effective organization, so as to bring into play the energies

of not alone our own society, but that of all Catholic societies, clubs and organizations and all Catholics in general, we can during the nearly six years ending in 1925, maintain our quarterly at its present splendid standard, put it on a sound financial basis so that it may continue uninterrupted, and also put in enduring form the evidences upon which our record is based and the story of progress to that time, we will have accomplished a most meritorious objective.

Undoubted Permanence the Aim of the Society—Feeling that the necessity and practicability of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW published by it have been demonstrated by the signal success of the past year, the chief solicitude of the founders and promoters is for the permanence of the society and its work.

Sufficient funds being one of the essentials of permanence, plans have been laid to provide and accumulate the funds necessary, not only to carry the present running cost of the work but as well to guarantee the future of the organization. These plans contemplate an endowment fund of $50,000 to be invested in interest-bearing securities, the income from which will be available for the work of the society.

The net income of a fund of this size would not be sufficient to pay all of the current cost. Indeed, it would pay but about one-half of the running expenses; and the remainder must be met by current income, which seems easily possible even according to our experience of the past year.

One-half of this permanent fund will be provided by men of means who are willing to guarantee this undertaking, several of whom have already pledged themselves accordingly. The remainder of the fund will be made up of smaller donations of which the society has already received over one hundred.

Needless to say, only the safest investments will be considered for this fund, such as bonds or mortgages on Catholic church property or government, state or municipal bonds.

Every reader is an agent for the solicitation and accumulation of this fund and everyone interested in the objects of the Society is solicited to help in the creation of the fund.

Now for the Record—Catholics and the Church have been making history in Illinois for nearly two hundred and fifty years. Now let us write it down.

On June 17, 1673, the devoted Jesuit Father Marquette and his sterling Catholic companion Louis Jolliet pushed their frail canoe into the waters of the Mississippi River just above the northern boundary of Illinois and became the discoverers and explorers of the Mississippi and of Illinois. On April 11, 1675, the same Father Marquette, in fulfillment of a promise so to do, established the Catholic Church in Illinois. Since those days the Catholic Church has been the one ever-present witness and participant of every development in this territory and State. None other, therefore, is so well qualified to attest the story of that development, and in the history of the Church here will be found the history of the State so intertwined that neither can be properly and truthfully told without the other.

The plans are laid for telling this wonderful story of two and a half centuries. A special organization has been formed to have immediate charge of

the work, namely, the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, under the approval and direction of the Hierarchy of the State, and all Catholics and all Catholic Societies have been invited and urged to co-operate in the work, that we may have the story in all its details by the occurrence of the 250th anniversary of the planting of the Church.

The invitation to join in this work is meeting a hearty response. Already numbers of the clergy and laity have come to the aid of the movement and the first year of the work has closed with splendid success. Eight thousand copies of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, a publication that has been pronounced by competent critics to rank with the best historical periodicals, have been distributed and a great deal of historical matter and data has been collected.

The Catholic Societies have begun to make their co-operation practical by affiliating with the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and appointing representatives to help gather historical data. At its meeting on May 12, 1919, the *Illinois State Court Catholic Order of Foresters* adopted resolutions of affiliation and making a contribution toward the expense of the work, and on Tuesday, May 13, 1919, the *State Council of the Knights of Columbus* adopted resolutions of affiliation and a quite complete program for helping in the historical work. The stage of action has not yet been reached by other societies and clubs, but all are interested in the work and will do what they can to forward it.

Let us all get together and put this great work "over the top" by 1925, as we have been "putting over" the big war work for which Catholics may justly claim a large measure of credit.

Momentous History in the Making—While the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY is in no sense a news gatherer or reporter, it can appropriately take note of great events that are certain to be written into history. Such are the leading facts and moves in relation to the great world war now nearing final adjustment.

Statistics of the great struggle will be found more appropriately elsewhere and will be more reliable at a later date. The big outstanding facts are all that may be definitely stated and dwelt upon now. The details will be supplied by reports and records that are not now easily available.

It will be of interest to record, however, that we have lived through the progress of the most stupendous war in the world's history. That the magnitude of this world cataclysm surpassed the wildest human conception of war. That the dead of the war are counted in the millions and that the destruction of property was simply appalling.

There is some comfort, however, in recording that the World War has been ended by an understanding in which for the first time in all history the principal nations of the earth have joined and prepared covenants of mutual agreement the purposes of which are the prevention of war and the regulation of the affairs of nations on the same principles of justice and morality as those of individuals.

The possibility of the defeat of this understanding or of its failure to bring about the desired results does not take from the understanding itself its historic

character. The World War and the Peace Conference with its deliberations and its results will go down in history side by side as the greatest world events to their respective dates.

It seems proper to record also that the movement for the settlement of what has become known as the "Irish Question" has gained such an impetus that it must lead to the disenthrallment of that unhappy people. In all the years, even centuries that the friends of Ireland and her own maltreated sons and daughters groaning under oppression have asked for justice no such a universal favorable response has been made. It would seem now that Great Britain must do justice to her weaker neighbor or stand condemned at the bar of the world.

The long-suffering Poles and other oppressed nationalities are to have their freedom, and it is inconceivable, if we are entering upon the "New Day" of which we have been told and for which we so ardently long, that Ireland alone should remain enslaved.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Era of the Civil War. *Volume III of the Centennial History, by Arthur Charles Cole of the Univeristy of Illinois, Clarence Walworth Alvord, Editor-in-Chief. Published under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Commission.* Springfield, Ill., 1919.

Volume III of the Centennial History of Illinois is from the press and is uniform with volume II heretofore noted in these columns. Volume I has not yet appeared, but is said to be in a forward state of publication.

These volumes should be extremely interesting, especially by reason of the fact that they are the product of a scientific and systematic effort at writing the history of the State by persons specially selected for the purpose, selected expressly because of their fitness on account of training as students or teachers of history.

The writers of these volumes have been afforded every facility for the preparation of their manuscripts. The source material of the world has been placed at their disposal and no expense has been spared to secure whatever material would assist in the work. There have been none of the handicaps from which the private writer or investigator must suffer. Everything everywhere was open to them and every aid and convenience furnished them. If the volumes are excellent it is a demonstration that good use was made of the opportunities afforded as well as that the writers were able and competent.

The merits of the books in this series have been commended in these columns and it can be frankly said that Volume III is a better piece of book writing than Volume II and immeasurably better than the introductory volume, *Illinois in 1818.* However, a protest is imperative against a noticeable neglect of the Catholic record and against the unjust attitude displayed toward the Irish in the State's history.

It may be asked, "What did you expect? Did you think that history could be written for any particular religion or nationality or modified to please classes or to suit circumstances?" No. It is freely admitted that history is a statement of facts and that facts cannot be modified. But here is the concrete indictment of the volumes of the Centennial History of Illinois so far written, as regards things Catholic: Catholics and the Catholic Church have been practically ignored. Although there never was a time in the history

of Illinois when the Catholic Church membership in Illinois did not constitute a very large percentage of the population of the Territory or the State, more at some times than all of the other churches combined,—yet the space given it is infinitesimal as compared with that given other churches. Although at all times the Catholic has been active in every educational and charitable work, frequently doing more than all other church organizations combined, he gets little or no mention.

The present volume has two chapters that deal with religion, namely Chapter X, *Church and School,* and Chapter XX, *Religion and Education.* In Chapter X nine pages are given to a description of the work of the churches, and the wonderful progress of the Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Lutherans and Episcopalians is detailed. The Catholic Church gets two mentions as follows: "The Chicago of 1850 with twenty-six institutions representing almost every denomination from Catholic to Swedenborgian, freethinkers to Orthodox Jews, was known as the 'city of Churches.'" (p. 245). Again: "The Catholic Church was gaining steadily in the larger cities from the heavy immigration of Irish and foreign Catholics. The Right Reverend James Oliver Van de Velde was installed as successor to Bishop William Quarter as Bishop of Chicago in 1848, but gave way five years later to Bishop Anthony O'Regan; neither of these, however, aroused the enthusiastic co-operation of the clergy or laity. The See of Quincy was established in 1852, followed in 1857 by the erection of the episcopate of Alton. At the close of the decade the Catholics established the *Western Banner* as their organ at Chicago." (P. 248.) The first Catholic paper published in Chicago was the *Western Tablet,* not *"Banner,"* and the first issue of it was dated January 31, 1852.

Chapter XX contains this reference: "The Catholics made progress in spite of the contentions that developed under the later years of Bishop Duggan's administration. Over one-half of the population of Chicago was Catholic; yet those included almost entirely persons of foreign birth or parentage since the increase was largely the result of immigration. One of the problems of the Church was to Americanize the congregations; the Irish, however, often objected to the assignment of a priest who was not himself an Irishman.

"The Catholics labored not only under the difficulty of internal heterogeneity but also of external criticism. In 1867 considerable anti-Catholic feeling developed in Illinois when the Reverend J. G.

White, of Jacksonville, a fearless champion of Protestantism, went about the state lecturing on 'Romanism'. In Quincy he was disturbed at his first lecture and actually prevented by a hostile mob from delivering the rest of his series there. Mayor Pitman, a democrat, was appealed to for protection, but he instructed the City Marshal to prevent the lecture; Governor Oglesby, however, declared that the right of free speech should be maintained. White as well as several other radical Protestant ministers continued to give his lectures in the following years with the result that disturbances took place at Bloomington in 1868 and in Springfield in 1869." (Pp. 425-6.)

That and nothing more of the Catholics of Illinois from 1848 to 1870. There were Catholics but they were foreigners. Their bishops didn't arouse enthusiasm. They had internal differences and most important of all "Reverend J. G. White [Where now is White?] . . . *a fearless champion of Protestantism,* went about the State lecturing on 'Romanism.'" And the Catholics really objected in some places, objected to his slanders of defenseless women and his brazen falsehoods as to Catholic teachings and practices. A "democratic" Mayor was appealed to and didn't sustain White, but Governor Oglesby "declared the right of free speech should be maintained." These were the big outstanding historical facts relating to Catholics and the Catholic Church in Illinois during a period of twenty-two years and the only ones worthy to find a place in this comprehensive history.

Much as this work is to be admired and though we are loath to complain, it must be said that this treatment of an important element of the population of the state is indefensible and unpardonable. Detailed comment would be superfluous.

But what of the Irish? The authors of these volumes so far published have included a few lines in each book about the Irish and have perhaps considered that they have themselves said nothing derogatory of the Irish. What reference they have made has been largely by way of quotation. One may wonder just why the particular quotations, instead of thousands of others that were available, were used. To go back a little, read the quotation Mr. Buck uses on page 165 of his *Illinois in 1818.* Mr. Buck says that "John Mason Peck, Baptist missionary, after a survey of educational conditions in Missouri," said amongst other things: "Not a few drunken, profane, worthless Irishmen were perambulating the country, and getting up schools; and yet they neither speak, read,

pronounce, spell, or write the English language.'' That was John Mason Peck, whose bigotry was well-known to Buck and everyone else who has read anything of the early days of Missouri and Illinois when and where he flourished. Peck was, however, talking of Missouri. On his own account and responsibility Mr. Buck says: ''The situation in Illinois was very similar.'' It should be noted that this gratuitous insult was by order of the Centennial Commission cut from the plates of the volume and the private edition of the book does not contain it.

It is interesting to look at Dr. Cole's quotations in the present volume and one will again wonder why he selected just these from amongst hundreds of others that would seem just as apropos. In Chapter I, *Passing of the Frontier,* Dr. Cole is telling of the several racial elements and especially of internal improvements and after speaking of the Irishman possessing ''two strains, sometimes combined in the same individual,'' he says:

> But to the people of Illinois the Irishman more often appeared in another guise. To them he was pictured as the noisy, quarrelsome, seeker after excitement, who found it in the company of John Barleycorn, in bloody street brawls, and even in the lower depths of crime. When an overwhelming majority of the visitors at police court were repeatedly reported to be Irishmen, it was not surprising that the public should make such adverse deductions. [As authority for this paragraph Mr. Cole cites *The Aurora Beacon* of September 14, 1848.] ''The common practice of contemporary journalists was reflected in the point raised,'' says Mr. Cole, ''by the Chicago *Tribune,* December 23, 1853: 'Why do our police reports always average two representatives from ''Erin, the soft Green Isle of the ocean'' to one for almost any other inhabitable land on the earth? Why are the instigators and ringleaders of our riots and tumults, in nine cases out of ten, Irishmen?' '' Proceeding, Mr. Cole says: ''There followed a report of a riot at La Salle and the murder of a contractor by a set of Irishmen. The *Tribune,* aroused to the point of approving action under lynch law [says Mr. Cole] declared: 'Had the whole thirty-two prisoners that were taken been marched out and shot on the spot, as the citizens did the Driskels in Ogle County some years ago, the public judgment would have sanctioned it at once!' '' (p. 22.)

So much for the quotation and Dr. Cole's way of putting it. His remarks anent the matter should be given, too, in justice to him. Apropos of these newspaper impressions Mr. Cole says:

> A more careful analysis, however, revealed a situation that scarcely warranted such a superficial judgment. The railroad contractors were often shrewd schemers and hard men who sought to impose upon the ignorant Irish laborers and to direct matters to their own advantage. Palpably unfair treatment was

almost certain to arouse the temper of the hot-headed Irishman. As it was, however, thousands quietly submitted to conditions upon the public works that brought death or ill health from exposure to miasmi, bad accommodations in camps and shanties, and from improper diet; when sickness fell upon them they were discharged and turned loose upon the world. It is to be remembered, moreover, that the Irishmen who drew the fire of public criticism were largely members of the sturdy band of humble toilers, brutalized by the religious and political oppression and economic exploitation of their native Ireland, and in this land of opportunity which they had so eagerly sought deprived of contact with the finer forces.

The sense of all of which is quite obscure, but, let us hope, stated with good intentions.

From other quotations in this volume we learn that there was such a man as James Shields in the State. Shields was elected to the United States Senate and not all of the papers were pleased. In a footnote on page 63 the *Southern Advocate* is quoted: "When such men as McClernand and Breese are beaten by an arrogant, vain, ignorant, *lying* Irishman, it is high time that all men who respect their characters should retire in disgust from the political arena."

During the period treated in this volume the matter of education was being worked out and there was some difficulty in securing competent teachers. A choice quotation is used by the author on page 239 as bearing upon the subject of selecting instructors:

"Do you propose to fill the professorships with bogtrotters from Tipperary in the same way that you fill the police and the post offices?" (Quoted from the *Illinois State Journal,* April 15, 1859.)

Mr. Cole did find that there were some Irish in the Civil War, at least some of them enlisted. After stating that the Germans were very active he says: "The Irish were not to be outdone. In a week's time they organized in Chicago The Twenty-third Illinois, otherwise called the Irish Brigade, which was accepted as an independent regiment under Colonel James A. Mulligan. Irish companies from Springfield and Rockford also tendered their services. The following year the 'Cameron Guards' were recruited at the capital, while the 'Ryan Guards' from Galena and other companies were being organized for a Chicago regiment. The 'Irish Legion,' the Nineteenth Infantry, was mustered into service at Chicago in the late summer of 1862." (p. 281.)

And that is all the mention the Irish get in connection with the Civil War. There are a few things wrong with what *is* said, as for example the order of precedence. Mr. Andreas in his *History of*

Chicago tells us: "The Shield's Guards was the first Chicago Company that took measures to offer its services to the Government." This offer was made on January 14, 1861. (Andreas, Vol. II, p. 161.) Again, Mr. Cole makes quite a serious mistake in referring to the "Irish Legion". It was the Ninetieth Infantry instead of the Nineteenth. Of course the most serious complaint against Mr. Cole in this connection is his omissions. He tells us nothing about the gallant record of Shields and Mulligan, never mentions General Michael Kelly Lawler or his Eighteenth Infantry, amongst the very first to be mustered into the service, ahead of any Chicago regiment. This is the General Lawler of whom General Grant said: "When it comes to just plain fighting, I would rather trust old Mike Lawler than any of them." Nor does he mention the gallant Colonel William F. Lynch and his McClellan Brigade, the Fifty-eighth Infantry. It may be answered that he wasn't writing a history of the Irish. That is true and quite evident.

But Mr. Cole does say still more about the Irish. He manages to find several items of interest concerning the Irish in politics and also in relation to the Fenian movement. The Fenian movement was strong in Illinois and Mr. Cole treats it sympathetically. He remarks upon its popularity as follows: "Oddly enough there was little criticism of this attempt to accomplish by force, in spite of American neutrality regulations, what might more lawfully have been attempted by political methods." (p. 345.) He sums up the movement as follows: "After the fiasco certain Republican papers were ready to confess their 'infinite disgust and contempt for this whole Fenian business;' but before the attempted invasion, the only clear-cut opponent of the Fenian brotherhood was Bishop James Duggan of the diocese of Chicago, who placed it under the ban of the Church against secret societies. So formidable had been this Irish movement that no attempt was made within the state to check it. The democrats commended the zeal for liberty displayed by the Fenians and heaped encomiums upon the Irish, while the Republicans saw no propriety in opposing it. Governor Yates and the State officers graced with their presence Fenian entertainments in Springfield and noticed invitations to other celebrations with letters of regret commending the principles of the organization." (Pp. 345-6.)

There will perhaps be some disagreement as to what Mr. Cole says of the Irish Republicans and their origin. He says that although the Fenians disclaimed political affiliations "yet it was known that the organization served as a powerful auxiliary to the democratic party."

He says, however, that a misstep of the Chicago *Times* caused some dissatisfaction and the Republicans took advantage of the rift created. "A recruiting agent for the republican party was found in John Pope Hodnett, a talented young Irish orator, who had participated in establishing the Irish Republic in Chicago to further both the Fenian cause and the republican party." So, now we have the Fenians as both a Democratic and Republican adjunct. "Shortly before the election of 1868," says Mr. Cole, "came the first significant break in the Democratic solidarity of the Irish voters. The continued harping of the Republican press upon the 'tyranny' to which the Irish tamely submitted in the Democratic party—the clever insinuation that a small and corrupt native minority blandly exploited them to get into office —fanned into a blaze the smoldering discontent of the more restive Irishmen. They beheld certain attractions in the Republican party with its fetish of freedom for the oppressed and with its anti-British tariff policy. In July, 1868, Hodnett, assisted by Alderman Arthur Dixon and J. F. Scanlan, organized an Irish Republican Club in Chicago to support the Republican national ticket. Such change in political alignment called forth a vigorous protest from the standpat Irish Democrats. The hall engaged by the Republicans was invaded by members of Irish Democratic clubs led by Aldermen Rafferty and Comiskey and a battle royal took place; in the *melée* stones, clubs, torchlights, and sling-shots were freely used and several persons were seriously wounded. When similar Republican clubs were organized in other cities they encountered the same hostility from the old-guard Irish." (P. 347.)

Thus prejudiced and exaggerated newspaper reports are made the basis of history and convey a false impression respecting an important element of the population.

In the particulars mentioned this book is unfair. It is unjust to publish and circulate at public expense a book as unfair as this even if there were but few Catholics or Irish in the state, and it is proportionately more unjust when there are one and a half millions of Catholics in the state and more than a quarter of a million of Irish.

Now, why should this book be written in just this way? There are several possible answers. Some may say because it is correct. The Catholics and the Irish got what was coming to them. None but bigots unable to judge of history and unqualified to write history would so contend. The writer of course will assert that considering the particular periods treated he has done his best to present the

outstanding features of the record of each element of the population. And finally it may be argued that other facts were not available. That nothing of greater importance relating to the Catholics and the Irish was found.

As this last suggestion is likely to be one upon which greatest reliance may be placed, it is worth while to again direct attention to the fact that all the information in the world was available to the writers of these books. If it were necessary to expend a hundred dollars or a thousand to get requisite information, such sums were available at every stage of the preparation of the manuscript. Did the securing of the information involve labor, study, research—any difficulty—the writers had the means at hand from the public treasury to provide what was needed and the time to allot to it.

It will be freely admitted that historical data regarding the Catholic Church and the Irish in Illinois is not nearly so conveniently available as is the data concerning many other subjects, but it may confidently be asserted that there is in existence more authentic source material regarding the Church in Illinois than there is with reference to any other facts that have a historical bearing. True, the quantity of such material is not uniform for all periods, but there has been no period of which there has been such an absolute dearth of materials as is indicated by the poverty of reference in Volumes II and III.

In spite of these facts these books show that convenient availability of materials has influenced their preparation. A single instance will suffice to illustrate. The Germans, their coming, their settlements, their activities in politics, in education, in music, their progress and prosperity all are elaborately set forth. No other topic commands nearly so much favorable and well-merited notice. But how comes it that the Germans can have page after page devoted to a recital of their part in the same transactions in which Catholics and Irish joined in the same period while the latter receive scant mention. The key may be found in what has already been suggested, easy availability of information. In 1909 the family of Gustave Koerner, in his lifetime Judge and Lieutenant-Governor, had his writings published in two encyclopedic volumes of more than seven hundred pages each. These volumes are filled with the achievements and activities of the Germans in Illinois. They abound in historical facts and data and cover completely the period of which Mr. Cole is writing in Volume III. They afforded him a mine of historical

material ready to hand, and the best evidence that he availed himself of it lies in the fact that he very frequently quotes from the pages of the work. In casually thumbing over the pages of Mr. Cole's book it is seen that Koerner is quoted and referred to in footnotes as many as twenty-six times in three chapters. The Germans in Illinois owe Gustave Koerner still another debt in addition to the many obligations they were under to him for all that he did in the world of activity of his day. Due to his writings, preserved and published by his people, the Germans of Illinois have been fairly written into the official history of Illinois.

This affords the Catholics, the Irish, and perhaps others in Illinois some food for reflection. It is not hard to point the moral. Who wants his light to shine should first ignite it, discard the bushel, and then give a little attention to the trimming of the wick.

It cannot for a moment be conceded, however, that mere difficulty in obtaining data—any difficulty, indeed, short of virtual impossibility—would justify the grossly inadequate treatment of Catholicity in these books under the circumstances of their preparation.

Having said all this about what must be considered serious faults in this latest volume of *The Centennial History of Illinois,* it is now only just to speak of the admirable features of the work. The treatment is in twenty-one chapters: I, The Passing of the Frontier. II, The Coming of the Railroads. III, Agitation and Compromise. IV, Prairie Farming and Banking. V, The Kansas-Nebraska Act. VI, The Origin of the Republican Party. VII, The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. VIII, The Election of 1860. IX, The Growing Pains of Society. X, Church and School, 1850-1860. XI, The Appeal to Arms. XII, Recruiting Ground and Battlefield. XIII, The New Abolitionists and the Copperheads. XIV, The Re-election of Lincoln. XV, Population in Wartime. XVI, The Industrial Revolution. XVII, Agriculture and the War. XVIII, Reconstruction and the Military Politician. XIX, The Spoils and the Spoilers, 1867-1870. XX, Religion, Morality and Education, 1860-1870. XXI, Play and the Press.

The verdict of readers of discernment with reference to Illinois' actual participation in the war will be, that the subject is dealt with rather lamely. Many will be glad, however, that the writer has not, as have many others, made history one long story of battles and war moves.

The outstanding feature of this volume is the masterly treatment of the political situation during the entire period. Mr. Cole's success in this field almost makes one regret that the parceling out of this official history was not done on the lines of subjects instead of by periods. Nothing yet published concerning the politics of Illinois and of the nation so far as participated in by Illinois is nearly so satisfying as the present volume. In his treatment of parties Mr. Cole has been admirably fair, and, despite the strong temptation to voice opinions, has kept entirely within the bounds of the true historian's purview. In doing this he has given us our best picture of the stirring times of which he writes and the best measure of the men of those tense days.

In the view of the entire field as given us by Mr. Cole we are able to weigh the political figures with an exactness not possible without a consideration of the details furnished by him. By their aid we see at a glance how Grant compared with all the other army officers in Illinois, what was the comparative standing of Logan, of Oglesby, of Palmer, of McClernand, of Yates and Trumbull. And especially the relation or position of Douglas and Lincoln as compared to each other and as to others in the state.

The view thus afforded brings out some facts that will be a surprise to many of the younger generations who have not heretofore had the opportunity of studying our leading men together, but who have for instance read of Lincoln or Grant or Trumbull alone, in volumes dealing with the biography of such men of note. It will, we think, show the reader that among the men politically associated with Mr. Lincoln there were several that were quite superior to him in many ways, especially in education as well as in depth, grasp, and, indeed, in intellect. That of the men so associated with Douglas there was none that approached him in any of the qualities of statesmanship or leadership. That he stood out from all others, not alone as the greatest man of Illinois but of the nation. The recognition of this fact enables us to explain how Lincoln became a great figure. And that explanation is that he became the recognized opponent, the counterpoise of the great Douglas. It transpired that he became associated in people's thoughts with Douglas and hence the logical man with whom to oppose Douglas. One will have little difficulty in believing that Mr. Lincoln recognized the value of being set over against Douglas and was clever enough to so maneuver as to get into that position. For that purpose Lincoln did not have to hold

exact and positive views on any particular subject and he could pose as a conservative when occasion suited. The one thing needed was to occupy the attention of Douglas and draw the fire of his opposition. If he could get Douglas to notice him, pick him out from the ranks of his enemies and opponents, he was made. This detracts nothing from Lincoln's real merits, of course, but it gives us a new appreciation of Stephen A. Douglas.

A time like that of which Mr. Cole was writing uncovers, in the political field especially, the strangest traits of character and is especially productive of intemperate speech and action. It is good that the record of such times be recalled from time to time in order to show what a ridiculous figure the ranter cuts and to warn men to speak and act with becoming moderation. Having learned to admire, not ot say almost worship Lincoln, we can hardly believe that he was made the subject of the vilest abuse conceivable, not by his political opponents alone but by his erstwhile proponents and champions. Many of those who came to espouse the cause of the slave, even if at the eleventh hour, and helped to elect Lincoln President, talked and acted as though they thought he should have freed the slaves before breakfast on the morning after his inauguration; and when he failed even to take advanced ground in his first annual message to Congress the radicals exhausted their vocabularies in abuse. The editor of the Chicago *Tribune* condemned the message as a piece of cowardice, "a horrible fiasco". Shubal York called it "a tame, timid, time-serving, commonplace sort of an abortion of a message, cold enough with one breath to freeze h-ll over." (P. 293.) John Russell of Bluffdale boldly denounced "the imbecility of President Lincoln" whom he accused of having done more to aid secession than Jefferson Davis. (P. 294.) Nor were these criticisms confined to lesser lights. Trumbull, Yates, Palmer and others joined in the hue and cry, and if all the critics were to be believed Lincoln was venal, corrupt, traitorous and generally despicable. "Democratic obstructionists on the one side and radical republicans on the other were convinced that Lincoln possessed 'neither consistency, statesmanship, nor resolution;' the latter, however, could ont subscribe to the partisan charge that 'even the claim set up for his honesty was absolutely unfounded and that the country has never before been afflicted with a ruler so absolutely destitute of integrity and principles.'" (P. 312.) "In handling the problems of the Civil War, President Lincoln had assumed certain powers which made his rôle quite as significant as that of a dictator in the days of Rome's glory. Without legislative

warrant and without precedent in American history, he had suspended the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus,* one of the dearest of civil rights in the minds of the American freemen. Even Senator Trumbull, the radical, openly condemned the imprisonment of citizens upon *lettres de cachet,* while General John M. Palmer declared that it would mean the conversion of 'this constitutional Republic into a despotism.' . . . He had recommended and officially approved, March 3, 1863, a conscription act which provided for compulsory military service by citizens selected at the turn of a wheel. These were only the principle features of a situation which made it possible for James Bryce to say: 'Abraham Lincoln wielded more authority than any single Englishman has done since Oliver Cromwell.' " (Pp. 312-13.) " 'There is hardly a provision of the constitution which the President has not violated or treated with contempt,' was the campaign slogan announced by the Chicago *Times.* The Cairo *Democrat,* July 14, 1864, took up the hue and cry with less restraint: 'When a President will thus put aside the will of Congress, what are the people to expect of him? The freedom of the press and the *habeas corpus,* the two great bulwarks of our liberty, ruthlessly invaded. And, last of all, the voice of the ballot box has been crushed, and 'military necessity,' that bloody and envenomed queen, has seized upon its holy precincts. Great Heavens! How much more iniquity will the freemen of America stand from the usurper and tyrant who is only fit to split rails.' . . . Lincoln's friend Herndon charged him with trying to put down the rebellion by squirting rosewater at it, while Jonathan B. Turner, the Jacksonville educator, condemned Lincoln for too much reading of the New Testament, instead of using the sword after the fashion of that Old Testament saint, Andrew Jackson." (P. 314.)

How strangely familiar much of this sounds, as if we were listening to the "leaders" or reading the press columns of 1917-18-19, with names only altered.

Readers of this volume will hope that the author will find time and take the opportunity of reviewing the political record of other periods of our history.

The chapters on "The Coming of the Railroads," "The Industrial Revolution," "Agriculture and the War," and "Play and the Press" are likewise very interesting and extremely well done.

J. J. T.

Illinois—The Story of the Prairie State. Centennial Edition. By Grace Humphrey. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917.

The author of this volume has given us the most satisfactory short history of Illinois yet written. Gotten out as a Centennial book, it well performs the mission of making the reader acquainted with the historical features of the State. Naturally not much can be said of each topic or item in a book of 267 pages including notes, bibliography and index, but the writer has managed well to mention nearly all historical facts and to record them in a very readable and pleasing manner.

A delightful feature of this *Story of the Prairie State* is the manner in which it engages the interest of the young reader, especially in the more romantic features of our history (and the history of Illinois is most romantic), and then tells how to pursue the subject farther, naming the works and authors that tell the story in more detail.

For convenience as a textbook a set of questions relating to each chapter is appended. The book has none of the disadvantages of the ordinary school-book, the chief of which is prosiness. The narrative flows easily and maintains a constant interest.

For quick acquaintance with the principal facts of Illinois history this book can be unreservedly recommended.

M. A. R.

The Diocese of Belleville. St. John's Orphanage edition of the *Messenger.* Historical data by Reverend Frederick Beuckman, Belleville, Illinois. Belleville, Illinois: Joseph Nicholas Beuchler, Publisher.

Under date of March 1, 1919, there issued from the press of Joseph Nicholas Beuchler the handsomest and most meritorious special edition of a weekly paper we have ever seen. This special St. John's Orphanage edition of the *Messenger* contains 118 pages 11 by 15½ inches and is literally filled with interest.

Interspersed with the pictures of residents of the diocese of Belleville and business concerns of various kinds is a complete history of the Catholic Church in the diocese carefully prepared by Reverend Frederick Beuckman of Belleville.

This publication is of more than ordinary interest as the Church in Illinois had its permanent beginning within the present boundaries of the Belleville diocese and began its spread from the old town of

Kaskaskia (now but little more than a memory) in the northern part of Randolph County. Father Beuckman has made a very diligent study of the history of the Church in this part of the world and is surprisingly accurate in his work.

Students of history will be pleased to know that Father Beuckman has made preparations to publish the history interwoven in this special edition of the *Messenger* in book form with complete footnotes and that the same will soon be ready for distribution. It should be said, however, that the special edition is of interest to more than the people of the immediate neighborhood of the diocese of Belleville. The illustrations with which the big edition abounds are very interesting as in many instances connecting up the present dwellers of this historic region with the early settlers who were so prominent in the history of the province, colony, territory and state.

J. J. T.

Ireland's Case. Seumas MacManus; seventieth thousand, 1919. New York: The Irish Publishing Company, P. O. Box 1300.

Seldom is seen a book so well named as the little publication gotten out and so widely read under the above title.

What is all this talk of Ireland about? Yes, the Irish question has been up before often and much has been said and written about Ireland's wrongs, her hopes and her disappointments, but it is astonishing how little most people know of the facts and circumstances that make the Irish question such a burning one. *Ireland's Case* tells why.

A red-blooded man or woman will read *Ireland's Case* if afforded an opportunity. It is not a compilation of dry statistics, nor is it glittering generalities. The author has a pleasing and direct manner of dealing with his readers that holds one like a well-told romance. The facts set down are, however, stranger and more horrible than the writer of fiction would venture to detail.

What was Ireland before England came? What did Queen Elizabeth do to Ireland? Was there ever such a tyrant as Cromwell? How were the Irish industries destroyed? What were the "Penal Laws" and how were they executed? What is the "British garrison" in Ireland? What was the British brand of civilization as applied to Ireland? What was the "Parliamentary Union" and how was it brought about What was the nature of the English land laws and where on earth is there such a foul record as that of the "evictions?" What is the record of the last century? What is England's present-day system and practice? Has the leopard changed his spots?

These are some of the questions which are most satisfactorily answered in *Ireland's Case.*

SOME GRATIFYING LETTERS

The most gratifying of the many expressions of good will we have received is contained in the following letter from Mother St. Charles, of the historic Ursuline Convent in New Orleans. We took occasion to advise Mother St. Charles of our plans and hopes and asked the prayers of herself and associates. The following is her consoling reply:

URSULINE CONVENT

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, June 11, 1919.

Mr. Joseph J. Thompson, Editor-in-Chief of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, *917 Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois:*

DEAR SIR—I hasten to acknowledge the grateful receipt of your appreciated letter, and to give you the consoling assurance that the community will this evening begin a novena for your special intentions.

Wishing you and your co-laborers the utmost success in all your laudable undertakings, and prayerfully hoping OUR LADY OF PROMPT SUCCOR will obtain from the Sacred Heart of her DIVINE SON the realization of our wishes in behalf of you and your noble work, I remain, dear sir,

Respectfully and gratefully yours,

MOTHER ST. CHARLES, *Prioress.*

PRAISE FROM THE DEAN OF LIVING AMERICAN HISTORIANS

URBANA, ILLINOIS, March 28, 1919.

Joseph J. Thompson, Esquire, 917 Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois:

MY DEAR MR. THOMPSON—I have been amazed at the way in which you have been able to keep up the quality of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, and I note with pleasure that you are unearthing more and more material of Catholic history and making it known to historians. When the starting of the REVIEW was mentioned to me, I felt very doubtful about the possibility of success because I feared that you would have difficulty in securing contributions of the quality such a review requires. I am pleased to find that I was wrong in this and that you are in no danger of being forced to lower the quality of the contents by accepting poor articles. The ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY is to be congratulated on a most successful year of history. May it have many more.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) C. W. ALVORD.

Kind Words from a Co-Worker

St. Louis, Missouri, May 16, 1919.

My dear Mr. Thompson—My best congratulations on the completion of the first volume of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review. You certainly deserve great credit for the courage, tact and scientific spirit manifested in the publication of such a magazine of history. I am really proud of having been allowed to co-operate with you. I hope to be able in the near future to send you something of greater value than what I have sent heretofore.

Very sincerely yours,

(Rev.) John Rothensteiner,

Secretary, St. Louis Catholic Historical Society.

Praise and Benediction

Quincy, Illinois, April 1, 1919.

My dear Mr. Thompson—It was beyond any peradventure of doubt a most felicitous thought that inspired the founding of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, together with the publication of its quarterly Review. When the subject was first brought to my attention, I hailed it with unqualified delight because for years past I had considered just such a move a most timely and important step to be undertaken by some capable Catholic men. It's a happy realization today. The good to be derived from its distant future years cannot be sufficiently computed at present. Scholars and historians of coming generations will appreciate and bless the efforts which this newly founded society has placed for its object, namely: "The study and survey of the Catholic history of Illinois and allied records, the collection of relics and mementoes, the creation of a Catholic library and museum—and the marking of historic sites of Catholic interest." Further delay in the execution of such a noble, unselfish purpose would have proved detrimental as time soon obliterates what today we hold dear and sacred. There are still a goodly number of venerable pioneer settlers in our midst, living witnesses of the struggling beginnings of parishes, towns and cities; their number, however, is fast decreasing and before long they will have been gathered to their fathers. With each and every one's demise, valuable historical reminiscences sink into the grave. It was, therefore, most timely and opportune that this society in question was organized. And what a sublime array of men both clerical and lay, some distinguished nationally, others locally, guaranteeing the success and permanence of the undertaking!

May God's bountiful blessing deservedly rest upon you and all who through this Catholic Historical Society try to advance the interests of Holy Church in this country.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) (Rev.) A. Zurbonsen.

A Highly Appreciated Estimate

Chicago, March 27, 1919.

Mr. J. J. Thompson:

Dear Sir—I have read with a great deal of satisfaction all the articles in the three issues of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review. I certainly think it fills a pressing want and should be encouraged by all lovers of truth.

Philosophical discussions are mere hit or miss (mostly miss) stabs at real truth; and so are also a good many other lucubrations. But impartial and correct representations of facts, with a background created by the spirit which is diffused by the supreme agency of Truth on earth for all ages and races, the Catholic Church, open up wide vistas for acquisition of correct principles and for correct conduct in all the spheres of knowledge and action in promoting the true welfare of our humbugged humanity in our times. The furtherance of historical knowledge of works accomplished in our own neighborhood by the promoters of the greatest work in the universe, the Church of God, should rank with the highest public educational work of Church or State and is more important than hundreds of other enterprises for the betterment of men. So important is history that the Scriptures are composed mostly of history, certified by the Holy Ghost, and one of the most important of the revelations of the saints since the Holy Ghost was poured out upon mankind is principally the history of the central Creature of the universe.

Facts touch the eternal Truth, directly or indirectly, and therefore the knowledge of facts is the sure guidance for attaining true insight into the mysteries of the universe. The Illinois Catholic Historical Review in its sphere is a promoter of such knowledge and pre-eminently commendable as such.

(Rev.) George J. Blatter.

Interesting Extracts

Permit me to congratulate you upon the very rich array of material presented in your journal. The excellent typographical form of the book and the beauty of the illustrations will recommend it to those who enjoy good book making.

Caroline M. McIlvaine, *Librarian,*
Chicago Historical Society.

I have noted with pleasure the favorable criticisms accorded your Historical Review by our Catholic press for I feel that every effort made along the lines you have followed deserves encouragement. The fact is that Catholics as a body have been altogether too negligent in the matter of their history, which when given its proper setting will more than compare with the data which our non-Catholic friends have at their disposal and which we antedate as a rule by many years.

(Rev.) John E. Kealy,
Lewiston, Maine.

Let me congratulate you on the splendid success of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. You have certainly set out to make us old historical folk in the East wake up and get busy. Will you please have *America* put on your regular list so that each issue will be noticed.

Yours very truly,

THOMAS F. MEEHAN, of *America* Staff.

My congratulations on the appearance and contents of Volume I of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. It is a credit to the Society and to the Editor. I was especially interested in Dr. Alvord's contribution on "Sources of Catholic History in Illinois". This is a field we are covering for Michigan in our forthcoming Bibliography of Michigan History.

GEORGE N. FULLER, Secretary and Editor,

Michigan Historical Commission.

I am too new in the field of American Historical activity to feel that my humble congratulations to you and to all who have been instrumental in starting this splendid work have much standing alongside of the many letters of hearty felicitation which your project certainly must have brought out; but scarcely anything has given more real stimulus to me in my charges than the realization that the good work is spreading. It is needless to add that all the help we can give you is yours at all times.

(REV.) PETER GUILDAY, PH. D.,

Managing Editor, *The Catholic Historical Review,* Washington, D. C.

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ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME II OCTOBER, 1919 NUMBER 2

PUBLISHED BY
THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO, ILL.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, published quarterly at Chicago, Illinois, for October 1, 1919.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, COUNTY OF COOK, *ss.*

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph J. Thompson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the ILLINDIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois.

Editor, Joseph J. Thompson, Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois.

Managing Editor, Joseph J. Thompson, Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois.

Business Manager ....

Treasurer, William J. Lawler.

2. That the owners are: THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois (a corporation not for profit. No stockholders).

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. Exemption claimed on the ground that publication is devoted to religious purposes.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustee, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1919.

[SEAL] SCOTT M. HOGAN,

(My commission expires January 3, 1922.)

Illinois Catholic Historical Society

617 ASHLAND BLOCK, CHICAGO

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Life Members contribute $50.00 or more. From the contributions of Life Members and other donors it is intended to create an endowment fund, the income from which will guaranty the permanence of the societiy's work. Readers are urged to become Life Members and to soclicit their acquaintances to join the Society as Life Members.

Illinois Catholic Historical Society,
617 Ashland Block, Chicago.

The Archbishop and Bishops of the Province have indorsed the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and its work, and proffered their assistance.

Following are extracts from their letters:

I give hearty approval of the establishment of a Catholic Historical Society that will not be confined to the limits of this Diocese only, but will embrace the entire province and State of Illinois, and to further encourage this movement, I desire you to enroll me among the life members of the Society.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN, *Archbishop.*

The Bishop desired me to write you that he is pleased to accept the Honorary Presidency, and cordially approves of the good work undertaken by the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Faithfully yours in Christ,

M. A. TARRANT,
Secy. to the Bishop of Alton.

I am glad to have your letter about the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and will gladly serve in the capacity suggested. This will be a depository and will fill a much felt need.

P. J. MULDOON, *Bishop of Rockford.*

The sole aim of the Society, namely, 'To make known the glories of the Church,' should certainly appeal to all our Catholic people. I confidently hope that the Society may meet with the generous encouragement it richly deserves from everyone under my jurisdiction.

EDMUND M. DUNNE, *Bishop of Peoria.*

I wish to assure you that I am willing to give you every possible assistance in the good work you have undertaken, and in compliance with your request, I am likewise willing to be one of your Honorary Presidents.

Wishing God's blessing, I remain,

HENRY ALTHOFF, *Bishop of Belleville.*

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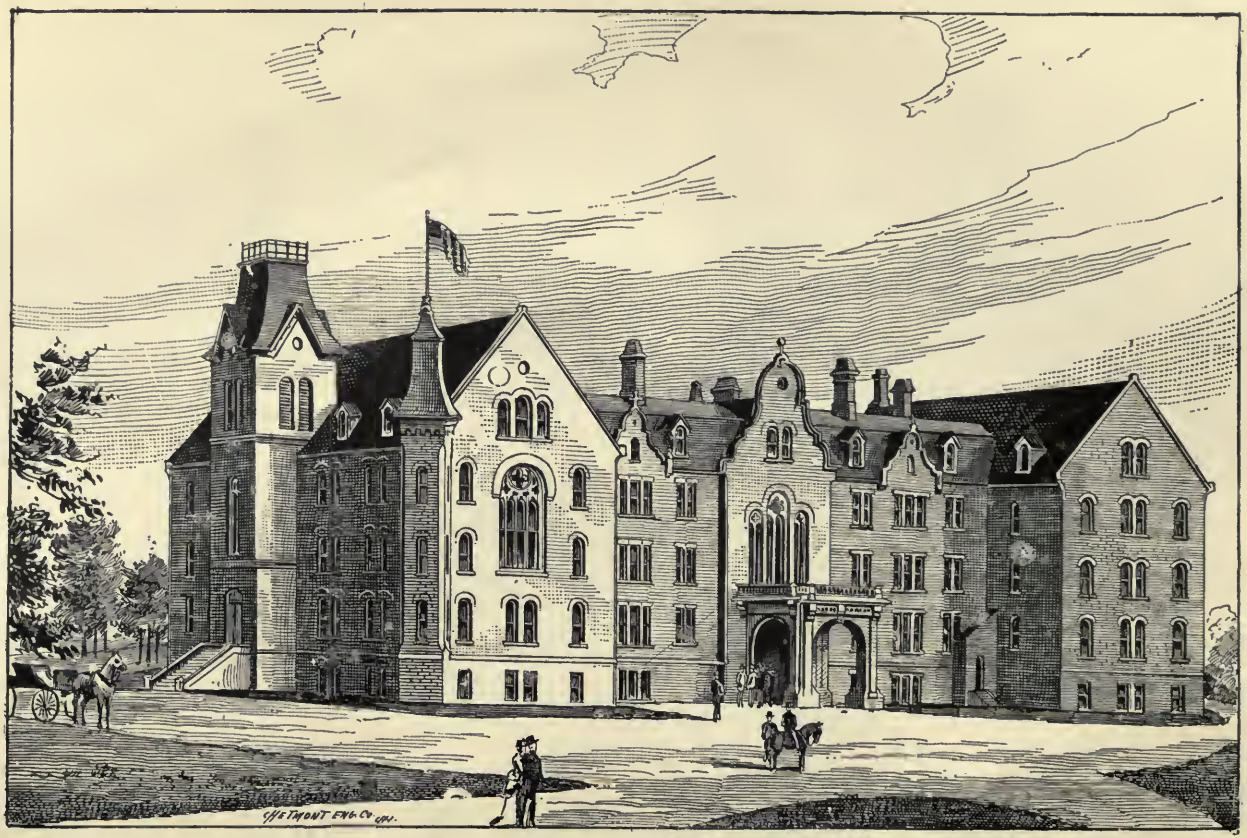

University of St. Mary of the Lake Rebuilt by Dr. McMullen in 1864

Illinois
Catholic Historical Review

Volume II OCTOBER, 1919 Number 2

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MARY OF THE LAKE

"The University of St. Mary of the Lake" of Chicago was established in 1844 by the Right Rev. William Quarter, D. D., the first Bishop of Chicago, and was the first school for higher education established in Chicago.[1] The University may be said to have been the development of the first Catholic school for boys founded by the zealous and far-seeing bishop June 3, 1844, less than one month after his arrival. From the very beginning the good bishop, who was filled with zeal for the advancement of religion, realized the help that would be given him in the existence of Catholic schools, and, in spite of his poverty, trusting to a gracious Providence to supply the means, he opened a school for boys in connection with St. Mary's Church, the only Catholic church in the city at that time. With the opening of the new St. Mary's, December 25, 1843, the bishop, on his arrival in the city, May 5, 1844, had at his disposal the old church building, which he converted into a school house for boys. This old building, erected in 1833 under the direction of Chicago's first resident priest, the Rev. J. M. J. St. Cyr, was moved from where it stood at the time of its erection, namely, on a lot on the south side of Lake Street, about one hundred feet west of State Street, to the west end of the lot on the northwest corner of Michigan Avenue and Madison Street. A part of this building was subsequently moved to the rear of the lot on the southwest corner of Wabash Avenue and Madison Street and was used as a school house for girls under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy.[2]

[1] Andreas, *History of Chicago.*

[2] *Pastoral Letter* Bishop Quarter, Dec. 4, 1846.

Bishop Quarter an Educator

Religious education in Catholic schools was a very passion with the bishop, as is made manifest by his words and acts. He was made to realize its need from the conditions of society as it appeared to him on his arrival and to which reference is made in forcible language in one of his letters to the clergy, urging them to come to the aid of his seminary. The need of priests and the importance of Catholic schools are the two themes upon which he is most insistent.[3] To his mind there was a close connection between the priest and the school or seminary, the latter, as he states in his letter to the Leopoldine Association, being "the nursery of our native priests, the training school for missionaries as we need them here." We should bear this in mind in treating of the subject of this paper. This first school was a seminary as well as a parochial school, as it was a nursery of vocations.

The bishop realized from the very first that this country must create its own priesthood and that steps should be taken at once to lay the foundation for this most important work. Priests from other countries would be needed to fill up the gap—to meet conditions growing out of a large immigration—but the main reliance in the future would be in the native or quasi-native clergy. Both in his pastorals to the clergy and laity and in his letters to the Leopoldine Association, the bishop strongly urges the necessity of a seminary and makes forcible appeals for its support. The bishop himself conducted classes in the first years of its history,[4] and the first priests ordained by him were his own pupils. He was aided in this task by the Rev. J. A. Kinsella and Rev. B. McGorrisk, the latter only a student at the time—one of the six with which the school began. The names of two others are known, namely, Patrick McMahon and Timothy Sullivan. Patrick McMahon and Bernard McGorrisk were ordained priests by the bishop May 25, 1844,[5] and were the first to receive holy orders in Chicago. Here then was the nucleus of the future university, the germ of what was to be the first school for higher education erected in Chicago.

Inception of the University

Bishop Quarter had large and most comprehensive visions and was imbued with the Catholic idea that no part of a man's education

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[3] Letters to the Archbishop of Vienna, President of the Leopoldine Association.

[4] Letters of Bishop Quarter to the Leopoldine Association.

[5] Bishop's Diary.

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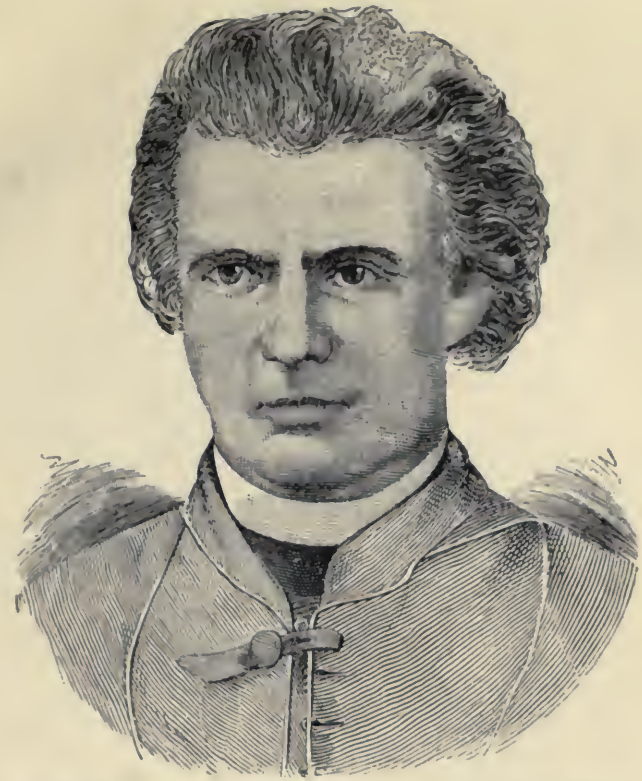

Rt. Rev. William Quarter, D. D., Founder of University of St. Mary of the Lake

University of St. Mary of the Lake—First Building Completed in 1846

is complete without the salutary influence of religion. Acting on this he sought to establish a school in which would be afforded an opportunity to pursue a course of studies in any branch of knowledge to be selected by the student. In other words he sought to establish a university, a school of universal knowledge. With this in view he looked around for an eligible site and found what appeared to him a desirable bit of property. This property fortunately was owned by one of Chicago's wealthiest, most progressive and generous citizens—William B. Ogden, who, responding to the appeal of the bishop, donated one half of the block to the bishop, the latter agreeing to purchase the other half. The property secured, the bishop applied to the Legislature for a charter, which was granted December 19, 1844, in favor of an institutioon to be known as "The University of St. Mary of the Lake." The name was suggested by the great devotion of the bishop to the Blessed Virgin, to whom he was wont to attriibute whatever good he had been able to accomplish. In his letter to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna, after acknowledging his indebtedness to the Blessed Virgin, he states: "I have placed the Seminary under her gracious protection." The latter part of the name was chosen on account of the proximity of the location to Lake Michigan, which at that time came within about two blocks of the new property. In many of the writings of the day and even in several of the official papers the name is written "University of *St. Mary's* of the Lake," but in the charter it is as it stands at the head of this paper.

The next step was to erect a suitable building, for which work money was an indispensable requisite. But money was scarce in Chicago at that time—very scarce among Catholics, who for the most part were poor. Seeing no hope here, the bishop turned his eyes to the East, the scene of his early labors, and in 1845 journeyed to New York, where, having obtained the necessary permission, granted, as he states, reluctantly, he appealed to his friends and to all such as would be likely to aid him. His mission was successful, and after four months he returned to Chicago with the goodly sum of $3,100.[6]

The foundation of the university building was begun October 17, 1845, and, as proof of the push and energy of Chicago, the building was under roof by November 22, a trifle over one month, and was ready for occupancy by July 4, 1846, on which date it was dedicated.

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[6] Andreas, *History of Chicago.*

The architect was a certain Daniel Sullivan and the contractor James O'Donnell. The latter for one reason or another refused to go on with the work and the architect was obliged to hire men to complete the building. The building was a frame structure and in size and appearance one of the largest and most attractive in the city. It was located on the south half of the block, which was enclosed between Chicago Avenue, Cass, Superior and State Streets, the latter being known in that day as Wolcott Street, and well towards the middle of that part of the block and faced south. It had a frontage of about one hundred feet, the west and east ends projecting eight or ten feet beyond the center part of the building and was provided at each story with balconies, the floors and roof of which were supported by four large columns resting on substantial piers. The first floor was mostly used for recitation rooms, the second for the library and living rooms of the president and professors, and the third for the most part for dormitories. The cost of construction was $12,000. Part of the first floor served for a time the purpose of a chapel for the Catholics of that section of the city, this chapel being known as the College Chapel. In that day the University was rarely spoken of as such, but was generally known as the College. In 1849 a church —frame building—was erected to the east of the University building and was known as the Church of the Holy Name. It was dedicated November 18 of that year.

In the Catholic Directory of 1846 is found a description of the location of the University: "The University was situated in the city of Chicago near the borders of Lake Michigan, the location being pleasant, healthy, and sufficiently removed from the business portions of the city to make it favorable to the pursuit of study. The ample grounds and extensive meadows in the vicinity afford the student an opportunity to enjoy healthful exercise and abundant recreation."

From the very first the bishop had in mind the establishment of a university. In his Diary he speaks of the school already established as a university, and under date of August 10 he mentions that the Rev. Jeremiah Kinsella took charge of the college, and in March of the following year he states that "the seminary was governed by the Rev. J. Kinsella, who is also president of the university." Father Kinsella came to Chicago from the East on May 27, 1844. He was a deacon at the time and no doubt was influenced in offering his services here by the appeal of the bishop for priests, the need of whom was keenly felt owing to the recall at this time of

four priests by the Bishop of Vincennes, namely, Fathers de St. Palais, Fischer, De Pontavice and Guegnen. The two first took final leave August 23 and 24 respectively. Father Kinsella brought letters of recommendation from his bishop and from some of the New York clergymen. He had completed his course of theology and was ready for ordination to the priesthood, which took place in St. Mary's Cathedral, July 7, 1844. On August 11 he assumed charge of the College. He and Rev. Bernard McGorrisk, besides the bishop, were the only regular professors, though they were assisted when necessary, as the bishop states, by Rev. P. McMahon.[7] The College opened with six students (June 3, 1844), a seventh arrived June 8 from Auburn, New York, a John Bradly. Possibly John Brady and John Ingoldsby were of the number of the first students. These two were ordained priests August 18, 1844. Ordinations followed in quick succession, Thomas O'Donnell in August 22, 1844, John A. Frughan, December 3, 1844. No doubt the existence of the school led to the publication of a catechism by the Rev. James Comisky, as the formation of a Rosary Society led to the publication of a manual known as "The Rosariat's Companion," by the same author, in 1844. These were the first Catholic books published in Chicago. Their appearance may have induced Mr. Charles McDonnell, a most excellent Catholic gentleman, to open a Catholic book store. It was located on Market Street, between Randolph and Lake Streets. Mr. McDonnell's daughter is happily with us and is a member of St. James' parish.

Opening of the University

The University building was completed by July, 1846. The first ceremony in the new building after the dedication was an ordination on July 8 by which Messrs. Terence Murray and James McAuley were raised to the subdeaconship. The venerable Father Badin assisted at this ceremony. The building being now ready, the seminarians removed there on July 14 and no doubt the president and professors also at the same time. Rev. Jeremiah Kinsella was president and Rev. James Griffin, Messrs. Lawrence Hoey, John Bradley and James Kease, or Kear, professors. With the opening year in the new building the University may be said to have begun its work as such. Up to that time it was little better than a high school and school of philosophy and theology, but with the opening of scholastic year

[7] Bishop's Diary.

1846-1847 it expanded and embraced in its curriculum such studies as are found only in a university. For those days and especially for a new school the course was surprisingly complete. It embraced Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, French, German, Spanish, poetry, history, mythology, geography, book-keeping, algebra and other branches of mathematics, intellectual and moral philosophy, natural philosophy, chemistry, music, drawing, hygiene, anatomy, botany, and as a matter of course theology, sacred scriptures, ecclesiastical history and common law. The tuition was $150 per annum, but an extra charge was made for German, Spanish, Italian, music and drawing.[8] In 1847 the Rev. Joseph Ragan, Rev. George A. Hamilton, Rev. James Gallagher, Rev. Hugh Brady, and Henry Coyle were added to the staff. The catalogue of 1846 reports forty students in humanities and fifteen in theology. In the course of the following seven or eight years many changes were made in the professorial staff. With a view of preserving the names of the professors during that period the writer deems it important to insert here a list of all who taught in the University from 1846 to 1856, covering the incumbency of the first president: Very Rev. Jeremiah Kinsella, dogmatic theology and sacred scriptures; Rev. William Closy, moral theology and ecclesiastic history; Rev. Bernard McGorrisk and Rev. P. McMahon, Rev. Joseph Ragan, Rev. George Hamilton, Rev. James Gallagher, Rev. Hugh Brady, Rev. Henry Coyle, Mr. J. B. Byrne, A. B., modern languages; Rev. Lawrence Hoey, A. M., mathematics and moral philosophy; Mr. David J. Gregg, A. M., rhetoric and *belles lettres;* Mr. B. Rodeham, A. B., ancient languages and literature; Mr. P. Baltes (later Bishop of Alton) German and literature; Mr. J. Tracy, English; Mr. John McGirr, M. D., chemistry, anatomy, physiology, hygiene and botany; Messrs. John Kinsella and James Shields, vocal and instrumental music; Rev. John Breen, rhetoric and *belles lettres;* Mr. Michael Hurley (Father Hurley) Latin and Greek; Ferdinand Kalvelage, German; Mr. Peter, music; Mr. H. Knauers, music; M. Early, English literature.

There was no lack of professors and the attendance of students was, all things considered, satisfactory. They numbered seventy-eight in 1849.[9] Among the students of this early period were many who rose to eminence in after life, notably Archbishop Ireland, Bishop

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[8] Andreas, *History of Chicago,* p. 298.

[9] *Catholic Directory,* 1850.

McMullen, James A. Mulligan, Bishop Baltez, Archbishop Riordan, the latter and Archbishop Ireland students for a brief period only, the former on account of the distance from his home, the latter because his family had removed to St. Paul. Both the Bishop McMullen and General Mulligan were graduated from the Institution in 1852.[10] These two were close friends in College days and remained such in after life. By a singular coincidence, Bishop McMullen was in 1864 President of the University in which that sacred friendship was formed, and to him was accorded the privilege of preaching the funeral sermon of his fellow student,[11] who in that year died so gloriously on the field of battle for the preservation of the Union, a martyr indeed the one, the other a true martyr in spirit. Both were passionately devoted to their country.

Sad Death of Bishop Quarter

What might be called the dream of the bishop—what else could it have been called under conditions so unfavorable?—seemed about to become a reality. The President and members of the faculty were brainy men, gifted far above the average, and the attendance was constantly increasing. In the second year of the University as such when in vision the future looked so bright, it met with a very great loss in death of its founder, Bishop Quarter. Up to that time he had watched over its interests and guided its course through many obstacles. It has already been stated that he went to New York to solicit contributions for his cherished project; in his visitations of the diocese he was ever mindful of its needs and gathered money for it; the diary mentions the sum of over $425[11a] received in Galena; Father Ingolsby was sent East to collect for it, and much of the money given by the Leopoldine Association at his frequent and fervent appeals was devoted to its maintenance. The entire diocese and every reachable source were made tributary to the building up of this Institution of learning. And now in its very infancy, when, if ever, his wise counsels and resourceful mind were seemingly indispensible, the University suffered a loss in the death of its founder, which to all appearances was of such magnitude as to create a well-founded fear for its safety. Some there are who in view of what

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[10] McGovern, *Life of Bishop McMullen.*

[11] *Bishop's Diary.*

[11a] *Ibid.*

has transpired believe that the death of Bishop Quarter was the death-blow to this idol of a big mind and a loving heart.

This was in 1848. Towards the end of that year (December) the Bulls appointing the Rt. Rev. James Olliver Van de Velde bishop of Chicago reached this country. His consecration took place in St. Louis, February 11th, 1849. The hardships inseparable from travel in those early days caused the newly appointed bishop to make a visitation of several parishes in the southern part of the State on his way to Chicago, which he reached March 3rd, 1849. From the very first the bishop manifested the greatest interest in the University, as was expected of one so versatile in his attainments and of such scholarly acquirements. It was felt that under his fostering care the interests of the University would be safeguarded. Before July 18, 1849, he convened a meeting of the trustees, the first of which there is any record. The incorporators appointed at the time application was made for the charter, were William Quarter, J. A. Kinsella, John Ingoldsby, Patrick McMahon, Walter Quarter, Bernard McGorick, Thomas McDonnell, John Vaughan and George Hamilton. All these were present at the meeting except William Quarter deceased, George A. Hamilton removed from the diocese, and John Faughan deceased. Those present were re-elected Trustees and Lawrence Hoey, Denis Ryan and P. J. McLaughlin were elected to replace the others. At this meeting certain transfers of property were made to the Catholic Bishop of Chicago, a corporative sole. The Board resumed its meeting on the following day, accepted the resignations of P. J. McLaughlin and adopted a constitution and by-laws. The bishop of the diocese was declared President ex-officio of the Board, the Very Rev. J. A. Kinsella, Vice-President, the Very Rev. Walter Quarter, Chancellor, the Rev Lawrence Hoey, Treasurer, and the Rev. William Clowry, Secretary.

Notable Commencement Exercises

In the following year (1850) the most notable event to chronicle was the Commencement.[12] Commencements had an importance in those days which they have to some extent lost in our times. The one of 1850 attracted a great deal of attention. A very general invitation was issued and resulted in a large attendance. Some of the most prominent people of the city were present. An elaborate program

[12] *Bishop's Diary*, p. 125.

was arranged and the parts rendered in a manner to reflect credit on the school. Addresses were delivered in Greek, Latin, French, High and Low Dutch, Spanish, Irish and English. The oration of the day "This, Our Country" delivered by J. A. Mulligan elicited warm encomiums and insured close attention for the Valedictory delivered by the same pupil, upon whom was conferred the degree of Bachelor of Aris.

Like a ship sailing upon pleasant waters, the University pursued its course, and like the man on watch the friends might have sounded the cheering note "All's Well". In less than two years clouds of ominous aspect began to gather on the horizon, but as yet were visible only to the few. In 1852 Bishop Van de Velde visited Notre Dame and invited the Fathers of the Holy Cross to take charge of the University of St. Mary of the Lake. The Fathers of Holy Cross were few in numbers at that time and these few were still at liberty to leave the community, which had not as yet received the final approval of the Holy See. The offer was not accepted.[12a] What led the bishop to take this step? Was he dissatisfied with the management of the University, or the personnel of the staff as such? In the estimation of many neither the manner of conducting the University nor a want of efficiency or exemplary conduct on the part of the officers or professors had anything to do with his desire for a change. But it is evident that he was displeased with the management of the church of the Holy Name. At that time the pastor of Holy Name was also the president of the University and one of the assistants, Father William Clowry, was secretary of the Board of Trustees. As already mentioned a part of the University building was used as early as 1846 as a chapel for the Catholics of the North Side, whose numbers had increased so rapidly that in 1849 a church was erected on the University grounds. Still later another church was erected on State Street between Superior and Huron Streets. This, too, though enlarged, proved inadequate and Father Kinsella began preparations for a larger and more substantial church, the cornerstone of which was laid August 3, 1853, by Bishop Van de Velde in presence of a large concourse of the clergy and laity. The sermon was preached by the Rt. Rev. Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburg. This church was designed to be the cathedral. It was a very expensive building for the time, costing about $100,000. This was the last great public function

[12a] *Chronicles* of Fathers of the Holy Cross.

performed by the bishop. On the 3rd of the following month he left Chicago for his new See of Natchez. The author of this paper recalls the gossip of those days, namely, that the new church was begun without the approval of the bishop. It is certain that he was not pleased with some feature of the undertaking, and his resignation was due in a large measure to this fact. The bishop left the diocese, but the University remained with its staff of officers and professors unchanged. As evidence of the intellectual life developing in the Institution a weekly Magazine was started known as "St. Mary's Collegiate."[13] It was published in manuscript only, but withal was read with avidity even by the professors. Its editor-in-chief and principal contributor was John McMullen, to whom frequent reference has already been made.

We must retrace our steps. A wave of industrial depression had spread over our country beginning with the year 1849, bringing in its trail much suffering to the poor and financial troubles on all sides. Yet in spite of all, with that considerate attention to the needs of the times, the charge for tuition and board was reduced from $150 to $120 per annum, and remained at that low figure until 1854, when the former charge was restored. Among the extras it may interest the readers to learn that the Doctor's fee per annum was during the depression $1.50.

During the interregnum Bishop Henni of Milwaukee was appointed by Archbishop of St. Louis administrator, but there is no evidence that he accepted the charge.[14]

Changes at the University—The Holy Cross Fathers in Charge

Later the Rev. James Duggan of St. Louis was appointed to that office and as is usual with an administrator things remained in *statu quo*. The vacancy was filled in May or June, 1854, by the appointment of the Rt. Rev. Anthony O'Regan, president of the Seminary of the Diocese of St. Louis, at Carondelet. It is said that when he received the Bulls he lost no time in sending them back to Rome. But Rome returned them and Father O'Regan looked upon this as a command. He was consecrated in St. Louis, July 15, 1854, and installed in St. Mary's Cathedral, September of that year.[15] It is evident from a letter of the bishop to a student of the Propa-

[13] McGovern, *Life of Bishop McMullen.*

[14] *Catholic Directory* of 1854.

[15] Souvenir Volume, *Archbishop Feehan's Jubilee.*

PRAESES ET PROFESSORES

Collegii Sanctae Mariae ad Lacum.

Omnibus ad Quos Praesentes Litterae Pervenerint.

SALUTEM IN DOMINO SEMPITERNAM.

Cum in omni populo, tuenda et ornanda **REIPUBLICAE** doctrina conjuncta cum virtute utilissima est, proindeque qui diu et praeclare in percipiendis artibus honestis versati sunt, optime jure mereantur, ut insigni laurea, suarum teste laudum, et aliis studiorum incitamento, decorentur **Nos in hoc Munus,**

Decreto Publico Constituti Testamur Optimum Adolescentem

in hoc **Collegio** cursu studiorum emenso, postquam severis examinibus spectatus plurimas litteris et scientiis egregie instructus ornatusque esset **BACCALAUREUM** summo facultatis nostrae consensu rite fuisse renunciatum.

Quod ut omnibus notum sit hasce literas Chirographo nostro et Sigillo munitas expedivi curavimus.

DATUM IN ÆDIBUS COLLEGII SANCTÆ MARIÆ AD LACUM,

Anno Reparatae Salutis

Vindicatae Libertatis.

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ganda written in February, 1855, that he was beset with difficulties, real or imaginary, that worried him greatly. The business depression caused all work to be suspended on the church of the Holy Name and the lack of money, as well as the general situation inherited from his predecessor, influenced him to seek a change. At the request of the bishop, Fathers Kinsella, Clowry, Breen and Hoey resigned in January 1855 their charge as priests of the Holy Name and severed their connection with the University.[16] All four went East and offered their services, three to the bishop of New York, and one to the bishop of Trenton. They were accepted and in a short time were assigned to positions of prominence.[17] At this remote day it were idle, nor would it serve a useful purpose, to endeavor to trace and connect the circumstances that led to the enforced resignation of these able and devoted priests. The trouble began during the administration of Bishop Van de Velde and culminated during the administration of Bishop O'Regan. Neither their intellectual ability nor moral standing was ever questioned, and the esteem in which they were held was so great, that there was danger of a prolonged and disedifying attitude on the part of the parishioners and Catholics throughout the city, which I venture to state was averted by the priests themselves. Nor should one question the motives of the bishop. It was one of those not uncommon misunderstandings among good people that are difficult to explain. The blame must be reserved for a better knowledge of the circumstances. But what concerns us is the serious effect on the destiny of the University.

Pending negotiations with the Fathers of the Holy Cross which Bishop O'Regan renewed, the University was placed in charge of the Rev. Matthew Dillon, assisted by Fathers Aylward, McLaughlin, and Hurley. In 1855 Bishop O'Regan visited Notre Dame with a view of placing the Fathers of the Holy Cross in charge of the University and in 1856 made a specific proposition offering to sell the University and its belongings to them for $60,000, payable in twelve installments of $5,000 each without interest. A document to that effect was signed in duplicate by the Bishop and Father Sorin, the Provincial. The Fathers on their part agreed to open a day-school in the building, known as St. Mary's University, and in course of time schools in four or five parishes of the city under the direction of the Brothers of the Order. The Bishop desired to

[16] Andreas, *History of Chicago.*

[17] *Catholic Directory.*

have an Industrial School on the grounds, and expressed an eagerness to have the Sisters of the Holy Cross open a day school for the young girls of St. Joseph's parish, also an industrial school for them, and in time for the children of other German parishes. The Fathers accepted the offer of the Bishop and agreed to carry out his wishes "as soon and as completely as possible". With this mutual understanding the notes were signed, also the mortgage papers securing the purchase price and covering the property conveyed. One half of the property was transferred conditionally for educational purposes. In the event of the sale by the Fathers the Bishop was protected by certain clauses. The agreement is dated May 28th, 1856, and signed by Anthony O'Regan and E. Sorin, Provincial. On the return of the Bishop to Chicago the matter was laid before the diocesan officers and received their approval.[18] Not wishing to record the deeds, etc., before consulting a lawyer, Father Sorin placed the matter in the hands of Mr. H. Ewing of St. Louis. This gentleman came to Chicago and after several interviews with the bishop reported that he would not advise the purchase, as the bishop could not give such a title. The bishop failed to see this, but the Fathers followed the advice of the lawyer.

Jesuits Asked to Take Charge

A trifle earlier in the year 1856 the bishop, who was most friendly to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, offered to give them the Church of the Holy Name with the intention of placing in time the University under their charge. The Rev. Arnold Damen, S. J., who was acting for the Order declined the offer on account of financial conditions of the parish.[18a] At this stage the bishop wrote a letter to Father Sorin and proposed to give the Fathers a lease of the property, but they were slow, very slow in reaching a decision and as the bishop was anxious to effect a settlement, he went in person to Notre Dame, taking with him all the necessary papers and prevailed on Father Sorin to enter into the proposed agreement, with the contents of which they were already familiar. The lease was signed August 4th, 1856. By its terms the Fathers rented the property for fifty years at an annual rental of $2100, the first payment to be made at once, and after that no money to be paid before the expiration of eighteen months. The Fathers agreed to make

[18] *Chronicles,* Notre Dame.

[18a] *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* vol. I, p. 438.

repairs, which instead of $50 cost $700; they also paid $500 for the furniture. It would appear that the Fathers did not bind themselves to conduct a university, but only a day school—not a regular university, and that was all it was for many years.

The Fathers assumed charge in the summer of 1856. The Brothers accompanied them to the city and opened schools in St. Mary's, St. Patrick's, and St. Joseph's parishes. The writer was among the first pupils of St. Patrick's School under the management of the Brothers. The Brothers lived at the University; the Sisters, too, came that year and occupied the frame building on the University grounds. There they had their living apartments and also class rooms for the children. Later they opened an industrial school in the University building, where they had also their chapel. In a year or two they erected a brick building on the grounds, corner of Chicago Avenue and Cass Street at a cost of $3,000. Here they opened a select school for girls. They also had charge of St. Joseph's School.[19]

In the year 1857 there were two priests, five brothers and fifteen sisters engaged in teaching in the College or University. The University had thirty-five day pupils and there were 380 children taught by the brothers and 340 children in the schools taught by the sisters. The schools were much affected by the financial crisis of this year, and as a consequence the fathers were unable to meet the rent. The bishop endeavored to come to their relief by a collection which he ordered to be taken up in the churches. In this way he hoped to raise $1,000. The result was most disappointing, the collection bringing only $66. The buildings were in a very run-down condition, but there was no hope except in the return of better times. The panic was at its height, and with the failure of the banks and scarcity of employment no money was to be had. Discouraged beyond measure at the all round situation, and the onerous duties of the office being most uncongenial to him, the bishop in 1858 offered his resignation. It was accepted in June of that year.[20] Bishop Smyth of Dubuque

[19] *Chronicles of the Sisters of the Holy Cross.*

[20] The writer in company with the Rev. James Dillon, S. S. C., Chaplain of the famous 69th Regiment, N. Y., and at one time President of the University, called in 1863 on Bishop O'Regan, who had retired and was living in London, England in the viinitcy of the Brompton Oratory; we were received most cordially and spent the day with him, dining and supping with him. Here he resided until his death, which occurred Nov. 15, 1866, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. In his last will he bequeathed to the college of All Hallows a certain sum of money to be used for the maintenance in perpetuity of two students for the diocese of Chicago. He was a great lover of books and a profound Scriptural scholar.

acted as administrator for a brief period,[21] and then Bishop Duggan, coadjutor to Archbishop Kenrick, was appointed for the second time administrator of the diocese. In 1859 Right Rev. James Duggan was appointed bishop of the diocese to succeed Right Rev. Bishop O'Regan and took full possession without delay.

There was little change as far as known in the condition of the university. While the curriculum did not embrace a full course of studies as one looks for and should expect in a university, yet the Fathers were not to blame. They aimed to conduct a high school and were zealous in their efforts to make that a success. The presidents were men of wide knowledge and eager for the welfare of the school. The Rev. G. B. Kilroy was the first. He was succeeded by Fathers Shortis, Patrick Dillon, James Dillon, and Neil Gillespie. Father Cooney, who afterwards served as chaplain during the Civil War, and Father Vorce were engaged in one capacity or another, the latter being pastor of St. Joseph's Church.[22] Among the professors was Mr. Joseph Lyons and Mr. T. Sullivan or O'Sullivan. Mr. Lyons in after years taught at Notre Dame and was one of the best known and most highly esteemed of the professors of that university. Mr. O'Sullivan became a priest of this diocese and died at St. Bride's Church of which he was for many years the much-revered pastor.

Another Crisis

The year 1859 witnessed the second great crisis in the history of the University. Here again it would be futile and would serve no good purpose to attempt an explanation of the trouble which finally led to the enforced retirement of the Fathers of the Holy Cross from the management of the University. Under cover of the vacation of 1859 the Fathers resolved to vacate the university. Before doing so, however, they addressed a memorandum to the Archbishop of Baltimore and at his suggestion forwarded it to Bishop Duggan. This was followed by a visit to the bishop by Rev. Patrick Dillon, C. S. C. Father Dillon found the bishop completely changed and desirous of having the Fathers remain in charge of the university.[23] The institution took on a new life and seemed to be coming to its former prosperity. By the end of December it had 120 students, and the Sisters had about one hundred in their select school. During that

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[21] *Catholic Directory.*

[22] *Chronicles,* St. Mary's Convent, Notre Dame.

[23] *Chronicles,* of Fathers of the Holy Cross.

scholastic year there was what seldom happens in Catholic colleges a period of insubordination on the part of about forty pupils, but it was speedily suppressed. In the following year the day scholars numbered 125. Again in this year the scenes of the previous year were re-enacted, but were of short duration. Human nature remains pretty much the same in every age, and boys will always be boys.

With the close of the scholastic year 1860-1861 the Fathers, Brothers and Sisters surrendered their charges and returned to Notre Dame and St. Mary's. Their departure caused great sorrow, for they had made many warm friends during the five years spent in Chicago. Many affecting scenes took place, one of a nature not common on such occasions. When the Sisters were ready to leave, they found carriages in waiting for them at the door of their convent and were escorted to the railway station by the Montgomery Guards with full band commanded by Captain Gleeson, who at that time was preparing to go to the war with Colonel Mulligan.[24]

Dr. McMullen Reorganizes the University

Now began the third cycle in the history of the University. The first covered a period of ten years; the second, five years. Circumstances favored the opening of the third and gave promise of a golden future. The Rev. John McMullen, D. D., afterwards Bishop of Davenport, had returned in 1858 from Rome where he spent five years as a student of the Urban College, commonly known as the Propaganda. He was a graduate of the University of St. Mary of the Lake and considered one of its brightest, as he was one of its earliest, pupils. Both at the Propaganda and the University he gave proof of great talent and unflagging industry, a combination that holds the promise of a brilliant career. But he was more richly endowed—he had amazing strength of character. One of the finest portraitures of this trait of character is that in which Archbishop Spalding in his funeral sermon alludes to this trait in Bishop McMullen:

"The quality that first strikes me when I think of him is his strength. He was strong in mind, in heart, in body. Napoleon's face was not a worthier mask of an indomitable will than his. As you stood before him the thought arose: here is a man, a very piece of nature, fixed and firm—set, as though infinite forces working through endless time had converged to stamp and mark him as with God's

[24] *Chronicles*, of St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame.

own hand." This is very beautiful, all the more so because it is true. On his return home he was assigned to St. Mary's Church and entered upon his duties with characteristic ardor and zeal. It was in the pulpit that he best displayed the qualities of his mind and the effects of his training. He had other gifts. Beneath a stern countenance there was a surprisingly tender heart. Every form of human suffering, whether in body or mind, claimed his interest and evoked his aid. He was unselfish to a degree seldom witnessed in actual life. Nothing of a worldly nature appealed to him and he was content with little. He cared nothing for money except as a means for the advancement of religion and the relief of human misery.

Bishop Duggan was not slow to recognize these splendid traits, and on the departure of the Fathers of the Holy Cross appointed him to reorganize the university. Dr. McMullen assumed charge in the summer of 1861 and had everything in readiness for the opening of school in September. The attendance was satisfactory from the start. It was felt that a master hand had grasped the helm and a new life and a fine spirit was to be infused into the University. No time was lost in its reorganization, but it was not to be expected that it would attain to its full growth of a sudden. For the first year or two it could scarcely be called a university; it was rather an advanced high school, special attention being given to the classics and the natural sciences. The professors were men of ripe experience and well qualified for their work. The writer, who was a student from the first under the new management, recalls in particular the names of G. B. Dowling, LL. D., professor of Greek and mathematics; George Quackenbos, A. M., professor of natural philosophy and English literature; Max Girac, LL. D., professor of Latin and music. The first was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin; the second a graduate of an Eastern university and was a cousin of the well-known author of English literature; the third had university degrees and was a most accomplished musician. For many years he taught in the University of Notre Dame and during his connection with the University of St. Mary of the Lake was the organist of the Cathedral of the Holy Name. Mention should be made of Mr. John J. Fitzgibbons and Mr. John Guerin, who were directors of discipline, the latter at a later day professor of natural philosophy and chemistry. The writer has often thought of the hardships of both students and professors, especially the latter, who had but a single room with the plainest kind of furniture, without carpet or anything that might be designated as

an ornament, and with a stove of almost forbidden aspect, and yet no murmur of a complaint escaped their lips. They were men of great devotion to their work, dwelled in a realm of high thoughts, thinking little of the hardships of their surroundings and content with the simple fare they shared with the students. The debating society spoken of in the catalogue under the more pretentious name of Lyceum was one of the features of 1862-1863 and its members in after life looked back to it as helpful to them in their public careers.

Building Enlarged

Though the time was not favorable for expansion, the great Civil War absorbing the attention of the country and stifling all initiative, yet the President felt that he could not longer remain satisfied with the mere shell of a university and began plans for a larger development. A new and more substantial building was indispensable. Mr. George P. Randall was retained as architect and soon presented plans for a building that in design and convenience was not surpassed by any of the kind in the State.[24a] The dimensions were 224 feet in width and 112 feet in depth, with basement, three stories and attic—the basement of stone, the superstructure of pressed brick. The cost was estimated at $70,000. The University was in no shape to bear so great an expense, and contracts were let for the south wing only at a cost of $30,000. The masonry was awarded to C. McMillan, the carpentry to T. Menard, the plumbing to C. Donnelly. These were well-known contractors. It was Mr. Menard who superintended the building of the present cathedral. The corner stone of the new building was laid by Bishop Duggan on Pentecost Sunday, 1863. Bishop Rosecrans of Cincinnati, later of Columbus, Ohio, preached the sermon. The building was ready for occupancy for the opening of the second term of the scholastic year (February 1, 1864).[25] A curious feature—one which if occurring during the last four years would have aroused ugly suspicions, was introduced in 1865, namely, the introduction of a High School—a school within a school—to be conducted under the supervision of a German society of which J. Herting was president and F. X. Brandecker was secretary.

[24a] McGovern, *Life of Bishop McMullen.*

[25] The *Chicago Tribune* of Jan. 28, 1864, thus refers to the new building: "The semi-annual examinations of St. Mary's of the Lake in this city are being held during the present week in the magnificent new building, which has just been completed. There is no building intended for educational purposses in this State better arranged or more appropriately fitted out. The dormitories, study halls and recitation rooms are provided with all the latest improvements."

Dr. McGovern Joins the Staff

With the advent of Rev. James J. McGovern, D. D., who on his return in 1863 from Rome, where as a student of the Propaganda he had spent ten years, was appointed Rector of the Seminary, the curriculum of studies was re-arranged and many changes made in the faculty. Dr. McMullen retained the presidency and was professor of metaphysics and moral philosophy; Dr. McGovern was vice-president, Rector of the Seminary, and professor of Latin.[25a]

While during the first years under the administration of Dr. McMullen there were one or two students attending a law school, it was only in 1863 that an arrangement was effected by which the students of the University as such were privileged to attend thecourses of the Rush Medical College and the City Law School.[26] The lay students occupied the new building, the seminarians the old. The professors in the Seminary were Rev. J. J. McGovern, D. D., professor of Hebrew and Sacred Scripture; Rev. John McMullen, D. D., professor of ethics and moral theology; Rev. T. Butler, D. D., professor of dogmatic theology and ecclesiastical history; Rev. Joseph P. Roles, A. M., professor of sacred eloquence. Later in 1867 Rev. P. W. Riordan, S. T. L., was added to the staff, thus necessitating some change in the allotment of studies.

Monthly Established

A further proof of the advanced ideas of the president may be gained by the starting of a periodical known as "The Catholic Monthly Magazine." The dearth of such a periodical was keenly felt by the thoughtful people of the country. The great Dr. Brownson had been compelled to suspend publication of his very able Review and the Church was without a spokesman in the important field of public opinion. Dr. McMullen sought to come to the rescue and launched his magazine in January, 1865.[27] In the introduction of the

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[25a] During the three years, 1863 to 1866, the following named persons constituted the teaching staff; E. B. Dowling, LL. D., mathematics and astronomy; George Quackenbos, A. M., Greek and rhetoric; Mar Girac, LL. D. French and music; John Guerin, S. M., natural philosophy and chemistry; J. J. Deehan, commercial course; Rev. H. Feger, German; Rev. P. Conway, history; T. E. Howard, A. M., rhetoric; T. Beleke, LL. D., Hebrew, German and Spanish; A. Stace, astronomy and geography; Thomas Lamb, commercial course; Peter Foote, A. M., commercial law; W. D. G. Dyas, history; Rev. Mar Albrecht, German.

[26] McGovern, *Life of Bishop McMullen.*

[27] McGovern, *Life of Bishop McMullen.*

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Rev. Jeremiah Kinsella,
First President of the University

Col. James A. Mulligan,
Early Student Graduated in 1852

Rt. Rev. John McMullen, D. D.
President of University in 1861

Rev. James J. McGovern,
Rector of Seminary in 1863

opening number, after paying a graceful tribute to Dr. Brownson, he tells in forcible and dignified language the need of such a Review. Mr. Peter Foote was its editor. But the magazine was short-lived and the close of the year marked its demise. It was printed by J. J. Kearney, 181 Clark Street, founder of "The Young Catholic's Friend." It left no debt unpaid, nor was it felt that the public would not insure its continuance, but other troubles arose. Despite the efforts of the president, who sought financial help by way of appeals in many churches, a debt on the University of long standing in the paltry sum of $6,000 could not be met, and the faculty decided to close the doors of the University.[28] This was in 1866. It is hard to realize that the fate of a cherished institution should hang upon the liquidation of so small a debt, but facts are stubborn things, and without warning of any kind, suddenly as the foundering of a ship in a calm sea, the University of St. Mary of the Lake sank apparently to rise no more. It was a sad day in the history of our diocese. Little wonder that the man, though strong in the mastery of his feelings, gave way under the pressure of the disappointment and for the first time, perhaps, in his life, shed bitter tears.[28a] He had stood by its cradle and now was the chief mourner at its grave. His was not a personal disappointment, but love for the Church and for whatever would gain for her a position of honor in the community controlled him in his every act. Let it be said in the words of his biographer: "It was the blighting of a country-wide harvest, a cold wave which swept away from his and perhaps from coming generations the realization of a holy expectation." It was a miscarriage killing the hopes of those who put the best years of their life and intensest thought in the service of the Univeristy of St. Mary of the Lake. The students at that time—few in number—dispersed, and the building was turned over to the orphans, whom it sheltered under the care of good Mother M. Joseph and the Sisters of St. Joseph until in common with the old building and adjuncts it went down in the Fire of 1871 that laid waste the greater and best part of Chicago.

Regrettable Suspension of University

The Seminary kept on with Dr. McGovern as rector and the same staff of professors. Dr. McMullen was appointed pastor of the new parish of St. Paul, the church of which, under the name of St.

[28] McGovern, *Life of Bishop McMullen.*
[28a] *Ibid.*

Francis, had been for many years the place of worship for the people of German birth and extraction who had just completed their new church at the corner of West Twelfth and Newberry Streets. But the Seminary was not destined to outlive for long the University of which it had been so large a part. In 1868 the fatal hour struck and the most painful occurrence in the history of the diocese took place. The Seminary was closed, the rector and professors were dismissed, and the students were sent to St. Francis' Seminary near Milwaukee. Of the four priests who were the chief actors in the scene no word may be spoken that would impugn their motives or reflect upon their lives. They were above all reproach. And who would utter a word that would involve in any way the name of the bishop? He was a man of great probity of life, of marked piety, and had brought to his work a rare intelligence, cultivated by study under the highly gifted professors of Maynooth College, Ireland, and was noted for a refinement of manners that would have attracted attention in any society. But failing health resulting in pronounced peculiarities aroused the suspicion of those who were close to him. Representations to that effect were made to Rome by the priests holding the most important positions in the diocese. The trouble grew out of this, and though serious for a time and the occasion of scandal, it did not last long. The judgment of the priests was justified before the end of that year, when it was found necessary to remove the bishop to an asylum, where, strange to say, he lived for twenty years without any amelioration in his mental condition. Before his removal was found necessary he and the priests were fully reconciled. A touching scene took place at the death-bed of the bishop's former vicar-general, Dr. Dunne. The bishop visited him and gave the last blessing and spoke the words which a year later found an echo on the lips of the new bishop as his first greeting to the priests and people of his flock: "Pax Vobis." A reconciliation was effected, but it remained for the new bishop to complete the workings of justice. After a few months Dr. McMullen was made rector of the cathedral and later on vicar-general of the diocese; Father Roles was appointed pastor of St. Mary's, where his zeal and scholarly attainments revived the halcyon days of its earlier life; Dr. McGovern was appointed to the most important parish in the diocese outside of Chicago, namely, Bloomington. As to Dr. Dunne, he had already passed to the highest of all tribunals, whose judgment no one dares anticipate. "No one knew him but to love him." Nor was that wanting which many deemed necessary to

complete the vindication, and it came in 1881 with the appointment of Dr. McMullen to Davenport as its first bishop.

The trustees at the time of the closing of the university were: Right Rev. James Duggan, president; Rev. John McMullen, D. D., vice-president; Rev. J. P. Roles, secretary; Very Rev. Dennis Dunne, D. D., V. G.; Rev. T. Butler, D. D., Rev. T. Kennedy, Rev. M. Hurley, Rev. J. J. McGovern, D. D., Rev. F. Kalvelage. At the present time the members of the board are Most Rev. eorge W. Mundelein, D. D.; Right Rev. Msgr. M. J. Fitzsimmons, V. G.; Rev. P. J. Tinan, Right Rev. Msgr. D. J. Riordan.

Distinguished Students of the University

The closing of the University was unquestionably a very great loss, a lamentable miscarriage of high ideals and self-sacrificing efforts, and yet it cannot be said that the University was a complete failure. Many drew inspiration from its teachings and the example of its officers and professors, a goodly number meriting a high place on the roll of honor. Of the number may be mentioned several high dignitaries of the Church, namely, Archbishop Ireland, Archbishop Riordan, Bishop Baltes, Bishop McMullen, Bishop Burke and Bishop Dunne of Dallas, and many lay students who as judges, lawyers, physicians, merchants, made an enviable name for themselves, notably General James A. Mulligan; Richard J. Clifford, judge; Daniel Scully, judge; Patrick McHugh, judge; Peter Foote, judge; John G. Higgins, judge; Denis J. Hogan, judge; John Keveny, judge; B. T. Hickman, judge; Washington Hessing, newspaper proprietor and post master; M. W. Murphy, merchant; John Higgins, botanical expert; William C. Dunne and John Guerin, physicians; H. Victor Henrotin, merchant; Joseph Herbert, John Prindiville, James Armstrong, physicians, and many others. The priests were numerous. As Bishop Quarter foretold, it was a nursery of vocations to the priesthood. Including those ordained in the first year, the list includes, Fathers P. McMahan, Bernard McGorrisk, Jeremiah Kinsella, John Brady, John Ingolsby, Thomas O'Donnell, John Faughan, Francis Derevin, Philip Conlon, Patrick McLaughlin, Patrick McElhearne, Terrence Murray, James McAuley, James Gallagher, George A. Hamilton, Joseph Rogan, Dennis Dunne, Henry Coyle, Lawrence Hoey, P. M. Donohoe, James Griffin, Thomas Kennedy, William Clowry, James Dempsey, John Breen, Alexander Hartenberger, Hugh Brady, Maurice Gipperich, Roderick Heimeling, Herman Liermann, James Fitzgerald, John Hampston, John Molitor, Michael O'Donnell,

Matthew Dillon, Michael Hurley, — Aylward, — Montague, Patrick Herbert, Peter Dowd, Daniel Kinsella, Frank Keenan, Thomas A. Ackley, Patrick Birmingham, Patrick J. Conway, Maurice Dorney, Monsigneur Edward Kelly, Thomas Leydon, Michael Looby, Richard McGuire, Joseph McMahon, Henry Reimboldt, Caspar Reimboldt, Richard Scott, Jeremiah O'Neil, Hugh O'Gara McShane, Thomas F. Cashman, James Devine, Clement Kalvelage, Ferdinand Kalvelage, William De la Porte, John Kennedy, Andrew Petit, Thomas Pope Hodnett, John Masterson (Jesuit), Francis Murtagh, Peter Gormley, Francis Gormley, H. M. Fegers, J. Wiederhold, Caspar Huth, Joseph Cartan, James Grogan, and others, among them the author of this contribution to the history of the University of which he is perhaps the oldest living student. He designs this contribution as a tribute of sincere affection to the professors and students of an institution of which he cherishes most grateful and loving memories.

CHARTER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. MARY OF THE LAKE

An Act to Incorporate the University of St. Mary of the Lake

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois represented in the General Assembly:* That George A. Hamilton, John Faughnan, William Quarter, Walter I. Quarter, Bernard McGorisk, Jeremiah Kinsella, Patrick McMahon, John Ingoldsby, and Thomas O'Donnell, and their successors, be and they are hereby created a body politic and corporate under the name and style of "the University of St. Mary of the Lake," and henceforth shall be styled and known by that name, and by that style and name to remain and have perpetual succession with power to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, to acquire, hold and convey property, real, personal, or mixed in all lawful ways, to have and use a common seal, and to alter the same at pleasure, to make and alter, from time to time, such by-laws as they may deem necessary for the government of said institution, its officers and servants. Provided such by-laws are not inconsistent with the Constituti on and laws of this State and of the United States; and to confer on such persons as may be considered worthy, such academical or honorary degrees as are usually conferred by similar institutions.

Section 2. Said corporation shall have power to fill such vacancies in their own body as may happen by death, resignation, or otherwise, and shall hold the property of said institution solely for the purposes of education, and not as a stock for the individual benefit of themselves or of any contributor to the endowment of the same—and no particular religious faith shall be required of those who become students of the institution.

Section 3. Said institution shall remain located in, or near, the City of Chicago, Cook County, and the corporators and their successors shall be competent in law and equity to take to themselves in their said corporate name real, personal or mixed estate by gift, grant, bargain and sale, conveyances, will devise

or bequest of any person or persons whomsoever, and the same estate whether real or personal, to grant, bargain, sell, convey, demise, let, place out at interest, or otherwise dispose of the same for the use of said institution, in such manner as to them shall seem most beneficial to said institution—said corporators shall faithfully apply all the funds collected, or the proceeds of the property belonging to said institution according to their best judgment in erecting and completing suitable buildings, supporting necessary officers, instructors and servants, and procuring books, maps, charts, globes, and philosophical, chemical and other apparatus necessary to the success of said institution; Provided nevertheless that in case any donation, devise, or bequest shall be made for particular purposes accordant with the design of the institution, and the corporation shall accept the same, every such donation, devise, or bequest shall be applied in conformity with the express conditions of the donor, or devisor; Provided, further, that said corporation shall not be allowed to hold more than one thousand acres of land at any one time, unless the said corporation shall have received the same by gift, grant, or devise, and in such case they shall be required to sell or dispose of the same within ten years from the time they shall acquire such title; and on failure to do so, said land over and above the before named one thousand acres, shall revert to the original donor, grantor, devisor or their heirs

SECTION 4. The treasurer of the institution, and all other agents when required, before entering upon the duties of their appointment shall give bonds for the security of the corporation, in such penal sums and with such securities as the corporators shall approve and all process against the corporation shall be by summons, and the service of the same shall be by leaving an attested copy thereof with the treasurer, at least sixty days before the return day thereof.

SECTION 5. The corporation shall have power to employ and appoint a president or principal for said institution and all such professors or teachers and all such servants as may be necessary—and shall have power to displace any or each of them as the interest of the institution requires—to fill vacancies which may happen by death, resignation or otherwise among said officers and servants, and to prescribe and direct the course of studies to be pursued in said institution.

SECTION 6. The corporation shall have power to establish departments for the study of any and all the learned and liberal professions and to institute and grant diplomas in the same; to constitute and confer the degrees of Doctor in the learned arts and sciences and belles lettres, and to confer such other academical degrees as are usually conferred by the most learned universities.

SECTION 7. Said corporation shall have power to institute a board of competent persons, always including the faculty, who shall examine such individuals as may apply; and if said applicants are found to possess such knowledge, pursued in said university, as in the judgment of said board renders them worthy, they may be considered graduates in course and shall be entitled to a diploma accordingly, on paying such fee as the corporation shall affix, which fee, however, shall in no case exceed the tuition bills of the full course of studies in said university—said examining board may not exceed the number of ten, three of whom may transact business, provided one be of the faculty.

SECTION 8. Should the corporation at any time act contrary to the provisions of this charter, or fail to comply with the same, upon complaint being made to the Circuit Court of Cook County, a *scire facias* shall issue and the circuit

attorney shall prosecute in behalf of the people of this State for a forfeiture of this charter. This act shall be a public act, and shall be construed liberally in all courts for the purposes hereinbefore expressed.

(Signed) W. A. RICHARDSON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
(Signed) JOHN MOORE,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved by the Council of Revision, December 23, 1844.

THOMAS FORD, *Governor.*

A PARTIAL LIST OF THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. MARY OF THE LAKE

Ackley, Thomas
Albright, Mac
Allen, William
Armstrong, James
Anderson, Richard
Burke, John
Burke, James C.
Burke, Edward
Burke, James
Balloff, Ignatius
Bartley, Edward
Birmingham, Patrick
Boer, Henry
Brock, Isaac
Brown, William
Borden, William
Brown, William
Baer, Adam
Baer, Herman
Brannock, John
Burch, John
Butler, Francis
Baxter, John G.
Butzen, Julius C.
Beebe, John E.
Cassaher, Francis
Clark, William
Casey, Thomas
Clifford, James
Clifford, Richard
Clifford, John
Collins, Edward
Condon, James
Conley, James
Conley, Joseph
Conway, Joseph
Conway, Patrick
Cooney, Stephen
Corcoran, Michael
Coughlan, William
Croak, William
Cunningham, Daniel
Cook Peter
Cashman, Thomas L.
Coughlin, John
Clancy, James
Carden, John
Callaghan, John
Chapney, Thomas
Cahill, Thomas P.
Campston, Augustus
Coyle, Francis
Carter, Joseph
Cannon, James
Delaney, P.
De la Porte, William
Dunnegan, John
Dunnegan, Thomas
Devine, James
Dunne, Edward
Dunne, Michael
Doyle, Edward
Dunne, William P.
Deleman, Thomas
Downey, Maurice
Downey, Thomas
Dwyer, Franklin P.
Dwyer, John G.
Daly, John
Day, John
Donahoe, John
Doude, John
Dowling, Patrick
Dowling, John
Doyle, James
Duffy, Eugene
Duffy, George
Dunlop, William
Devine, James
Dunlap, William
Ellis, George
Ennis, Richard
Ewing, Henry
Furbick, Otto
Fenelon James
Fegers, H. M.
Fisher, Peter
Fleming, Thomas
Fin, Edward
Fox, James W.
Finelly, Richard
Gillon, Jacob
Gerrity, Thomas
Gerrity, Dominic
Gerity, Thomas
Gerrity, John
Greene, Charles
Gana, Bartholomew
Gay, William
George, William
George, Walter
Gavin, William
Garnet, Richard
Gregory, Stephen J.
Gillan, Jacob
Greyshon, John
Greyshon, George
Garrity, Hugh

Garrity, P.
Gasrand, B.
George, Marshall
Gormerly, Francis
Gormerly, Peter
Galven, P. J.
Gladden, A. D.
Ghent, F.
Gould, John
Gregory, John
Hale, Ledmouth
Hannaher, John Q.
Hanifin, Timothy
Hanifin, Eugene
Hallern, Francis
Haney, M.
Healy, James
Healy, Thomas
Healy, Daniel
Head, John R.
Heany, Michael
Heany, John
Hebert, Joseph
Herbert, Patrick
Henroten, Victor
Henroten, A.
Heyng, Joseph
Higgins, John
Higgins, John G.
Heekman, B. F.
Hickey, John
Haffert, Adam
Holt, George
Horestin, John J.
Hogan, D. J.
Hollern, Francis
Huth, Casper
Jacobs, Henry
Jeffris, George
Johnson, Ferdinand
Johnson, Magnus
Kalvalage, Clement
Kelly, Edward
Kelly, Timothy
Kelly, William
Keenan, Francis
Keenan, J.
Kennedy, John
Kevency, John
Keeveney, John C.
Keenan, Joseph
King, Joseph
Kilkenny, James
Killeen, Thomas
Kinsella, Daniel
Kinsella, Joseph
Knott, Edward
Koening, Henry
Koch, Barnard
La Barthe, Julius
Lake, Edward
Landers, John
Landers, Thomas
Lane, Francis
Lane, William
Lee, Ambrose
Leydon, Thomas
Linberg, Augustus
Looby, Michael
Lowry, Eudoms
Lovejoy, W. H.
McGuire, James
McGuire, Richard
McCarthy, James
McCarthy, John
McCarthy, Dennis
McGrath, Thomas
McCagery, John
McGlaughlin, Joseph
McGovern, James J.
McKoen, William
McMahon, James
McManus, Michael
McDonald, James
McElhearne, James
McShane, Hugh
McJunkin, Henry
McHugh, Patrick
McMahon, Joseph A.
McHale, John
McNally, John
McKinstry, ——
McGovern, Thomas
Magher, Edward
Magnahen, John
Mahoney, James
Mahoney, James T.
Malloy, Mike
Maloney, Thomas
Masterson, John
Mahony, George
Mackin, Michael
Mackin, John
Marks, Kossath
Mulloy, P.
Menard, Louis
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, M. W.
Murphy, William
Murphy, Thomas
Murphy, P.
Murphy, Francis
Murtagh, Francis
Myles, Grafton
Moran, Michael
Mealiff, Francis
Mullen, Edward
Moynahan, Andrew
Mularky, Edward
Moore, George
Noonan, John
Nugent, Charles
Nugent, Michael
Nally, Patrick
Nugent, George
Nickolson, M.
O'Brien, William Smith
O'Brien, James
O'Brien, Dennis
O'Connor, James
O'Connor, John
O'Bryne, Joseph
O'Loughlin, Henry
O'Loughlin, Joseph
O'Doud, Peter
O'Mahley, Martin
O'Neil, James
O'Neill, Jeremiah
O'Neill, P. S.
O'Dellaney, P. P.
O'Rourke, Andrew
Owen, ——
Otto, Joseph
Payne, Eugene

Pettit, Andrew
Plotzer, Thomas G.
Prindiville, John
Prussing, Ernest
Provo, J. J.
Purviance, Warren
Quinlan, Francis
Quinlan, John
Raggio, Thomas
Rankio, Albert
Racraft, William
Reinkie, Albert
Reimbold, Casper
Reimbold, Henry
Reeves, Patrick
Riordan, D. J.
Riordan, Michael
Roan, Joseph
Roach, Peter
Roarke, Andrew
Roarke, Frederick
Roberts, Charles
Rolland, Edward
Ryan, John
Ryan, Thomas
Robinson, Edward
Sage, John
Saucier, P.
Schweisthal, Felix
Schrankle, Herman
Scully, Daniel
Sanders, H.
Scanlan, John
Scanlan, J. G.
Scanlan, Timothy
Schiedt, Jacob
Scott, James R.
Scott, Richard
Shufeldt, William
Smith, John
Smith, Richard
Smith, William
Stanton, John
Stretch, Edward
Spring, Edward J.
Sturdivant, Harvey
Segar, Christian
Sheridan, P.
Shuster, N.
Shaughnessy, Daniel
Sullivan, James
Scales, John
Scales, Samuel
Schlernitgauer, Joseph
Snowden, A.
Teidman, Jacob
Teidman, William
Tracy, Michael
Tracy, Charles
Terry, Thomas S.
Tautmann, Francis
Vernis, Thomas
Walsh, Thomas
Walsh, Francis
Walsh, J. C.
Walsh, James
McGuire, Edward
Walsh, John L.
Waddock, Francis
Waddock, John
Waddock, Joseph
Wishaar, Alphonse
Ward, Mathias
Weckler, Francis
Weckler, John
White, Emmett
Winslow, Della
Wietsel, F.
Wade, James A.
Webster, Robert
Weiderhold, William
Yoeman, George
Zetille, Anthony
Zetille, Adolph

The author desires to make grateful acknowledgement of the valuable services rendered to him in the preparation of this paper by his old friend and fellow student, Mr. M. W. Murphy of Elmhurst, Illinois, who is surpassed by none either in devotion to his *Alma Mater* or in the honor reflected upon it by the standard of life he has adopted and observed. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the courtesy of the Very Reverend Andrew Morrissey, C. S. C. and of Mother M. Aquina, Superior General of the Sisters of the Holy Cross in granting free access to the Chronicles of their respective communities.

(Continued in Subsequent Numbers.)

D. J. RIORDAN.

St. Elizabeth's Church, Chicago.

We would like to hear from all surviving students of the University and also from relatives of deceased students. We would also like to be advised of any omissions from above list.—ED.

THE FRANCISCANS IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

In January, 1857, the diocese of Quincy, Illinois, which had been established in 1853, was transferred and annexed to the newly erected diocese of Alton, and on April 26, the Rev. Henry Damian Juncker, pastor of the Church of the Emmanuel at Dayton, Ohio, was consecrated first Bishop of Alton. He found in his diocese fifty-eight churches, five in course of erection, thirty missions, twenty-eight priests, six young men studying for the ministry, and a Catholic population of fifty thousand.[1] "Priests were scarce, and vocations to the ministry were limited. In such an emergency the Bishop could only look to Europe for help. In the fall of the same year he crossed the ocean and secured followers in France, Rome, Germany, and Ireland."[2] The Rev. Augustine Brickwedde, pastor of St. Libory's, St. Libory, Illinois, accompanied him.[3]

With letters of recommendation from the Rt. Rev. Conrad Martin, Bishop of Paderborn, Bishop Juncker applied also to the Very Rev. Gregory Jankneeht, Provincial of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Cross, in Germany. Father Brickwedde visited several convents of the Province, and by his eloquent pleading induced a number of the Fathers to volunteer for the diocese of Alton. The Provincial, who is said to have himself long cherished the desire of laboring in the foreign missions, readily acceded to the request of his distinguished visitor and applied to his council and to Rome for the powers necessary in so important a matter.

The Provincial council, in a meeting held at Wiedenbrueck on July 24, 1858, gave its consent to the undertaking, and the permission of the Minister-General at Rome was received without much delay. Thereupon three fathers and six lay brothers were chosen from among the many that had volunteered. The fathers chosen were: Damian Hennewig, superior; Capistran Zwinge, and Servatius Altmieks. The brothers were: Irenaeus Drewes, Paschal Kutsche, Marianus Beile,

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[1] The Diocese of Alton, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia, I*, p. 367. Zurbonsen: *Clerical Bead Roll of the Diocese of Alton*, p. 13 sq.

[2] The Diocese of Alton, *ibid.*

[3] This fact and the following account are taken from the Chronicle of the Province of the Sacred Heart, in the Provincial archives, in St. Louis, Missouri.

Julius Sehmaenk, Edmund Wilde, and Herman Uphoff; the last two belonged to the Third Order Regular.[4]

These nine religious assembled at Warendorf to reeeive instruetions as to their work in the missions and to make the neeessary preparations for their long journey. They bade farewell to their brethren on August 24 and travelled by rail to Bremen, where they boarded the Lloyd steamship *Bremen* on the 27th.[5] Early the next morning the *Bremen* put to sea. Owing to a storm that lasted for five days, and a breakdown of the machinery which eaused a delay of thirty hours, the voyage was a eomparatively long one; it was not until September 14 that the *Bremen* steamed into the harbor of New York.

The following day the religious boarded the train for Alton, travelling by way of Dunkirk, Erie, Cleveland, and Indianapolis, and reaehed their destination at two o'eloek in the morning of September 21. They were kindly reeeived by the Rev. John J. Menge, reetor of the eathedral and chaneellor of the dioeese.[6] Bishop Juncker was absent on a Confirmation tour, and as he was expected to return within a few days, Rev. Menge, who had been instructed to aeeompany the Fathers to the parish to be entrusted to their eharge, deeided to

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[4] Father Damian Hennewig was born at Haltern, in the diocese of Muenster, Westphalia, on February 18, 1808. After holding the position of teacher and organist for about eight years, he felt a call to the priesthood. Upon the recommendation of the Rev. Paul Melchers, the future Cardinal-Archbishop of Cologne, he was admitted into the seminary at Muenster, and ordained a priest on August 17, 1850. On March 6, 1851, he entered the novitiate of the Franciscans of the Province of the Holy Cross, at Warendorf. Soon after his profession, he was, on account of his solid piety and executive ability, made guardian of the convent at Paderborn and *Custos* of the Province. When he expressed his willingness to accept the invitation of Bishop Juncker to labor in his diocese, he was appointed superior of the little band to be sent. Father Capistran Zwinge was born at Grosseneder, Westphalia, on April 20, 1823. He was clothed with the habit of the Order on September 24, 1846, and ordained a priest on September 4, 1849. Father Servatius Altmicks was a native of Warendorf. Born on July 23, 1829, he joined the Franciscan Order on October 3, 1850, and was raised to the priesthood on April 5, 1854. These men, as also the Brothers, were distinguished for their piety and strict observance of the Rule of the Order, and their memory is still in benediction among their brethren. They were animated by a great love for souls, and this made them ready to take upon themselves the greatest hardships and privations in order to minister to the spiritual needs of the Catholics scattered over a wide extent of territory.

[5] The travelling expenses for the nine religious, amounting to about $75 for each, were defrayed by the Leopoldine Association.

[6] For sketch of Rev. Menge, cf. Zurbonsen, *Bead Roll*, p. 94.

await his return. "Here," writes Father Servatius, "we were informed of our field of labor. In Germany we were told that Hanover (Germantown), in Clinton County, would be our field of labor, and it was described to us in the most glowing colors. At Alton, however, we were told: 'To Teutopolis!' No doubt, grave reasons prompted the change. We knew nothing of either place, and so we could readily leave the decision to the Bishop.'"[7]

At Teutopolis

As Bishop Juncker's return was delayed, it was decided that Father Damian, the superior, and two Brothers remain at Alton, and that Rev. Menge set out for Teutopolis with the others. The latter arrived there late at night on September 23, and were cordially welcomed by the Rev. B. Bartels, then in charge of the parish. Bishop Juncker arrived with Father Damian on September 30.[8]

The history of Teutopolis dates from the year 1837. In that year about one hundred and forty Catholic immigrants from Oldenburg, Hanover, and Westphalia, Germany, who had settled in Cincinnati, Ohio, formed a "German Land Company," whose purpose it was to look for cheaper homesteads and to found a German colony. Each member made a monthly contribution of $10 until the sum of $16,000 was realized; besides this, each one had to pay $10 to help defray the ordinary expenses. In return all who had contributed $50 received forty acres of land and four lots in the town to be built. The committee of three—Clement Uptmor, Sr., John F. Waschefort, and Gerard H. Bergfeld, appointed to find land suitable for the contemplated colony, passed through a great part of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, going as far west as Chillicothe. Repelled by the existence of slavery in the last-mentioned state, they returned to Illinois, and finally selected land in the northeastern part of Effingham County. The report of the committee was favorably received, and ten thousand acres were bought at $1.25 per acre, except eighty lots in the town, for which $400 were paid. The distribution of the land was made by lottery. All the deeds were drawn up by John F. Waschefort, and the plan of the town was made at Cincinnati. The founders of the Land Company intended to call the town St.

[7] Chronicle of the Province, *ad annum*.

[8] Father Servatius to his family; dated Teutopolis, September 27, 1858. Copy in the Provincial archives. For sketch of Rev. Bartels, cf. Zurbonsen, *Bead Roll*, p. 19 sq.

Peter, but the name Teutopolis was adopted at the advice of a priest who had contributed to the fund of the Company. The first settlers arrived in the fall of 1838 or in the spring of 1839. Most of the early settlers came from Cincinnati by way of the Cumberland, or National, Road, which passes from Washington, D. C., through Teutopolis to St. Louis and the West. Others travelled by boat to St. Louis and thence by wagon. Some came directly from Germany by way of New Orleans. These early settlers, like all pioneers, had to cope with the greatest hardships; but they were a sturdy people, and by their industry and thrift soon overcame all difficulties and even became prosperous.[9]

The first divine services were held by the Rev. Joseph Masquelet toward the end of the year 1839 in a private house. The following year a small log church was built in the middle of the settlement and dedicated to St. Peter. Quarrels and dissensions soon arose, in consequence of which Rev. Masquelet, with his own means and on his own land, built a second church of logs about a mile and a half west of the town. The continued hostility of the people finally induced Rev. Masquelet, in 1842, to leave the parish and the diocese.[10] From 1842 to 1845 Teutopolis was without a resident priest, but it was visited occasionally by priests of the diocese of Vincennes, to which diocese the southeastern part of the state then belonged. The church records mention the Rev. Charles J. Oppermann, Rector of the Seminary at Vincennes, the Rev. T. N. Mullen, O. S. A., of Newton, Illinois, the Rev. Roman Weinzoepflen, and the Eudist Father J. Vebret.[11] In 1845 the Rev. Joseph Kuenster was appointed pastor. He labored successfully until 1850, when he was called to take charge of the parish of St. Boniface at Quincy, Illinois.[12] Rev. F. J. Fischer, pastor of St. Marie, visited Teutopolis several times after the departure of Rev. Kuenster, until Rev. Joseph Zoegel, in November, 1850, was placed in charge of the parish. He soon saw the need of a larger church to accommodate the growing number of the faithful, not only of the town, but also of the neighboring settlements who had to come to Teutopolis to fulfill their religious duties, and he at once took steps to satisfy this need. He found the people most willing to

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[9] *Beitraege zur Geschichte von Teutopolis und Umgegend,* 1901, p. 9 sqq.; *History of Effingham County,* Chicago, 1883, Part I, p. 250 sqq.

[10] He probably came from Cincinnati with the first settlers. Cf. *Beitraege, etc.,* p. 40; Zurbonsen, *Bead Roll,* p. 86.

[11] *Beitraege, ibid.*

[12] Bruener, *Kirchengeschichte Quincy's,* 1887, p. 146 sqq.

aid him in every way, but serious contentions arose in regard to the site of the new church, a small minority even insisting on erecting the church outside the town limits. This party finally gained its point, much to the chagrin of the majority. The cornerstone of the new church was laid by Bishop Van de Velde on July 18, 1851, but the bitter feeling caused by the previous contentions continued for many years.[13] Services were held in the new church for the first time in March, 1853. Rev. Zoegel left the parish in June, 1854.[14] During the following years, up to the arrival of the Franciscans, the spiritual needs of the people were attended to by the Rev. Joseph Weber, S. J., of St. Louis, Missouri, Rev. X. M. Raphael, Rev. H. Liermann, Rev. Charles Zucker, Rev. Thomas Frauenhofer, and Rev. B. Bartels.[15]

At the time of the arrival of the Franciscans, the new parochial residence, for which Rev. Bartels and his predecessor had collected the funds, was in course of construction, and the nine friars had to accept the hospitality of Rev. Bartels, who was living in a small frame house which belonged to Mr. J. F. Wasehefort.[16] After his departure in the beginning of October, the religious continued to live in this house until a few days before Christmas, when the parochial residence was finished. In spite of the cramped conditions (the house contained only three rooms), they were very happy in their new home and made light of the hardships they had to undergo. The exercises of the community life were at once introduced and strictly observed, as

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[13] Chronicle of the Province. Zurbonsen, *Bead Boll*, p. 151.

[14] Zurbonsen, *ibid.*

[15] *Beitraege*, p. 41 sq.

[16] Mr. John F. Wachefort, one of the organizers of the colony at Teutopolis, was intimately connected with its development and prosperity. He was a native of Essen, Oldenburg, Germany, and came to this country in 1832, settling in Cincinnati. In 1835 he entered into partnership with two of his countrymen for the purpose of manufacturing rope and cordage. The firm soon began to prosper and two branch houses were established: one at Evansville, Indiana, the other at Teutopolis. The latter, established in 1840, was under the management of Mr. Waschefort. When the partnership was dissolved in 1857, each partner retained the business under his management. To the Teutopolis house Mr. Waschefort lent all his energy. Starting with a small stock of goods usually kept in country stores, he soon enlarged it and made his store the trading place of the surrounding country. Besides opening a pork packing business, he, in 1856, built a steam flour mill and also a sawmill. In 1860 he opened a branch store at Effingham. Though of a quiet and retiring disposition, he took an active part in promoting all public enterprises. The Franciscans count him among their greatest benefactors. Cf. *History of Effingham County*, Part II, p. 146 sq.

far as the circumstances permitted. All rose at 3:45 A. M.; meditation followed from 4 to 5 o'clock, after which all proceeded to the church for the Masses. In the evening, meditation was again held from 8 to 9 o'clock. The Provincial, Father Gregory, who visited the country in 1860, made some changes in this arrangement.

The new convent, as was said, was ready for occupation about one week before Christmas. It was a two-storied frame building, forty by thirty feet, and stood west of the church on the site occupied by the northern wing of the present convent. The building was planned for Rev. Bartels and was under construction when the Franciscans arrived, and hence only a few necessary changes could be made. The plan called for four large rooms, but now nine cells had to be provided for, not to speak of other apartments. These were consequently very small. The furniture was poor and simple. Brother Irenaeus, the carpenter, manufactured dry goods boxes into tables, benches, and bedsteads. There were no stoves in the cells, except in that of the superior; the cells above the kitchen were, therefore, preferred, as the warmth found its way through many openings. The church seems to have been without heating until about the year 1866. The cold was often so severe that, as Father Servatius writes, he repeatedly nearly fainted at the altar.

At first the community suffered from want of food, for the people were not yet acquainted with the ways of mendicant friars; but ere long this changed. In return for the spiritual services rendered by the Fathers, the grateful people regularly supplied them with the necessary food. Fresh meat could not be had during the greater part of the year. Now and then the people brought chickens or wild turkey or even a piece of venison. The only fresh fish that could occasionally be obtained were catfish; herring could not be had in town.

In the midst of all difficulties and privations, the nine religious were happy and contented, and in their letters to the Provincial and to their friends they always gave expression to their joy and gratitude for having been permitted to leave their native country and to labor for the salvation of souls in the missions of the New World.

In Charge of the Parish

On Sunday, September 26, 1858, Rev. Bartels delivered his farewell sermon to the congregation and introduced the Franciscans

as his successors. The latter formally took charge of the parish on Sunday, October 3, Father Capistran delivering the first sermon.[17]

In consequence of the quarrels and dissensions among the people and of the frequent changes of pastors, not to speak of the fact that the parish did not have a resident pastor for months, the spiritual condition of the people was a sad one. In his first letter to the Provincial, dated May 9, 1859, in which he gives a brief account of his endeavors since taking charge of the parish, Father Damian writes: The parish "seemed to be a barren field. Hardly any one showed a desire to receive the Sacraments. It was only when persons were in danger of death that we were called to administer the Sacraments, for just then many were dangerously ill and not a few died." By his prudent zeal, Father Damian soon gained the confidence of the people, harmony was restored, and there were unmistakable signs of a spiritual reformation.

Pope Pius IX had proclaimed a jubilee for the year 1858, "in order that through the united prayers of the faithful the Church might spread and that all nations might be brought to the unity of the faith." Bishop Juncker assigned the last three months of the year for the gaining of the jubilee indulgence in his diocese, and he also expressed the desire that, wherever possible, a mission be preached to the people during this time of grace. The Fathers, accordingly, conducted a mission for the parish of Teutopolis and neighborhood from December 11 to 19.[18] All the communicants, about five hundred persons, received the Sacraments and by their subsequent fervor afforded the Fathers great spiritual consolation.[19]

The parish at Teutopolis did not afford sufficient work for the zealous friars, and for this reason Bishop Juncker entrusted also Green Creek and Effingham, of which places Rev. T. Frauenhofer was

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[17] Provincial Archives.

[18] Father Servatius to Father Provincial Gregory, May 11, 1859. This was the second mission in the history of the parish. The first was given, in 1853, by the Jesuit Fathers Weber and Patschowski.

[19] The mission at Teutopolis was not the first given by the Fathers since their arrival in the diocese. Rev. Augustus Brickwedde, who, as we have seen, was instrumental in bringing the Franciscans into the diocese of Alton, had stipulated, while still in Germany, that the Fathers give their first mission in his parish. Accordingly, we find Fathers Capistran and Servatius preaching a mission at St. Libory, from November 7 to 14, 1858. They next gave missions at Hanover (Germantown) from November 14 to 24, and at Breese in Clinton County, from December 5 to 10.—Chronicle of the Province.—Father Servatius to Father Provincial Gregory, May 11, 1859.

pastor since 1857, to their care.[20] Father Capistran was placed in charge of the former place, and Father Servatius of the latter. On December 19, the very day on which the mission closed at Teutopolis, Father Servatius opened another at Green Creek, which lasted until the 24th, while Father Capistran preached a mission at Effingham from December 25 to 30.[21]

Henceforth Green Creek and Effingham were regularly attended from Teutopolis. The Fathers arrived on Friday and remained until Monday or Tuesday, at times even longer.

Extended Labors of the Fathers

The Franciscans were the only priests for many miles, and hence their field of labor comprised a very extensive territory. Father Servatius wrote to Father Provincial Gregory, under date of May 11, 1859: "My principal, that is, ordinary, charge is Effingham and environs as far as—I do not know the limits. Our mission district extends, as Rev. Bartels, the former pastor of Teutopolis expressed it, 'to the ends of the world,' or as Rev. Menge said: 'from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof.' At Effingham I know only

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[20] *Beitraege*, p. 66.—Zurbonsen, *Bead Roll*, p. 41.—Green Creek is situated in Douglas Township, Effingham County, about six miles north of Effingham. The first settlers, all Germans, came about the year 1838. They devoted themselves to farming and in the course of time became fairly well to do. Up to the year 1848 they fulfilled their religious duties at Teutopolis, seven miles distant. In that year they built a log church, and thenceforth Green Creek was attended from Teutopolis, until 1856, when Rev. Thomas Frauenhofer was appointed its first resident pastor. Cf. *Beitraege*, p. 89.—*History of Effingham County*, Part I, p. 149.—Zurbonsen, *Bead Roll*, p. 41.—The Fathers sometimes refer to Effingham as Broughton. Regarding these names, the *History of Effingham County*, Part I, p. 150, sq., says: "The original town was called "Broughton" and was named for Mr. Brough, an Ohio man, afterward Governor of that commonwealth of statesmen. Broughton was surveyed and laid out by George Wright, County Surveyor, and the plot recorded May 16, 1853.—An addition was made to the town of Broughton by Alexander & Little, July 1, 1858. After this the identity of Broughton seems to be lost, as we find no further reference to it in the records. Effingham having been laid out some years prior to this addition to Broughton, the latter was finally merged into Effingham, and the name of Broughton dropped."—The religious needs of the Catholics of Effingham were attended to from Teutopolis up to the year 1856, when Rev. Frauenhofer was made pastor of Green Creek. Services were held in a log church. Rev. Frauenhofer took steps to erect a church of brick. The cornerstone of the new church was laid in the spring of 1858. Cf. *Beitraege*, p. 93, sq. —*History of Effingham County*, Part I, p. 161.

[21] Father Servatius to Father Provincial, May 11, 1859.

that Teutopolis, where Father Damian is stationed, lies to the east, and that Father Capistran is laboring in the north; westward and southward, however, I do not know the limits."

A sick call, in December, 1859, to Watson, in the southern part of Effingham County, led to the discovery of a colony of French Canadians at that place. "I found myself among French Canadians who had settled there. They are without spiritual aid, 140 miles from the nearest French priest, and are thus exposed, in life and death, to the greatest danger. From this time I often thought of the Frenchmen, but I was at a loss how to help them. A few days later we began our second missionary trip (again southward),[22] and we were kept so busy that it was only in February (1859) that I could find an opportunity to visit the French colony. I again made the trip on horseback. My arrival caused the greatest surprise. I remained two days, celebrating Mass in the log house in which the man had died.[23] After the Gospel of the Mass, I read to them, on the first day, the Gospel of the preceding Sunday, and on the second, that of the following Sunday, and then delivered a short sermon on 'The Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion,' and on 'The Means of Salvation.' It caused me great joy to find, on that same day, how well they had understood and followed my brief exhortations given in broken French. Since that time, I have had many gladdening experiences of this kind; for since I visited the people and gathered them about a temporary altar, they now come to Effingham, where they find me, as a rule, on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday. A number of German and Irish families which I discovered in these parts in a similar manner, now also come to Effingham to assist at divine service and to receive the Sacraments. Thus, with the assistance of God's grace, we find here, not only a few stray sheep, but whole families, whole parishes, of whose existence neither priests nor bishop had an idea."[24]

Call to Howard's Point

The truth of this last assertion was shown in the case of a parish at Howard's Point.[25] One day in August, 1859, writes Father

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[22] The first journey was made the preceding year to give the missions at St. Libory and Breese.

[23] Whom Father Servatius had prepared for death on his former visit.

[24] Father Servatius to Father Provincial, May 11, 1859.

[25] The present St. Elmo, Fayette County. It is now attended from Altamont. Cf. The Catholic Directory.

Servatius, "an old man came to us from Howard's Point and begged that one of us accompany him. He explained that he belonged to a parish numbering about twenty-five families, native Americans mostly from Kentucky, who had not seen a priest for several years. It being Friday, none of us could go with him, because we had to attend our missions on Sunday. Father Superior Damian, however, promised to send a Father the following week, if they would come and get him. This settlement, situated about twenty-five miles from Teutopolis, has already built a church, but a priest has not yet set his foot into it." In this church "I said Mass daily during my stay. I endeavored to encourage and instruct the people in order to prepare them for the reception of the Sacraments, for which they had longed in vain for so many years. My first care was to have the children not yet baptized brought to me; I found that all under five years of age had not received baptism. On one occasion, six of them were brought at one time. The condition of the older children you can easily imagine. I found them in the greatest ignorance, and it caused me much trouble to teach them the most necessary truths of religion, although I gave catechetical instructions four to six times a day. This congregation was in fact so forlorn and forsaken that the people did not even know where in the world their bishop lived.

"In the meantime Father Damian informed the Bishop of my discovery, and I was ordered to send in a complete report. The Ordinary, in answering, promised to visit the congregation soon and instructed me how to take care of the mission for the future. I followed his instructions until I was recalled from Teutopolis."[26]

In Southeastern Illinois

Before giving an account of other missions in the vicinity of Teutopolis, we shall briefly describe the missionary journeys of the Fathers to the southeastern part of the State, as far as the Ohio and Wabash rivers. It is to be deplored, in the interest of history, that these zealous men have left us so few and incomplete accounts of their labors. As it is, only two accounts are extant. One is contained in a report sent by Father Capistran to the Provincial, in December, 1861; a copy of this report is to be found in the Provincial archives. The other account is a part of a letter written, in January, 1900, by

[26] He was sent to Quincy, Illinois, in December, 1859, to found a house there.

Father Kilian[27] to Father Ludger Glauber, who was collecting data for the history of Teutopolis and its missions. Copies of this letter are preserved in the archives of the convent and of St. Joseph's Seminary at Teutopolis.

In the autumn of 1859, Father Capistran, at the urgent request of Bishop Juncker, visited Piopolis, then known as Mount St. John's, or Belle Prairie. In his report, Father Capistran writes: "This parish is about one hundred miles from Teutopolis, in Hamilton County. The Catholics living there are mostly immigrants from Baden. As to pastoral care, their lot was for a long time a sad one, but during the last years there has been a change for the better. The congregation numbers from thirty to forty families. For years it has a frame church in which the people are wont to assemble every Sunday, even if there is no priest with them, in order to say their prayers and to sing hymns. It is the only German settlement in that part of the State. The people expect to have a resident pastor. It is said that in this neighborhood, and also fifty miles farther off, Benedictines are about to found a residence, a thing much to be desired in the interest of the Catholics there."

On the occasion of this first visit, Father Capistran remained four weeks, in order, especially, to prepare the children for first Holy Communion. A mission for the whole parish concluded the visit. From this time on the Fathers visited the settlement four times a year until March, 1870, when the Bishop found it possible to station a priest there.[28] From Piopolis the Fathers extended their labors

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[27] Father Kilian Schloesser arrived in this country in August, 1860, with Father Provincial Gregory Janknecht, who came at the urgent request of the Fathers to perform the canonical visitation of the new foundation. In 1862 he succeeded Father Damian as superior at Teutopolis, and when the residence was made a convent in 1863, he was chosen its first guardian. In 1864 he was appointed Commissary of the Provincial, and as such guided the missions until 1869. In spite of his many duties as superior, he was indefatigable in ministering to the spiritual needs of Catholics living in the neighboring counties. Cf. *Die Franziskaner Provinz vom Heiligsten Herzen Jesu*, St. Louis, Missouri, 1908, p. 191, sq.

[28] Provincial Archives.—In his letter to Father Ludger, Father Kilian writes: "During the first years of my stay at Teutopolis, Bishop Juncker urgently requested me to visit the settlement at Mount St. John's four times a year. I did so for about five years." Father Kilian's first visit was made probably in 1862 or 1863. When he was recalled to another field of labor, the parish was attended to by Father Mathias Hiltermann and Father Ambrose Janssen. Cf. *Beitraege*, p. 96.

to other missions in those parts. Setting out on horseback, they traversed the neighboring counties to bring the consolations of religion to the scattered Catholics. The places visited by them, as mentioned in their reports and in the chronicle of the Province, are: Ashley, Washington County; Mount Vernon, Jefferson County; McLeansboro, Hamilton County; Carmi, Dolan Settlement, and Grayville, White County; Shawneetown, Pond Settlement, New Haven, and Equality, Gallatin County; Elizabethtown and Rosiclare, Hardin County.

"These settlements were formerly attended, a few times a year, by a priest from Indiana; of late, however, by a priest of our diocese who was stationed at Shawneetown. But since both made their missionary journey during Easter time without the things necessary for Mass and for administering the Sacraments, and since the priest of our diocese referred to, this summer joined the army as chaplain,[23a] the faithful far and wide were deprived of the ministrations of a priest, and many were still waiting in fall for an opportunity to fulfill their Easter duty.

"The arrival of the priest was, therefore, made known to all in the neighborhood. In spite of many great difficulties, especially as to the language, everyone tried to make use of the opportunity to comply with his duty. A large room was converted into a chapel, a bureau or a table had to serve as an altar. Great ignorance prevailed in religious matters, even of the fundamental doctrines. Young men of twenty years had not the faintest idea of the Blessed Sacrament. It was indeed saddening, but there were experiences that sweetened the difficulties and made one forget all hardships and toil.

"At Grayville, in White County, on the Wabash River, about

[23a] This refers, no doubt, to Rev. Louis A. Lambert, the author of *Notes on Ingersoll* and editor of the *New York Freeman's Journal.* He was ordained a priest for the diocese of Alton in 1859 and appointed assistant pastor of Cairo, Illinois, from which place he attended the wants of the Catholics scattered through the southern tier of the counties bordering on the Ohio River and extending from the Mississippi to the Wabash. Shortly after, Father Lambert was appointed pastor of the cathedral of Alton. From there he was sent to the mission of Shawneetown, which included the counties of Gallatin, White, Hamilton, Saline, Pope, and Johnson. "While in the faithful discharge of his duties the War of the Rebellion broke out and a commission was issued to Father Lambert from the authorities at headquarters in Springfield, Illinois. The official document was issued to him as chaplain of the Eighteenth Regiment of Illinois Infantry Volunteers, to rank as captain of cavalry, from July 1, 1861. Cf. Biographical Sketch, in *Notes on Ingersoll,* by Rev. L. A. Lambert, published by the Buffalo Catholic Publication Company, Buffalo, New York, 1883.

one hundred and forty miles from Teutopolis, a good Bavarian, with whom I stayed over night, told me of the great difficulties which the Catholics of the place found in the fulfillment of their religious duties. A large Catholic congregation could have been established there, he said, if many Catholics, influenced by the religious conditions, had not packed up their belongings and moved away. On account of the small number of those remaining, they had not been able to have a church and priest of their own. In the beginning, he said, the people of a certain sect threatened to stone a visiting priest; that now, however, they openly acknowledge that their town did not develop as they desired, because there was no Catholic church to attract and keep the people; that he himself would be compelled, as soon as his children would be of sufficient age, to try his luck elsewhere, if only to safeguard their religious education. His condition is that of many others.''[29]

''At Rosiclare the large congregation has built a church, but a priest has not visited it for many years. I therefore remained there eight days and gave a mission, preaching in the morning and evening. The people are almost all from Wuerzburg (Bavaria), whose patron saint is St. Kilian, Bishop and Martyr, and for this reason I was not surprised to find that nearly all the boys bore the name of Kilian. I once jokingly remarked that, if I were pastor of the place, I would call it Kilianopolis. On this trip, or on a former one, I baptized thirty-two persons, many of whom were adults.

''In one house by the roadside, where I stayed over night, I baptized five persons. The grandfather, a Protestant, told me that he had not seen a Catholic priest for seven years; that before that time he had, for several years, had the happiness of offering hospitality to an elderly Benedictine from Kentucky, who passed by once a year; that he was happy to be able to give shelter again to a priest; the more so, because his daughter-in-law was a Catholic. I found him and his son well disposed, and I made use of the leisure the evening afforded to instruct them. The next morning I baptized the grandfather, his son, and three children.''[30]

These trips to the southern part of the State, which were made on horseback three or four times a year, until about the year 1868, are undoubtedly to be reckoned among the most arduous activities of

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[29] Report of Father Capistran.

[30] Father Kilian to Father Ludger.

the Fathers; not only because the trips were connected with many hardships and dangers which not unfrequently threatened the life of the missionaries, but also because the Fathers were thrown entirely upon their own resources for five or six weeks at a time. But the knowledge that they brought spiritual aid and consolation to so many who were deprived of it for many years, was an abundant compensation for the hardships and toil which they had to undergo.

(To be continued.)

Teutopolis, Illinois. SILAS BARTH, O. F. M.

THE NORTHEASTERN PART OF THE DIOCESE OF ST. LOUIS UNDER BISHOP ROSATI

(First Paper)

Of all the States bordering on the Mississippi River, Illinois can claim the proud distinction of having been the first to receive the Word of God in its generous soil and to bear the first fruits of many spiritual harvests in its early Catholic settlements of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Fort Chartres. 'Tis true, Tennessee and Mississippi may contend, to the exclusion of Illinois, for the honor of having received the first visit of messengers of the Faith, the heroic companions of De Soto,[1] on his march from Florida to the wilderness beyond the great river which they called the Rio Grande in 1541. And Missouri itself can point with honest pride to the fact that her virgin soil was consecrated to the service of the Cross by the same adventurous band long before the coming of Marquette, Hennepin, and St. Cosme.[2]

But the discovery of the great river by the Spaniards bore no immediate practical results, either temporal or spiritual, whilst Marquette's voyage of discovery inaugurated a great religious move-

[1] The question as to when De Soto first saw and crossed the Mississippi River is extensively treated by Louis Houck in his *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 98. He does not reach a definite conclusion, but says: "This only in clear, that a crossing was effected at some point between the Arkansas and St. Francois Rivers." De Soto began his march in June, 1539, and died May 21, 1542.

[2] It was in May, 1541, that the ceremony of the erection of the cross within the limits of the present State of Missouri, probably near New Madrid, was held. Cf. Irving, *Conquest of Florida*, p. 114. An eye witness, the Gentleman of Elvas, as he styles himself, says: "De Soto directed a lofty cross to be made and set up in the highest part of the town, declaring to the citizens that the Christians worshipped that in the form and memory of the one on which Christ suffered. He placed himself with his people before it, on their knees, while the Indians did likewise; and he told them that from that time thenceforth they should thus worship the Lord, of whom he had spoken to them, that was in the skies, asking Him for whatsoever they stood in need." C. XXIII. This was in 1541. Marquette made his voyage of discovery in 1673, Hennepin in 1680, and St. Cosme in 1699.

ment for the conversion of the native races, and the preservation of the faith among the *voyageurs* and wood rangers from Canada and the French immigrants that followed in their wake. Kaskaskia, with its mixed population of Christians, Indians, French traders and colonists, became the center of religion and civilization in the Upper Mississippi Valley.

The defeat of France, however, at far-away Quebec, September 13, 1759, and the suppression of the Jesuit Order[3] in 1764 sealed the doom of these flourishing missions and almost swept away the last vestiges of Christianity and civilization in Illinois. The Jesuit Fathers were dragged away from the Kaskaskia missions, the Fathers of the Foreign Mission disappeared from Cahokia; the Indian converts of both centers vanished before the ruthless power approaching from the East, and what remained of former strength was gradually merged in the rising Rome of the West, St. Louis. Founded in 1764, the new town on the west side of the Mississippi River grew and prospered, at first almost imperceptibly, then more distinctly, and at last it became the commercial emporium of the Mississippi Valley. It was in 1818 that St. Louis, the heir of Kaskaskia and its dependencies, began to take the lead in the work of Christianizing the vast territory round about. For in this year the city became the seat of the Bishop of Upper and Lower Louisiana, Louis William Valentine Du Bourg. With the zealous bishop came a goodly number of missionaries from France, Italy, Belgium, and Germany. A seminary was established at the Barrens and the Jesuit Fathers from Maryland were settled at Florissant. From now on there was to be no break in the ever-widening circle of spiritual conquest. To the south, west and east radiated the routes of the missionaries from the center, St. Louis. Every year new champions of the Faith were sent out, every year new territory was made tributary to the Cross.

When in 1826 the almost boundless diocese of Louisiana was divided[4] and Bishop Joseph Rosati received the appointment to St.

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[3] The Order of the Jesuits, so intimately connected with the early triumphs of the Faith among the North American Indians, was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV by the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, dated July 21, 1773. But various countries had long before this by royal decrees suppressed the Order in their own dominions, so France in 1764. The Jesuit Fathers of Kaskaskia obeyed the civil mandate, that is, yielded to force, and with one exception returned to France.

[4] New Orleans and St. Louis were made episcopal cities on the same day.

Louis, his diocese comprised all of Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa and the Indian territories beyond the Missouri line. Besides being, for a time, administrator of New Orleans, the good bishop had the spiritual care of Illinois by delegation from the Bishop of Bardstown. "I have been requested," Bishop Rosati writes, "to afford the Catholics of Illinois that assistance which is in my power."[5] And he did his best in fulfilling this charge imposed upon him by the saintly Bishop Flaget, at first only by taking over the care of the ancient parishes of the American Bottom, but soon looking around for new opportunities. It is the purpose of this series of articles to treat of one great sector of this vast field of operations, the northern half of Illinois, and to show how the Catholic religion was carried from St. Louis to the numerous cities, towns and villages blossoming forth, as if by magic, under the influence of the successive mighty swarms of immigration from the East and South.

The dividing line was the southern boundary of Arkansas. Bishop Rosati was at first designated Bishop of New Orleans, then, at his urgent request, he was appointed first bishop of St. Louis instead of New Orleans, but was charged with the administration of that diocese, until Bishop De Neckere accepted the appointment. Bishop De Neckere was elected August 4, 1829, and consecrated May 16, 1830. The last official act of Bishop Rosati as administrator of New Orleans was the consecration of the chapel of the Ursulines.

[5] At the very beginning of Bishop Du Bourg's administration as Bishop of Louisiana, 1818, Bishop Flaget had placed the remnants of the old French parishes and Indian mission on the Illinois side of the river in charge of that prelate, and Bishop Rosati only continued the ministry then begun. But as the limits of dioceses in the vast and unexplored territory were but ill defined, the various bishops exchanged with one another the powers of vicar-general, to be granted to the priests along the supposed boundary lines. Thus Bishop Rosati had the powers of vicar-general for Bardstown, Vincennes, New Orleans, Detroit, and far away Walla-Walla on the Pacific Ocean. As a sample we will quote the letter of Bishop Flaget, translated from the original Latin, dated December 3, 1832: "As it frequently happens that priests of the diocese of St. Louis visit missions in the diocese of Bardstown, and in other places subject to our jurisdiction, and as these priests may be of great spiritual advantage to the faithful of our jurisdiction, if they have the necessary faculties to preach the Word of God and administer the sacraments to them, we, desiring to provide as much as we can for the salvation of all the faithful of Christ living within the limits of our jurisdiction, give to the Illustrious and Most Reverend Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, all the faculties of our Vicar-General, *ad generalitatem, ut dicunt, causarum*, so that he may communicate them to his Vicar-General, and other priests, without any limitation."

BENEDICT JOSEPH, Bishop of Bardstown.

Yet whilst devoting our main attention to the beginnings of the Church in Northern Illinois, the present dioceses of Rockford, Peoria, and Alton, and the outlying districts of Chicago,[6] which by the Apostolic Bull of June 71, 1834, were made a part of the diocese of St. Louis, and remained so until the erection of the diocese of Chicago in 1844, we must in our present investigations extend the geographical limits so as to include the adjoining counties of Missouri, Iowa and Wisconsin, which, in the early days of Bishop Rosati, really formed, with Northern Illinois, one single, distinct missionary field, separated from the other parts of the diocese by miles and miles of pathless wilderness, and evangelized by the same priests, who were not infrequently resident pastors on one side of the river and wandering missionaries on the other.

Now, as Bishop Rosati of St. Louis was the guiding spirit in this concerted movement that attempted and succeeded to extend God's kingdom over this wide and promising domain, at the very time when the hardy pioneers from the Eastern and Southern states and, later on, from Ireland and Germany, came with irresistible force to reclaim the pleasant wildwood stretches along the rivers and streams and then the open prairie for agriculture, commerce and the arts of civilized life, we have restricted our historical investigation to the years that elapsed between his appointment to St. Louis as its first bishop in 1827 and his departure for Rome in 1840.

The grand development of the Church in Northern Illinois, as well as in the adjoining territories, came, of course, at a later day; yet the roots of its strength go down to those early painful and heroic efforts that were made under the guidance and inspiration of Bishop Joseph Rosati by the Lutz's, McMahon's, Lefevere's, Mazzuchelli's, St. Cyrs, the Brickwedde's, Tukers, Hamilton's, Raho's, and Parodis, of whose eventful lives we wish to recount the details, as far as we can, in their own words. For, as Lord Acton said, "History, to be above evasion or dispute, must stand on documents, not on opinion." The Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis[7] contain material of great importance and historical interest in regard to this very period,

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[6] Chicago was, indeed, for a time under the care of Bishop Rosati, but it never formed a part of St. Louis Diocese, which extended on the east only as far as Ottawa in La Salle County, Illinois, and therefore does not come, strictly speaking, within the terms of this article. Yet we cannot altogether exclude this great center of Catholicity from our consideration.

[7] I was very glad to find a short note written by Father Lambing in regard

consisting of the letters of the priests and laymen that had a share in the work, showing the almost overpowering difficulties and the often unexpected consolations they met, as well as the diversity of character in the various laborers in the vineyard, intensely and sometimes sadly human, yet animated by a living, unwavering faith in God and in the cause they served.

I. Physical and Spiritual Conditions Before 1827

It will be remembered how Father Marquette and his companions started on their voyage of discovery from the Mission of St. Ignace at Michillimackinack,[8] skirting the northern shore of Lake Michigan, then speeding their canoes through Green Bay and ascending the Fox River almost to its source: then crossing the portage to the headwaters of the Wisconsin River, how they glided along until at length the mighty Mississippi, the Father of Waters, received them on his broad bosom and carried them southward past the mouths of many other great rivers, the Illinois, the Missouri, the Ohio, and the Arkansas; and lastly, thinking they had almost reached the mouth of the Mississippi itself, how they turned their canoes up stream and after many weary days and nights entered the Illinois River that guided them to the banks of the great lake from which they had started. The first permanent settlements of white people and centers of Christian culture in the missionary field of which we are treating are situated on this very route of Father Marquette. At the juncture of the Wisconsin with the Mississippi lies Prairie

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to the method to be pursued in this series: "In reading the life of a person we always prefer to hear him speak for himself, and hence the value of such works depends in a great measure on the reproduction of as much of the original documents as space will permit. And they should find a place, even at the expense of not having so smooth a narrative as might have been produced by giving merely the sense. A man's own words always carry greater weight when he speaks them than they do from the pen of his biographer, and this is especially true of such works as by their nature are to become the basis of general history." *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, III, 3:1-42. Our St. Louis archives are rich in such materials of history, and we would much rather give them as they are than merit the name of a polished writer.

[8]Michillimackinack, or Mackinack, was the straits that join Lake Huron with Lake Michigan, and thus was destined to form the gateway to the wild and mysterious western world, the starting point for the missionary expeditions of our early history. The Mission of St. Ignace at Mackinac was founded by the Jesuit Father Allouez.

du Chien, so named in honor of an early Indian chief. A little lower in Illinois we find the town of Galena, in the district called Fever River. Then there is Dubuque and Davenport in Iowa, the favorite settlements of Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O. P. On the Missouri side we find strung out for more than two hundred miles the missions of that blunt, brave and gentle-hearted apostle, Peter Paul Lefevere, afterwards Administrator-Bishop of Detroit. Crossing over to the Illinois side we greet those early cares and attractions of the same missionary, Commenee or Nauvoo, Warsaw, Quiney, and Alton. Ascending the Illinois River we pass Naples, Beardstown, Pekin, Peoria—the favorite haunts of Father George Hamilton; and lastly Peru, La Salle, and Ottawa, made famous by the strenuous labors of Fathers Raho and Parodi, both Lazarists. Two of the tributaries of the Illinois River are frequently mentioned in our missionary letters, the Sangamon River and Crooked Creek, the settlements along which were attended by the founder of the earliest church in Chicago, Father St. Cyr. It was but natural that the tide of immigration should follow the only highways of travel then to be found—the rivers and streams. The endless prairie lands of Northern Illinois seemed, for a long time, to repel the immigrant, though their beauty and fertility had been proclaimed by all travelers, from the days of Marquette and Zenobius Mambre down to the close of the War of 1815 when the soldiers returning from the North gave glowing accounts of these mysterious regions. For mysterious, almost forbidding, the prairie had appeared to many: the rolling land, covered with luxuriant vegetation, yet without trees, and almost without water-courses, grand, yet sinister in its utter loneliness.[9]

The northernmost settlement in the diocese of Bishop Rosati, and, at the same time, the first one in our chosen territory visited by a priest from St. Louis, was Prairie du Chien, at the confluence of

[9] For further particulars see Ford, *History of Illinois*, passim; Moses, *Illinois*: "Central Illinois was a continuous prairie with narrow strips of timber along the rivers." Another authority states: "In 1816 Indians roamed through Morgan, Sangamon, and all counties west of the Illinois River. In 1818 Illinois numbered 45,000 souls. Some two thousand, descendants of French settlers, lived in the villages of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Prairie du Pont, Cahokia, Peoria and Chicago. The bulk of the population consisted of immigrants from the East and from Ireland. In the year of Father Rosati's coming to Missouri, 1818, Illinois still clung to its original state of natural beauty and freedom, marked only at wide intervals by the homesteads of the white intruder.

the Wisconsin and the Mississippi. The first priest to make a longer stay on the site of the future city was Father Louis Hennepin in 1680. In 1685 Fort St. Nicholas was built by the French Commandant of the West, Nicholas Perrot. About 1780 a permanent settlement began to grow up around the Poste. What missionaries attended it we cannot say, but in 1817 we get some authentic information on the religious conditions obtaining among the people of that region. It was the lone Trappist Missionary, Mary Joseph Dunand, that remained at the Poste a few months and left us an interesting account of what he saw and experienced there. Marie Joseph Dunand was born at Chapelle les Rennes in Lorraine on April 22, 1774. Enlisting in the army during the revolutionary disturbances, he was ordered one day to shoot a priest. His Christian feelings rebelled against such an act of sacrilege. That very day found him on the way to Switzerland as a deserter. But in Switzerland the one-time grenadier found peace in the Trappist monastery of Val Sainte, where he made his noviciate and was raised to the sacred ministry. On the third day of February, 1805, Father Dunand started from Val Sainte on a mission to America, where he arrived on the 14th of August of the same year. Joining his Trappist brethren under Abbot Urban Guillet, he proceeded with them to Kentucky, and, in the course of time, to Florissant in Missouri, and lastly to what is even today called Monk's Mound near Cahokia in Illinois. When the establishment at Monk's Mound was broken up in 1813 and the Trappists started on their journey home, Father Dunand, the Prior, obtained permission, at the request of Bishop Flaget, to remain as a missionary, and took up his residence at Florissant, where he held the position of pastor with several missions until 1820. It was in 1817, when peace had been re-established with the Indians of the North, that Father Dunand made his visit to Prairie du Chien. I will transcribe the account he gives of it in his so-called Diary:[10] "I wish to speak of the voyage I undertook to visit a settlement three hundred leagues distant, where until that time there had never been a priest.

It was situated farther up than the Wisconsin, on the left bank of the Mississippi. It took me thirty-four days to reach it. I set out in the beginning

[10] Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, and XXVII, No. 1. By mistake the name of the Trappist is given as Durand. Dunand is correct, as evidenced by several letters of good Father Prior, preserved in our archives.

of March, 1817, accompanied by six men, of whom five were for rowing and one for steering the canoe. I had bargained to pay each one a hundred and ten francs a month; for they would have many difficulties to overcome. Not only were winds quite frequent, but the cold was extreme and caused us much suffering. Hardly had we set out when snow covered the earth anew. The ice which had formed along the river came near ending our trip. The oars scarcely touched the water when they were laden with ice. We were several days in one place without being able ot make any progress. When we were about a hundred leagues up the river we came to rapids nearly six leagues long; we ascended them with great difficulty and not without danger of perishing. Every evening when we had put to land to pass the night the savages came to visit us; after they had gotten warmed up a little the chief came and gave me his hand, as did also the leaders among them. I flung them a piece of tobacco to mollify them, as they still were dangerous although peace had been made.

The thirty-fourth day from the time of my departure, after great fatigue and hardships, we reached the place where we sought to carry the light of faith. I was heartily welcomed by the people who had invited me to pay them this visit. The commander of the fort, although a Protestant, honored me with a visit and offered me his services. I lived one month among these people who, until then, had been entirely abandoned. I administered Holy Baptism to a great many, large and small, among whom there were many half-breeds and savages. In short, all day I was occupied in the exercise of the holy ministry. Three persons only refused to profit by my visit. Protestants came every day to the instructions; even the Jews were converted. The savages of different nations were exact in attendance at Mass; the savage women brought me their children in groups, some to be baptized, others that they might behold a Makita Courage; that is to say, a black-robe, who speaks to the Master of Life, it is thus they call the priest. I will say in a word that God blessed my work (notwithstanding my unworthiness) far beyond what I had hoped for.

Dreadful things were witnessed by the good Prior on this journey through the country devastated by years of Indian warfare, and even then cruelties were perpetrated that made his stout heart quail:

One day when again going up the Mississippi I arrived with my canoe and the men who accompanied me near a house which the savages had set afire and where some horrible cruelties had been committed. The father and mother, whom they had scalped, were lying dead before the door. Besides this, they had massacred seven children, most of them girls. The largest one they had put on the hearth of the chimney to serve as a log; two they had placed as andirons, two above crosswise and the two smallest in a kettle in which someone was making soap. The house was on fire when we arrived. I shuddered with fear lest the savages might still be there; but a domesticated savage who accompanied me reassured me by saying that, from what they had done on a similar occasion, it was safe to assume that they had promptly withdrawn.

With much confusion, I reviewed this burning house and the bloody corpses when a sight sadder still, at least more apt to excite pity, caught my eye. A poor old man, nearly sixty-five years of age, came before me having been scalped

and left for dead by the savages. "Father Joseph," he said to me, "save my soul! Save my soul!" (speaking in the English language). We took all possible care of him and he became some better, but at the end of a few days he died.[11]

Prairie du Chien lay in the very center of these Indian disturbances, and Father Dunand naturally dwelt on them in his Diary at greater length. We will give another incident to show in what a hopeless condition the greater part of Northern Illinois was just before the dawn of its Christianization:

"One day two Americans fell into their hands," writes Father Dunand, "and lest they might escape they brought them to a savage village. While their fate was being decided they were laid on their backs on the earth; then their four extremities were stretched out, fastened to four pegs driven very deep into the ground. One was condemned to be boiled in a large kettle and afterwards eaten; the other was to be roasted alive before the fire over which the pot was boiling which contained his companion. The first having been disembowelled was pulled to pieces and crammed into the kettle; the other was stripped of his clothes and led before the fire from which the flames rose more than six feet. The Indians, weapons in hand, formed a circle round him that he might not escape. The women were in front, each holding in her hand a pointed stick with which to prod the unfortunate man and to oblige him to turn towards the fire. It is worthy of note that under such circumstances the women are far more cruel than the men. One of the women had her child in her arms. She was the most vicious of all. The poor creature who was thus toasting, unable to bear such cruel torture, conceived the idea of making them kill him at once; and for this purpose grabbed her child and flung it in the pot with his companion. Seeing this, the savages, clapping their hands to their mouths, cried out: 'He is a hero! He is a hero!' and the mother of the child, coming forward, adopted him as her son; in this way he was spared; but on condition that he recognize as his mother her whose child he had thrown into the pot. One need not be astonished at this, for it is the custom among these people for the woman to adopt as her husband or son him who has been the murderer, if he is caught. This is the almost invariable rule.[12]

"But, sad to say," continues Father Dunand, "there are among

[11] Diary of Father Dunand as above, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, p. 60.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

these natives some white men more inhuman than the aborigines. The following story gives one instance of this: One day two young American girls, about eighteen years of age, fell into the hands of some Indians who carried them off to their camp. It is easier to imagine than to describe what was the fright and shock of these girls at the sight of these wild men, thirsty for blood and always ready to shed it. However, whether they were moved by the tears of these two unfortunates, or whether they were induced by some prospective interest, they decided to sell them to some white traders. While awaiting the arrival of the merchants, who must have been at some great distance, they placed the two young women by the side of a fire. There they kept them, trembling from head to foot, more dead than alive, when a white man living among the natives approached one of them with a knife in his hand; and having laid her breast bare with violence, cut it off and roasted it. The natives were horrified at such barbarity; they pursued the monster to kill him, but he hid himself. Meanwhile the poor victim of so horrible a deed was stretched on the ground bathed in her own blood and overcast with the pallor of death. A savage, bending over her, said: 'My poor girl, we did not wish to kill thee, but since thou hast lost so much blood and cannot escape death, I will do thee a kindness.' With these words he cleaved the head from the body with his hatchet. A merchant bought the other and returned her to her parents. I learned this tragic story from those who were themselves spectators to it.''[13]

The first entry in the church records of St. Gabriel's Church at Prairie du Chien is dated May, 1817. It is also on record that Father Dunand blessed the cemetery of St. Gabriel's on May 6, 1817. The first Mass of Father Dunand at Prairie du Chien, probably at the Old Fort, was celebrated April 18, 1817. Having instilled new life into the forlorn Catholic congregation at this northern outpost of civilization, Father Dunand returned to his missions in Missouri in time to prepare his people of the Barrens for the arrival of Bishop Du Bourg in St. Louis.[14]

After an interval of ten years, the well-known Father Francis

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[14] It was the Trappist Monk, Marie Joseph Dunand, that prevailed on the good Catholic people of the Barrens to offer to Bishop Du Bourg a tract of land near their church for the purpose of an Ecclesiastical Seminary. The offer was accepted and the seminary became the celebrated St. Mary's of the Barrens, the alma mater of many a faithful laborer in the Western Church.

Vincent Badin, younger brother of the "Apostle of Kentucky," came to visit the Indian tribes of Wisconsin and extended his missionary work as far west as Prairie du Chien, where "he restored the old missionary establishment, serving a population of about six hundred souls."[15]

We will give two of Father Badin's letters of this period. The first is from Prairie du Chien, dated June 9, 1827:

M. Francis Vincent Badin, Missionary of Michigan, to the Parish Priest of St. Louis:

My dear Sir and Confrere—I take occasion of the journey of my respected friend, M. Dubois, to ask you for definite information as to whether Fever River, about thirty miles from Prairie du Chien, depends on your jurisdiction or that of the Rev. M. Richard of Detroit; and if, in the former case, I may exercise there the functions of the sacred ministry. It is now the third week since my arrival. I have much work to do, and that is not surprising: for since the days of the Jesuits, that is, since time immemorial, no priest, save the good Trappist Prior, made his appearance at Prairie du Chien. People here tell me that he perished on his voyage to Europe.

The aspirants to first holy communion, thirty-seven boys and men and forty-six girls and women, making a total of eighty-three souls, keep me very busy. You can imagine how great the number of invalid marriages is, and how many baptisms had to be conferred.

I have conceived the project, dear Father, of going and depositing my conscience in yours, as it is now fourteen or fifteen months since I saw a priest, having been ordered to remain over winter at Sault Ste. Marie, Drummond Island, Michillimackinack Island, Arbor Croche, La Pointe, St. Ignace, etc. But I find my project cannot be carried out for several reasons. All that is left to me, therefore, is to implore the mercy of God and the assistance of your good prayers.

Yesterday the inhabitants of this place (Prairie du Chien) have commenced to cut down trees for the erection of a chapel, fifty feet long. God grant that I may be able to bless it to His greater glory before I leave the Prairie. I hardly believe that I can hold First Communion services here as early as I had hoped.

I have the honor to be, my dear confrere,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

F. V. Badin, *Miss. Priest.*

This letter was forwarded to Bishop Rosati, who answered it on August 5, 1827, granting the necessary faculties for Fever River. Father Badin responded at once:

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[15] Griffin, *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. XVI, No. 4. There are a few letters written by Father Badin to Bishop Rosati preserved in our archives. We shall publish them as occasion offers.

GALENA, FEVER RIVER, 30th August, 1827.

MONSEIGNEUR—I take advantage of the kindness of Mr. Soulard to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters and that of Mr. Patrick Walsh, in which were enclosed the faculties you were pleased to grant me of exercising the ministry in your diocese; for which accept my sincere thanks. These faculties could not have arrived at a more convenient time than they did, coming as they did just before my arrival here yesterday. I must confess, however, that I would have in any case exercised my priestly powers in accordance with a law of Michigan which indicates that Fever River is a part of that territory. Besides, Monseigneur, it seems to me that every travelling missionary has, so to say, unlimited faculties, or at least a tacit permission of the Ordinary of the diocese through which he passes; otherwise the faithful, far from deriving any benefit from the priest's visit, would be scandalized by it.

The reason why I did not address you directly is this, that I thought you had your residence at New Orleans. I remained at Prairie du Chien a part of the fourth month. I was constrained to stay there against my will on account of the horrors of the man-eater's war. I suppose the papers kept you informed on what the savages did here. I was filled with terror more than once, more than twenty times; not that I am timid, not that I am afraid of death, which, on the contrary, I desire, if it please Divine Providence, but . . . All the inhabitants shut themselves up in the fort, where I had established a pretty chapel in the large hall of the hospital. There I sang several High Masses. A few days later they made me move. I was forced to move the altar more than six times, either on account of the war, or of pouring rain. General Clarkson with eighteen companies started yesterday for the portage of the Wisconsin. In all probability a great deal of blood will have to be shed there. Consequently I shall be obliged to go down to St. Louis on my way to Detroit. I hope, Monseigneur, to have the happiness of receiving your blessing within three or four weeks. . . .

Your Grace's very humble and very obedient servant,

FR. VINCENT BADIN,
Missionary Priest.

After witnessing the most horrible scenes of cruelty at Prairie du Chien, scenes that his pen refused to record, Father Badin proceeded to Galena, and thence returned to Green Bay by way of St. Louis. It is worthy of note that in Galena Father Badin gained one prominent convert, an Episcopalian, George Middleton, to the faith. In the spring of 1828 Father Badin returned to Galena on Fever River, and in the summer visited Prairie du Chien. Here the apostate, J. B. F. Fauvel, who went about holding services, High Mass and Vespers, although he had been repeatedly refused ordination, wearing a cassock with a large Maltese cross attached to it, blessing the people with a particle of the Holy Cross, caused much trouble and vexation, as his fiery eloquence gained him many adherents among the Free Masons and evil-minded Catholics. At

Green Bay, Father Badin had the imposter ejected bodily from the church, when half the congregation left with their impudent leader. In a brief letter, dated September 20, 1828, Bishop Rosati approves Father Badin's strenuous efforts to keep his people away from the sacrilegious impostor.[16]

On January 2, 1829, Bishop Rosati answers Father Badin's questions in regard to the famous "Decree of the Council of Trent": "(1) A Catholic contracting marriage with a non-Catholic but baptized person, before a civil magistrate, where no priest could be obtained, can be admitted to the sacraments; if, however, a priest could have been found, the guilty Catholic must repair the scandal, as, for instance, by the priest asking forgiveness of the people in his name. (2) Two Catholics contracting marriage before a civil magistrate, when no priest could be had, can be admitted to the sacraments; but if they could have found a priest, the marriage is null and void, the scandal must be repaired, as above, the banns must be proclaimed, and the marriage must be solemnized before the priest ere they can be admitted to the sacraments."

As this instruction was meant for Prairie du Chien and Galena, it follows that Bishop Rosati held that the Council of Trent was published in the Northwest Territory.

II. The Opening Wedge

It seems Father Badin did not feel quite at home among the rough Irish miners at Galena, and they, in turn, did not take very kindly to Father Badin. On April 29, 1827, they sent a petition for a resident priest to the Rev. P. Rafferty of Brownsville, Pennsylvania, to be transmitted by him to the proper authorities. The signers are Patrick Walsh, Patrick Hogan, James Foley, John Foley, Michael Byrne. They state "that their numbers and zeal for their holy religion should entitle them to the favor, that their means to support a priest are ample, and their dispositions certainly corresponding with their means." Father Rafferty forwarded the petition to Bishop Rosati, seconding the request. On August 7, 1827, the good bishop answered both the petition of the people of Fever River and the letter of Father Rafferty. We will give both as we find them in the Letter-Book of Bishop Rosati for 1827:[17]

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[16] Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

[17] Archives. These petitions from far-away Galena remind one of the vision

August 7, 1827.

Reverend Mr. Rafferty, Brownsville, Pennsylvania:

I have received your letter with that of the Catholics of Fever River. My diocese does not extend beyond the Mississippi. However, I have been requested to afford the Catholics of the Illinois that assistance which is in my power. The number of the priests is far below the necessities of the diocese, which is composed of the State of Missouri, the Territory of Arkansas, and all the adjacent territories on this side of the Mississippi River; besides, being Administrator of the diocese of New Orleans, I must provide for its wants until a bishop will be appointed. It is not, therefore, in my power to comply at present with the wishes of the good Catholics. They have lately received a visit from the Rev. Vincent Badin from Michigan. Providence, I hope, will not deprive them of spiritual assistance.

August 7, 1827.

To Mr. Patrick Walsh, Galena:

I have received a letter signed by you and several other Catholics of the Mines of Fever River. It had been forwarded to the Rev. Mr. Rafferty of Brownsville, Pennsylvania. I am truly delighted to see the great zeal that you all show for your religion, and I hope that Almighty God will grant you what you so urgently desire. The Diocese of St. Louis is not now extended to the eastern shore of the Mississippi, but it will probably be. However, I have been requested by Bishop Flaget to afford the Catholics who live on that side such spiritual assistance as will be in my power. In my present situation, not having a sufficient number of priests, it is hardly possible for me to take care of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Cahokia. But as soon as I shall have a priest I will positively send him on a visit.

Though disappointed, the good Irish people of Galena did not lose courage, but tried again, on the fifteenth day of October, 1827, with a petition sent directly to the "Bishop of St. Louis and Administrator of Fever River, State of Illinois," in which they ask for a regular resident clergyman, competent to preach in the English language, promising him a salary of five hundred dollars a year and such other perquisites as by custom he may be entitled to. They also pledge themselves to "build a decent church, and other buildings for his private accommodation, as their circumstances will afford." This petition bears three new names, all Irish—Thomas Gray, Michael Finnelly, and Patrick Doyle. The appeal reached Bishop Rosati in New Orleans, and was answered from Donaldsonville, Louisiana, March 12, 1828. We quote it from the Letter-Book for 1828:

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of St. Paul, "which was a man of Macedonia, standing and beseeching him, saying: Pass over to Macedonia and help us." Acts 16:9. From that day on Galena and Fever River and the North were destined to be among the dearest interests of Bishop Rosati's paternial heart.

March 12, 1828.

Patrick Hogan, Galena, Fever River:

The petition has arrived at New Orleans during my absence. This has been the cause of the delay of my answer. I am very much pleased with the good dispositions of the Catholics and the generous offers they make for the support of a priest. But at this moment it is entirely out of my power. You would hardly believe that in the City of St. Louis I have no priest. I promise you to do all that is in my power. I will write to Europe.

And Bishop Rosati did write the very next day to Cardinal Cappelari, Prefect of the Propaganda: "I received lately a letter written in the name of two hundred Catholics of Galena, a town about five hundred miles north of St. Louis. These good people, who are destitute of all spiritual help, ask for an English-speaking priest. I beseech your Eminance most earnestly to send to this Diocese, either from the College of Propaganda or from the Irish College, two priests who can speak English; for at present I have absolutely no means to provide for the spiritual needs of so many Catholics." As this request and a second and a third one elicited no response, Bishop Rosati looked around among his priests for one to supply the most urgent need while waiting for the proper person. Among his small band of missionaries there was one of a rather romantic turn of mind, versed in the languages French, German and English, not very strong physically, but zealous and energetic, quick to take fire, but not as persevering as he might have been—a good and faithful priest withal, the "sacerdos Germanus" Joseph Anthony Lutz, who had come from Paris to St. Louis, November 5, 1826. Born at Odenheim in Baden in 1802, Father Lutz was then just twenty-four years of age. Whilst residing at the Cathedral the young priest attended the parishes of Carondelet and Cahokia to the satisfaction of all, though he made the impression on the rather critical Father Saulnier, Pastor of the Cathedral, as if "he did everything *primo motu, sed sine nimia prudentia.*"

In the beginning of May, 1827, the Indian Chief, White Plume, with a delegation of the Kansa tribe, came to St. Louis to obtain Catholic missionaries. Father Lutz at once offered himself for the romantic though arduous undertaking, and his request was supported by Governor William Clark,[18] the great friend of Indians. Bishop Rosati at last consented, and Father Lutz started on his mission

[18] General William Clarke, of Lewis and Clarke fame, who had general administrative control of the tribes tributary to St. Louis and west of the Mississippi River. Quaif, *Black Hawk*, p. 109.

rejoicing. But the effect did not come up to expectations. The Indian Agent, Baronet Vasquez, in whose co-operation Father Lutz had set such great hopes, died on the way. The Indians were just leaving for their hunting grounds, and the youthful missionary, fearing to be left all the winter season, "*misere derelictus in terra invia et aliena,*" returned to St. Louis, a sadder though not a wiser man. For he still regarded himself as called and specially fitted for the conversion of the savages.

As early as 1823 an Indian mission had been planned for the North by Bishop Du Bourg, and in 1824 by Bishop Rosati, urged on by General Clark, the Indian Agent. The center was to be at Prairie du Chien. Father Lutz, no doubt, knew of this, and spoke with Bishop Rosati about it. The first missionary to the Kansas Indians seemed the proper man to be sent to Galena and Prairie du Chien, and on the third day of September, 1830, he received his appointment to preach the Word of God and administer the sacraments in the countries adjoining the Upper Mississippi.

In his letter to the Catholics at Fever River, announcing the coming of Father Lutz, Bishop Rosati states that he has it in his power now to appoint *regular pastors,* but defers the appointment of a resident pastor until a pastoral residence should be furnished by them. Father Lutz went to Galena by steamboat and arrived there towards the end of September. Shortly after his arrival he wrote a long letter in French[19] to his bishop:

GALENA, October 8, 1830.

MONSEIGNEUR—According to your wish, I write to you from Galena. I fulfill this duty, so to say, against my will. Not that I do not appreciate the honor of conferring with you, but rather because, at this moment, I find it impossible to give you satisfactory news. So far, since my arrival at Galena, I have hardly left this place, with the exception of a short trip I made to Gratiot's Grove, fifteen miles from here. I am living in the house of Mr. H. G. Soulard, who not only shows me much kindness, but also takes great interest in my affairs. As a rule, such is the disposition of all the Irish, for there are very few French here who actually live at Galena; wherefore I am compelled always to preach in English. The Catholics are pretty much scattered in this country; some live at a distance of five, others of eight, others at fifteen or at twenty-five miles. A certain number of French live at Gratiot's Grove; all, with the exception of the Messrs. Gratiot, are at present poor people. Many Irish and French have left this country, at least for a time. Consequently I have

[19] Father Lutz's letters were generally written in French and sometimes in Latin.

to rely upon the Irish, with the exception of Messrs. Gratiot and Soulard. I have no doubt, however, but that the others also will contribute as much as they can. The first Sunday, when I said Mass at Galena (26th September, for it took me twenty days to travel to this place), I called a meeting of the citizens of Galena to talk to them of my affairs. Very probably I shall be able to accomplish something. But to say *quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxilis*, etc., would be very difficult at this moment. I shall know later on, before I leave this place. I intend to spend another week at Galena and a week at Gratiot's Grove. For it is this latter place which gives the best hopes. I determined to return by land, for two reasons, the first of which is that the waters are very low, consequently a person would risk to be on the way an enormous time; the other, that, as I was told, about one hundred miles from here there are several Catholic families at a village called Peorias, and that several Protestant families wish to see me; also, a rich gentleman called Nickson, whose acquaintance I made last year, invited me to spend a few days with him; he lives near that place, according to what he told me when last I met him at Galena. From there I shall continue my journey to Sangamon City, where I intend to stay at least one week. I shall then probably be at St. Louis towards the 14th November, more or less. For, Monseigneur, circumstances decide all this.

I feel obliged to make known to you the reasons which kept me from going to Prairie du Chien. According to your advice, I wrote a letter to them and asked them to send a man with a horse to conduct me there. It is absolutely impossible for a newcomer to travel alone in this country. Otherwise I should have had to hire a horse, an affair of twelve to fourteen dollars. Having waited one week, I decided to go there by steamboat. The "Red Rover," I was told, was to go there without fail. When it arrived here, it changed its plan, and there I was, disappointed. Not to disarrange the schedule of this present trip, I, in the little wisdom which I may possess, decided not to go there, so much the more because the place is known to me in a very unfavorable manner. I shall have all the time I need to reconcile the spirits when I shall return to Fever River on horseback, if Your Lordship thinks it expedient. But of this further on *viva voce*. The choice of the ground plot has been made according to your wishes, but not at Prairie du Chien. That place must be attended from the Poste, which we shall occupy, as also Galena, with this only difference, that this latter place will be more deserving of our cares, because it is nearer to the Poste agreed upon, and because it is more worthy of attention than Prairie du Chien. Having considered without prejudice three different places, and having weighed all the advantages and disadvantages, I have decided, to the best of my power, in *praesenti statu rerum*, that the plot at the Poste would be, as far as praticable, central for the Catholics as well as for the Indians. I hope to have at hand shortly the details of the lands and incidentals. It is nearly incredible, Monseigneur, how business fell off at the Mines. Still there is some hope that it will not remain so. Next spring we shall know more about this. Then there will be more people here. We must profit by this circumstance to arrange money matters.

The all-important motto in this country is and must be: *Chi va piano, va*

sano; and: *Audi, vide, tace;*[20] or: "with time and patience," or what St. Francis de Sales says: "With a drop of honey you will catch more flies than with a barrel of vinegar."

I beg you, Monseigneur, to excuse me if perhaps I failed to express myself well. You must attribute this to my imperfect knowledge of the French language if anything less befitting should have slipped in. This, however, was not done voluntarily.

Deign to remember your unworthy son when offering the living Host that I may not deviate from the true light; also deign to accept the most profound sentiments of respect and submission, Monseigneur, of your very humble servant,

JOS. ANT. LUTZ, P. M.

The Catholics of Galena in 1827 had spoken rather boastfully as to their ample means to support a priest. Father Lutz, however, tells us that all were poor, with one exception. Galena was a young settlement, having been founded about 1825. The lead mines of Fever River had been worked since 1824. During 1825-1826 and 1827 thousands of persons came from Missouri and Illinois to work in the diggings. In 1827 there were six or seven thousand miners in the country around Galena. Many of them made it a practice to run up the Mississippi by boat,[21] work in the mines during the summer and return to their homes at the approach of winter. A population of such a character is not the best material for building up a substantial parish. Besides, the financial stress and the Indian disturbances contributed to a serious diminution of ready means and hearty willingness. In the spring of 1831, Father Lutz set out for Prairie du Chien, to open a mission among the Indians. He lived in a tent about half a mile from the camp of the Menomenies on the Wisconsin River. But his hopes were to meet a sudden and sad disappointment. We will record the incident in the words of Father Louis Rondot, contained in a letter to Mgr. Cholleton, Vicar-General of Lyons, and dated St. Louis, May 21, 1831. The account is based on a letter by Father Lutz, which is now lost, and is certainly authentic:

We have just received a letter from M. Lutz, who is actually at Prairie du Chien. The savages of four nations two months ago caused a great deal of uneasiness, but peace had been made, when suddenly the Foxes, a wild tribe, came down secretly in canoes, following the course of the Mississippi. The

[20] "Listen, look, be silent." A maxim rather savoring of an excess of prudence. But conditions in a rough mining town like Galena may have been beyond the control of a man of Father Lutz's gentle character.

[21] Steamboats ran up the Mississippi as early as 1816.

missionary, who that evening happened to be at the shore of the river, heard the splash of the paddles without suspecting what was going on, since the night was dark. Hardly had he returned to his house, which is situated half a mile from the camp of the Memonis (Menommenees), a savage nation which is allied to the United States, when he heard gun shots and frightful howlings. The Memonis had been surprised in their sleep, most of them being drunk. There were thirty victims—men, women and children. The Foxes had retired before the news came to the Fort. War is now inevitable. There is reason to fear that this event causes new obstacles to the spread of the gospel.[22]

The terrified missionary returned to Galena and St. Louis. The exact date of this occurrence is not given in Father Rondot's letter, but Father Lutz must have returned to St. Louis in April, as we know he rode from that city to Springfield, Illinois, in the beginning of May. From Springfield he rode through the Rock River country that was to be the scene of the Black Hawk War in the following year. We insert two short letters of Father Lutz to Bishop Rosati:

SPRINGFIELD, May 10, 1831.

MONSEIGNEUR—The bearer of these lines, Mr. Alphy, is one of our Catholics in Sangamon County; he lives at Springfield, eight to ten miles from Sugar Creek. By some good books, which I brought to him some time ago, his zeal for our holy religion has been much increased and extends itself to its defence before Protestants. Have the kindness to speak to his heart, to induce him to make a good confession; for so far he has not approached the sacraments.

As far as I am concerned, my infirmity, the gravel, has actually broken out again and causes me much suffering, which probably has been increased by the journey on horseback. I was on the point of returning to St. Louis, *infectis rebus*, at a distance of twelve miles from Sangamon. But finally I overcame the temptation and I am where I ought to be. A cruel headache, or, rather, rheumatism in the head, torments me a great deal and keeps me in continual pain.

More *viva voce*. Waiting to receive your benediction, I continue to be, Monseigneur, your very humble servant,

J. A. LUTZ, Pr.

GALENA, June 6, 1931.

MONSEIGNEUR—I went to Galena in good health, without accident, and since my coming I have had the satisfaction of seeing that the Catholics are well disposed to support our intentions. They have already spoken to me of a house, which they are going to buy at Galena to change it into a chapel, and they leave the choice to me. In the meanwhile I am making my home with Mr. Soulard.

Passing through Rock Island, I was happy enough to make the acquaintance of Madame St. Vrain, whom I find very interesting. I said Mass and heard six confessions. We stayed there a whole day. The savages, whom I heard speaking in council, are fully disposed to fight and to die on the lands which they occupy.

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[22] *Annales de l' Association de la Propaganda de la Foi*, V, 581.

But nothing has been decided upon so far. They, the Americas, will make war upon them as soon as they have collected more troups. The captain will tell you more about this.

Would you present my compliments to all the confreres and to the Sisters, the Madames of the Sacred Heart and to the Sisters of Charity.

Would you also address your letters to me either to Gratiot's Grove or Galena.

I continue to be, Monseigneur, your most humble servant,

Jos. A. Lutz, Pr. M.

Pardon the bad condition of this letter. I have written in haste.

Felix St. Vrain, successor of Thomas Forsyth in charge of the Indian agency at Rock Island, Father Lutz's host on this visit, was cruelly murdered by the Indians in the following year. So far there were only rumors of war, but even they had a depressing effect on the country; nevertheless, Father Lutz bore up bravely and sought to realize his plans for a central missionary station and parish. His next letter is dated from

Galena, July 3, 1831.

Monseigneur—I have delayed until now to acquaint you with my affairs in this country only because I had nothing of interest to communicate to you. I had several meetings of the committee which I formed, to better proceed in all things which I have in mind. The majority of the inhabitants of Fever River prefers to see our residence at Galena and would hardly be disposed to contribute either for the building of a chapel or for the support of a priest if I should insist to settle at Gratiot's Grove. This reason, together with others which existed before, caused me to decide for the residence at Galena, renouncing the advantages which the dwelling at the said Grove seems to offer, which in turn are joined to certain disadvantages and inconveniences I do not find at Galena. Furthermore, our residing at Galena will not keep us from making, from time to time, missionary excursions to the various localities in the neighborhood of the Mines. But to compensate us in some manner for the loss of the advantages which the residence at the Grove would offer, I proposed to the committee the following points: We must find a plot, large enough for a garden as well as for a chapel and the house of the priest; we must dig a well there and build a stable; this entire plot with the chapel and the priest's house must belong to the priests and not to the parish, for good reasons. You must give to the priest a sum sufficient for a decent living. You must expect that, if the experience of one or two years should show that the sum assigned for the support is not sufficient, we would take the liberty to ask for a little addition; the perquisites must be left to the priests, without any discussion on the subject.

I shall know after a little while if by subscription a certain sum can be raised for a chapel as well as for our subsistence. I shall not fail to let you know as soon as possible.

Thus, Monseigneur, I am learning myself, what you know by experience, that all things demand their time and that, as a general rule, good things require much more time than things of less importance.

Fearing to fatigue Your Lordship, I pass in silence particular things of little consequence with which I have entertained Mr. Saulnier. He can communicate to you certain details if you condescend to hear them.

Deign to remember in your fervent prayers the least of your priests, that I may obtain abundant graces, for the vineyard of my own soul as well as for the one you have confided to me.

Kissing your pastoral and paternal hand, I continue to be, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

Jos. A. Lutz, Pr.

This is the last letter of Father Lutz from Galena. The general disturbances among the Indians in consequence of the Black Hawk War made all missionary efforts hopeless and rendered the missionary's stay in such an exposed position as Fever River and Prairie du Chien almost foolhardy. Besides, there were other places that clamored for spiritual succor and offered better prospects of success. In the following year, August, 1832, we find Father Lutz in the far-away Northwest among the Pottawatomies, near old Fort Council Bluffs, Nebraska, where he baptized the first white child born in Nebraska, William Clark Kennedy. This was the last effort of Father Lutz in behalf of the Indians. He became Bishop Rosati's secretary. His further vicissitudes are well delineated by Rev. F. G. Holweck in the September number of the St. Louis *Pastoral-Blatt* for 1917.

(Continued in Subsequent Numbers.)

Rev. John Rothensteiner.

St. Louis.

OLIVER POLLOCK, PATRIOT AND FINANCIER

When the first tribunal in the newly established seat of government at Washington, D. C., assembled on March 23, 1801, in the partially completed Capitol building, among the lawyers seeking admission to practice before the Honorable Court was Augustus Brevoort Woodward.[1] Mr. Woodward described himself in legal papers bearing date of 1795 in which he acquired title to certain lots in the Federal City as a native of Rockbridge in Greenbrier County, Virginia, but at the time of the purchase, a lawyer established in Alexandria. Contemporary records show him to be an eloquent pleader and flourishing man of affairs, enjoying the friendship of Jefferson and other illustrious men of his era. Removing from the bustling little city of Alexandria, to become one of the builders of the new Capital, he entered at once into a lucrative practice. His acknowledged legal attainments and an asset which counted as heavily in those remote days as in the present, namely his intimacy with the Chief Executive, with the two Adams, Madison, Monroe and the Randolphs, led to his frequent appearance before the Claims Committee of Congress to which, since the United States Court of Claims was not created until 1855, had been assigned that sovereign obligation of hearing petitions for redress of grievances against the government.

Thus at the first regular session of the Seventh Congress, December, 1801, Mr. Woodward presents the case of Oliver Pollock, appointed by the Continental Congress to act as commercial agent of the United States at the port of New Orleans. According to a custom which still holds, Mr. Woodward had his brief printed early in 1802 and with zeal and energy saw that his arguments reached every legislator concerned in the hearing. On February 12, 1803, the case still hanging in mid air, he reprinted the brief with valuable additions or original letters and vouchers neatly bound in cloth. This book[2] makes the only complete and concise documentary chronicle of this worthy patriot's service for his country in the larger sense and to the

[1] Moore, *Augustus Brevoort Woodward.* Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C., 1901. Vol. 6, p. 114.

[2] Woodward, *The Presentation of the Case of Oliver Pollock.* City of Washington. Printed by Samuel Harrison Smith, February 12, 1803.

Illinois country in the particular. The book contains another element of interest in that it was among the earliest published at the new Capital and came from the press of the *National Intelligencer*, the daily organ which had removed with the seat of government from Philadelphia. Samuel Harrison Smith set up a shop for job printing in connection with his paper. Lawyers with important briefs were his first patrons, disclosing that the literary beginnings of the National Capital were a symbolic union of journalism with the law.

A Presentation of the Case of Oliver Pollock is a series of exhibits of all the original papers bearing on the claim with a connecting link of brief but powerfully argued commentaries. Students of history rest under a grave obligation to this early lawyer of the District of Columbia courts, for without his zealous efforts such subsidiary cases as Pollock's would entertain small chance to be unearthed from the tons of records in which it is buried. Worthy in every essential and presenting some lamentable features of the gratitude of republics, the annals of this case cover wide geographical divisions, go into the jurisdiction of Spain, France and Great Britain and cover a period of two score years. Woodward was a man of dynamic force and perhaps the sequel of Pollock's claim might have been written differently had his attorney continued his battles with Congress. But in 1805, President Jefferson divided a part of the Louisiana purchase into the Territory of Michigan with William Hull of Massachusetts as Governor and Augustus Brevoort Woodward, Frederic Bates and John Griffin all of Virginia to act as assistants in a two-fold judicial and legislative capacity.

The Presentation begins with an extract from the secret committee of the Continental Congress in secret session at Philadelphia, June 12, 1777, and reads:

> The good disposition which you discover to our cause and the character you bear, has determined us to employ you as our commercial agent in New Orleans, in full confidence that your conduct of our affairs will be such as to entitle you to our approbation and future favors; and should it any time be your misfortune to fall into the hands of our enemies as you have suggested, you have liberty to claim the protection of the United States of America as their commercial agent resident in New Orleans and may depend that Congress will redeem you by exchange or retaliate any injuries or indignities that may be offered you, and they have always a sufficiency of prisoners in their power to do this with effect, if our enemies dare to treat ill those persons that are entitled to our protection.
>
> Thus much we have said that you may produce if ever it becomes necessary, and now for a business of another kind.

The committee then proceeds to direct Pollock to ship immediately

between forty and fifty thousand dollars' worth of blankets, strouds and other dry staples for the army, with minute directions for the conveyance and safeguarding of the cargo. The letter concludes:

It is not unlike that at some future day an expedition may become necessary in your neighborhood, and when that is the case, Congress will no doubt avail themselves of the governor's favorable disposition and of your services so that you have every inducement to recommend yourself to their friendship by your good management of our present orders, and not doubting but that such will be the case, we remain, sir, your obedient servants, etc.[2]

On October 24, 1777, the Commercial Committee in session at York, Pennsylvania, wrote Pollock:

Sir, the secret committee of Congress being now dissolved, we have been appointed under the style and title of the commercial committee to take up and continue its business. We find they wrote you a long letter on June 12 by Captain Le Mere to which we refer you. The present is to acknowledge the receipt of your letters by Captain Pickles addressed to a former committee of Congress and by some inattention of the Secretary now mislaid. The chief purport of them being to advise us of the arrival of some stores from Spain intended for the service of this continent and of the very favorable disposition of the Governor, Don Bernardo de Galvez, we shall proceed to say what is necessary on the subject.

With respect to the stores sent out from Spain to New Orleans, we are very anxious to get them soon and safe to this part of America, where they will be much wanted and would be very useful. We have had in contemplation ordering them up the Mississippi to Fort Pitt, but the length of time that would require, the heavy expense and the danger of robbery has deterred us. Therefore we must trust them round by sea, and for this purpose we desire you will charter or purchase suitable vessels to bring the whole. *The authorities vested in you by the secret committee, we hereby confirm and the instructions contained in their letter, of which we now give you a copy, are quite sufficient for your guidance in this business as well as that they committed to you.*

We are desirous of sending you supplies of flour, as that would furnish funds to answer the demands this business will occasion, but unluckily our enemies' ships of war are so numerous as to block effectually at present all entries to those ports from whence this article can be exported. We hope, however, to find them

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[2] Mr. Woodward did not recite the names of the members of the secret committee of Congress in June, 1777, but the information is furnished in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* edited by Chauncey Worthington Ford, and may be found in Volume XIX, pages 341-2. They are as follows: Thomas Willing, Benjamin Franklin, Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Silas Deane, John Langdon, Thomas McKean and Samuel Ward.

other employment before long and shall be glad of the openings to make you further consignments of this article.

We are, sir, your obedient servants,

ROBERT MORRIS
WILLIAM SMITH
HENRY LAURENS.[4]

On November 21st of this same year, the sub-committee of the commercial committee wrote again from York giving certain specific directions from Congress regarding the stores already purchased or about to be acquired and desiring they should be brought up the Mississippi and Ohio to Fort Pitt. Additional flour is asked, also to come by the water route, the carriage across the mountains being excessive. On July 19, 1779, the commercial committee now at Philadelphia writes a long and apologetic letter to its agent, explaining that its affairs had been greatly deranged because of the accession of new and inexperienced members, the removal of books and papers hastily in order to ensure their safety, which causes had united to prevent a prompter reply to the several letters and accounts sent forward by Mr. Pollock. Then to the meat of the claim against the Congress:

Upon laying your letters before Congress on December 14, 1778, a new committee had taken control and this committee had procured the enclosed resolves: by which you will perceive they are fully empowered to exert every possible means of making you remittances, but from the present local circumstances of the country, it will not be in their power to do anything considerable until the new wheat is manufactured, of which they have had this season the finest crops both as to quantity and quality than has been known for many years.

A lengthy portion is the recital of the committee of all the uses to which this bumper crop must be applied, the armies at large and the fleet of D'Estraing at Boston. There are voluble promises "to get the new flour expeditiously in hired bottoms to New Orleans via Havana where it will be reshipped under the Spanish flag, provided there has not been a rupture between that court and Great Britain and that it is admitted by the Spanish governor whose permission it will be necessary for us previously to obtain," an extract which throws an illuminating ray on the varied services which the Continental Congress required of its commercial agent. Then comes an extract which Mr. Woodward deems of paramount importance in

[4] These signatories seem to be a committee of the Committee on Commerce, for *Ibid.* the committee on October 24, 1777, included in addition to the above, Philip Livingston, Thomas Heyward and Elbridge Gerry.

that it is all in italics and capitalized after the ancient way of calling special attention to the subheads of subjects:

From your letters and accounts we learn that several sums have been advanced by you for the State of Virginia on an expedition under the command of Colonel David Rodgers and Colonel George R. Clark for the reduction of the post at St. Vincent. We are led to conclude from your letters, etc., that the several parcels of goods you sent up the Mississippi were chiefly applied by the State of Virginia as we have never received any advice of their arrival at Fort Pitt. It will be therefore necessary for your government that you charge the State of Virginia with all such advances and not blend it with your accounts with this committee and let us know the amount thereof.

Another array of excuses is added and the letter concludes that the committee perceives with real pain the many difficulties which have beset the path of its agent and promises every exertion that relief may be speedy.

Mr. Woodward having produced these letters as a meager part of the contemporaneous correspondence between the committee and his client, turns a page backward to prove the unselfish ardor with which Mr. Pollock entered on his hazardous and critical mission. His pen, trenchant and well tempered, is always indefatigable.

"We shall see," writes Mr. Woodward, "the manner in which Mr. Pollock discharged his trust, its essential obligations with inviolable integrity, and an enthusiastic zeal in a glorious cause enabled him to confer upon his country. We shall see at the same time the manner in which his country, to whatever cause it may be ascribed, complied with her stipulations and requited these obligations, and perhaps we shall even find that country, her great object accomplished, in an hour of peace, glory and prosperity, listening with cold regard to the tale of his sufferings."[5] He then sketches in broad lines Mr. Pollock's noble personality, his flourishing business, that of merchant, established in Louisiana, and that his resources, already large, were rendered almost boundless by the credit he could command through reason of his staunch honesty and commercial acumen. These assets were translated into terms of cash with which he made huge purchases, fitted out the necessary equipment for transportation by land and sea, and laid by in his own name tremendous sums of money for these days, with which he made necessary advances whenever they were required. Then follows a deplorable account of the financial transaction between the banking firm of Willing and Morris, the heads of which were, as we have seen,

[5] Woodward, *Presentation of the Case of Oliver Pollock, etc.*, p. 6.

members of the secret committee which bestowed such generous credentials on Pollock in the original letters of June 12 and October 24, 1777, and continued its suave promises in every later communication. To be brief, none of these promises were fulfilled, though in a letter of July 19, 1779,[6] the fidelity and importance of his exertions are recognized and reiterated, his official agency is confirmed and the obligations which the country rests under are unequivocally stated. In a dangerous crisis in Mr. Pollock's affairs, no funds are received, no flour arrives at the port, his drafts are protested, and notwithstanding his boundless credit and powerful friendship with the Spanish officials of Louisiana, embarrassments press on every side.

In 1781, no relief reaching him, he is compelled to leave his family in New Orleans and seek his debtors in person, the Continental Congress and the State of Virginia. The privilege of departing from the jurisdiction of Louisiana, where he had contracted such heavy debts, was not accorded until he produced Thomas Patterson, a respectable American citizen, to act as hostage. Landing in Wilmington, Delaware, he proceeded by land to Philadelphia where Congress was sitting. He found, as one ray of hope, that his claim against the military authorities of the Illinois country had been accepted by the State of Virginia, and when he left for Richmond he bore a letter from the Financier of the United States, Robert Morris, transmitting the order received from the Legislative Assembly, authorizing the settlement of Mr. Pollock's accounts.

Inspired by the honorable conduct of Virginia, Mr. Pollock saw an easy settlement of his entire claim against the United States, and at this juncture of his affairs he was led to accept the additional responsibility, financial and in other ways, of acting as commercial agent for the struggling colonies at the port of Havana. His ancient friend and companion, Count de Galvez, had recently been made Governor-General of Cuba; and receiving his commission promptly, it bears the date of May 20, 1783, Mr. Pollock at once repaired to Havana. His sojourn was of eighteen months, nearly all marked by incredible disaster, out of which grew his first claim against the government as set forth in Mr. Woodward's brief. The State of Virginia had ceded the entire Illinois country to the United States and hence transferred its debts to Mr. Pollock to the Federal government, still in arrears for purchases in the first months of 1777. Ten pages are covered with the accounts in New Orleans and in

[6] Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 41, Vol. IV, folio 161.

Havana, with original letters, vouchers and affidavits, and these stretch over the first years of the revolution until after the treaty of Paris had added another independency to the nations of the earth.

The year 1800 finds Mr. Pollock, like the illustrious Morris, an inmate of the debtor's prison in Philadelphia. He had struggled against adversity from 1791, hoping that the justice of his claim and the poignancy of his sufferings would move the now prosperous country to compassion. These hopes were never realized. Mr. Pollock's indomitable courage and superlative business acumen enabled him even in prison to gather his resources, and having realized something which might be likened to salvage on his shipwrecked fortune, he sought his old home in Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, where the first chapters of his troubled and varied career in the New World had been written. He had before leaving Philadelphia confided his claim to Augustus Woodward, who had made appearances there as attorney for clients seeking such redress as Mr. Pollock asked. The government eventually paid the debts owing the Spanish authorities in Louisiana and Havana. Certain sums advanced previous to the credit asked in New Orleans were also repaid. But for his services through seven arduous years, the value of which cannot as yet be adequately estimated, Oliver Pollock never received one dollar of remuneration during his life nor were his heirs ever compensated, though their claims are still on file. Mr. Pollock may be then placed at the very head of the list of the Dollar-a-year men, whom the United States government in times of war and financial stringency presses into service, with this essential difference that the renowned patriot and financier of the Illinois country received not even so much as one dollar a year nor during all the seven years which his mission covered. He was an envoy with such diplomatic problems to solve as those concerning the neutrality of Spain and France in the matter of shipping to foreign territory and the attendant delicate negotiations with a long list of punctilious Hidalgoes and over-zealous French military officers. He was a consular officer and purchasing agent, a banker, a shipper and buyer on commission of every commodity reaching the ports of New Orleans and Havana.

Mr. Woodward having accepted President Jefferson's tender of judicial and legislative status in the new Territory of Michigan, gave up Mr. Pollock's claim and the former commercial agent took over his own affairs. In 1804, again in comfortable circumstances in Carlisle, he became a candidate for Congress from that district and

though receiving a large popular vote, he failed of election at this time and at two subsequent attempts. He was now advanced in years and having lived in southern climates in New Orleans and Havana for so many years he was again lured South to escape the rigors of the Pennsylvania winters. He removed from Carlisle in 1815 to Mississippi, where he died December 17, 1823. Mr. Pollock was born in Ireland in 1737 and came to Pennsylvania in that tide of emigration which marked the first half of the eighteenth century.[7] This era chronicles the advent of famous Celts, whose names are indelibly written in the history of the Keystone State. James Wilson, father of the Signer, the brothers—James, Robert, Joseph and Benjamin Chambers from County Antrim, who were among the pioneers of the North Valley, the Galbraiths from Donegal, whose sons married the Pollock daughters with persistency for several generations; Ephraim Blaine, grandfather of the White Plumed Knight, first clerk of the Cumberland County Court; and the Pollocks—Jared, and his sons Oliver, James and John from Coleraine. James erected a grist-mill at the confluence of the Cononguinet near Silver Spring in 1748, and in 1762 his elder son James owned a tavern and two slaves and was a heavy taxpayer of Cumberland County. John is also entered as taxpayer, but Oliver had sought his fortunes in the Greater Antilles. He was a thriving merchant of Havana in 1762 and had formed an historic friendship with that swashbuckler whose name appears so frequently on the pages of Louisiana history in its Spanish days—Governor-General O'Reilly. When this worthy was transferred to New Orleans, Mr. Pollock removed his business house and was established in the Crescent City when it became his fortune, a most happy one for his country, but not so for his material advantage, when the colonies made their solemn pronouncement on July 4, 1776.

In *The Presentation,* which contains sixty-nine pages, those

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[7] Anent the Irish settlers in Pennsylvania, an amusing footnote to history may be read in S. P. Bates' *History of Cumberland County,* Part I, pp. 25-6. "In 1755 instructions were given by the proprietors (the Governors Penn) to take especial care to encourage the immigration of Irish to Cumberland County, it being their desire to people York exclusively with Germans, and Cumberland with Irish. The permitting of Irish to settle in Lancaster County and Germans also during the twenty years previous having produced serious and constant riots at the elections." A fertile field remains for Catholic historical students to catch up the threads of the eminent Irish settlers in Cumberland, who, like Oliver Pollock, have added a glorious page to the annals of their ancient land as well as to the land of their adoption.

which are devoted to the part played by Oliver Pollock in the military expeditions into the Illinois country and the several State papers from the Spanish Governors-General substantiating his statements are of unique importance. Mr. Woodward gives these documents in excellent translation. An amusing point is the faithful way in which he transcribes the flourish of titles with which the Spanish official prefaces every communication. As for instance this certificate which Don Galvez at Havana gave Mr. Pollock in testimony of his conduct and services.

Don Bernardo De Galvez, Count de Galvez, Knight of the Royal and Distinguished Order of Charles III, Commander of Bolanos in the order of Calatrava, Lieutenant-General of the Royal Armies, Inspector-General of the Troops in America, Governor and Captain-General of the provinces of Louisiana and the two Floridas, and Captain-General pro-tempore of the Island of Cuba and the city of St. Christoval de la Havanno, Judge Protector of His Majesty's tobacco revenue, of the packets and couriers of the Royal Company.

And then follows an exhaustive description of all the properties of His Majesty which Don Bernardo is to protect, as minute and circumstantial as Homer's account of the contents of the ships. Having thus placed himself beyond reasonable doubt of being taken for another, Count de Galvez gets to the point:

I certify that Oliver Pollock, esquire, agent of the commerce of the United States, had resided in this capacity in the province of Louisiana while I was governor-general of the same and that he acted in favor of the soldiers and citizens of his own nation with all the zeal and love which becomes the true patriot, supplying them with provisions and assisting them whenever they wanted it, with his own credit or with ready money, the Congress bills not being current here; in all which he neither spared pains nor trouble to obtain the end which he proposed for himself and to give assistance which lay in his power.

He obtained loans in the name of the United States and obtained seventy-nine thousand and eighty-seven dollars which are still owing. That in the expedition I made against the forts of His Brittannic Majesty on the Mississippi, he attended me in person until the surrender.

In witness thereof and to serve him as of right I ought, I have granted him this present certificate at the Havanno, the first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five.

El Conde De Galvez.

There are several letters from Governor Unzaga who had preceded De Galvez, equally strong in corroboration of Mr. Pollock's claim, and many documents from Don Lewis Serano, Notary of His Majesty, attorney for the Royal Treasury of Havana and of the island of Cuba, and with as many other claims to importance as Galvez had cited, which give a chronological series of Pollock's drafts on the

Royal Treasury and of his zealous activity for the cause of the United States. Jefferson, possibly spurred to energy by his dynamic friend Woodward, wrote continuously in Pollock's favor while he was Vice-President, Secretary of State, and as President. These letters and the replies of the Spanish officials make a portentous study, opening as they do fascinating glimpses into years of which the American people unfortunately know so little. Invariably these courteous, explicit, and entirely complete and correct statements from the Spanish governors end as that of Don Estevan Miro, at New Orleans, presenting Mr. Oliver Pollock to Edmund Randolph, Governor of Virginia. This letter praises Pollock enthusiastically in the personal sense and vouches for his business integrity and zeal, asks the Chief Executive of the Commonwealth, which was so heavily indebted to the Pennsylvania merchant, to take his cause under his special protection and to see that he receives speedy reimbursement for the monies he has so generously spent, and assures Mr. Randolph he, Miro, will consider this a favor of the most exalted personal value. He then closes his epistle:

> I pray God to take you into His holy keeping. I kiss your hand and have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
>
> ESTAVAN MIRO.

Among the certificates which Pollock had collected in this futile effort to obtain justice was the following from the brave commander of the troops which conquered the Illinois country, General George R. Clark, given in New York where Pollock had visited him in the summer of 1785.

> These are to certify, to all whom it may concern, that all the bills I drew when I commanded the Virginia troops in the Illinois country upon Mr. Oliver Pollock, agent for the United States at New Orleans, were considered by me to be for *specie as the respective bills expressed in dollars,* and that the service which Mr. Pollock rendered upon all occasions in paying those bills I considered at that time and so consider now, to be one of the happy circumstances that enabled me *to keep possession of the Illinois country.*
>
> Given under my hand this day, at New York the 2nd of July, 1785.
>
> GEORGE CLARK.

In a verbose statement made by the Commissioner of Virginia, Jermyn Baker, to the committee appointed to settle the claims of Pollock, that gentleman on December 18, 1785, made an award in favor of the agent. After a comprehensive resumé of the assistance rendered by Mr. Pollock to the United States in that fateful chapter

of history which brought the Illinois country under the dominion of the United States, Mr. Baker wrote:

> Mr. Pollock has stated a claim to which I wish to draw very particular attention. The proofs relative are from very honorable persons: General Clark, who testifies that all the monies advanced by Mr. Pollock were essential to enable him to preserve the conquests he had made. Count Galvez, now Viceroy of Mexico, places the conduct of Mr. Pollock in most honorable light and therefore though this does not come within strict line of our enquiry, we commend this business of a suffering individual and ask that this case and accounts be placed in a just point of view and that his demands being known, we are sure of the indulgence of your honorable board.

Which proved another case of misapplied confidence in the Congress which now held the purse strings.

Mr. Woodward attached grave importance to the letter of William Heth, a member of the board whom Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia had named to consider the report of Mr. Baker, above mentioned, and to report the same to the Federal Congress at its first session. Governor Henry's board, in addition to William Heth, had two other members—John Pierce and David Henley. Pollock wrote to each, and their replies are favorable and encouraging, but William Heth's was the strongest and most valuable and figures many times in the array of documentary evidence in Mr. Pollock's claims against his country. This letter is verbatim:

> New York, April 22, 1788.
>
> Sir—Your letter of the 15th instant, addressed to the commissioners for adjusting the expenses of the Illinois country, has been received and duly attended to by me. Respecting your claim against the United States now under consideration, it would be improper for the commissioners either as a board or individually to give an opinion, but as far as we have knowledge of your situation when agent for the commonwealth of Virginia at New Orleans, and the advantages to that State through your exertions alone, I should deem myself extremely censurable if I should refuse to give an opinion, which I have formed after a most thorough investigation of your accounts against that State and the variety of testimony adduced by you to support them; because it may be contrary to the sentiments of a class of people who know nothing at all of the nature of your disbursements and who are too apt to condemn without a hearing.
>
> *There is no circumstance of which I am more convinced than that the conquest of the Illinois country could not have been maintained by Virginia and consequently that it would not now form a part of the United States if it had not been for your assistance and very liberal advances; except indeed that your private fortunes were injured thereby and that your character has been lightly spoken of by those who are ever more ready to join in a popular clamor against a public servant than to examine minutely into his transactions.*
>
> I am, sir, with esteem, your most obedient servant,
>
> William Heth.
>
> *To Oliver Pollock Esquire.*

Each of the invaluable historical documents which Mr. Woodward presents, and all fully attested, contain an amplification of such commendation as Mr. Heth writes. No better resumé is possible than the closing words of the book when he flings defiance at the Claims Committee and holds them to the eternal reprobation of the succeeding generations:

> Maxims of frugality and a spirit of economy are honorable to the rulers of a people, but if that spirit degenerates into a flat denial of justice, those rulers sacrifice the virtue, the honor and the best policies of that people.
>
> It is justice Mr. Pollock asks. He has rendered services of another kind. The confidential documents of the government will show that in regard to Pensacola. The present documents show the additional fact of his having attended in person the reduction of the British posts on the Mississippi. It is not for confidential missions nor for military services that he asks compensation. He has yet to intercede for charities or for gratuities. Silent without a murmur when his country was distressed, he now requires of it what he conceives to be a matter of strict right. He is ready and still has it in his power to serve his country further at this day; but it will be time enough to refuse to grant his claim on the mere liberality and generosity of his country when he shall ask for it.

Mr. Woodward concludes his remarkable brief by a well-considered taunt directed towards the lethargy of the law-makers in the fact that he and Mr. Pollock, having procured the volumnious bulk of original documents, have digested and arranged them in sequence, and that thus from every repositary of national trust they have drawn knowledge which the committee may freely imbibe with the mere trouble of reading. He offers the originals of all papers and himself and Mr. Pollock as ready and within call for other information and closes with a solemn entreaty for haste in learning the fate of his client.

MARGARET B. DOWNING.

A GREAT ILLINOIS' PIONEER—THE REV. JOHN GEORGE ALLEMAN, O. P.

The glamor of romance hangs over the early days of western pioneering and development. But history reveals more of the pathos and humor of life on the frontier than most fiction. Until the advent of the railroad, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, religion and civilization, together with commerce, traveled along the numerous waterways intersecting our western prairies in all directions. Many immigrants from Europe, and settlers from the Eastern States, floated down the Ohio or the Illinois, and then worked their way along the Mississippi looking with boundless enthusiasm for new opportunities in the vast fertile regions that bordered its banks, and whose future productiveness had so deeply impressed Father Marquette on his trip of discovery. While overland routes were also in use, they were not perhaps as safe.[1] As the old French settlements of the American Bottom, in southern Illinois, were gradually losing their former importance together with most of their citizens, newer centers of population sprang up northwards along the river, on the western as well as on the eastern side.[2]

Itinerant missionaries followed the hardy backwoodsmen and farmers, ministering to them as well as to the roving Indian tribes.

Sources—Much information concerning Father Alleman's early career has been gathered from a booklet entitled, *Diamond Jubilee of St. Joseph's Church,* Fort Madison, Iowa, 1915, by Rev. A. Zaiser.

"History of the Catholic Church in Moline," an article in the Davenport, Iowa, *Catholic Messenger,* by Rev. Joseph S. Kelly, January 30, 1913. Several dates handed down by tradition, such as the year of Father Alleman's departure from Rock Island, and the year of his death, were found from new documentary evidence to need revising.

The Baptismal, Marriage, and *Funeral Registers* of St. James's Church, Rock Island; St. Anthony's Church, Moline; St. Stephen's Church, Hampton; SS. Peter and Paul's Church, Nauvoo, Illinois, begun by Father Alleman, have brought to light much fresh information.

The testimony of old settlers who knew Father Alleman personally has been used sparingly and only in so far as it agreed with written documents.

Other sources are indicated in the text.

[1] *Centennial History of Illinois,* pp. 119-120; Vol. I.

[2] *Centennial History of Illinois,* Vol. I, Chap. II, III, IV. Also, map on p. 58; Vol. II; maps on pages 174 and 384, showing the distribution of the population respectively in 1818, 1830, 1840.

Gradually new communities of whites were formed, and, wherever Catholics were found, thither the missionary wended his way, usually choosing some central point along the water course whence he could the more easily visit other stations sometimes for hundreds of miles around. He dispensed the sacraments and kept alive the faith; he dotted the country with little churches; he dispelled ignorance and prejudice, and he laid the foundation of many a large and prosperous parish of today. The number of these indefatigable apostles was small, and the memory of their labors and sufferings deserves to be kept green among future generations. They were little conscious that they were making history. The meager scraps of information, which in many cases are the only records we possess, become all the more precious on that account. They throw an interesting light on men and events of bygone days and sometimes lead to the unearthing of further information that has lain hidden for years in a family library.

Father Alleman is only one among the many builders of the West who needs to become better known and whose work has been brought to light only recently with any completeness of detail.

In Kentucky and Ohio

John George Alleman was born in 1806 near Strassburg, Alsace, and spoke French and German with equal fluency. Later on English became to him as another mother tongue. Little is known of his early life, except that for a time he was foreman in a linen factory of that French city. At about the age of twenty he must have given up industrial pursuits and felt the call to a higher life, perhaps to the Dominican order. But the latter, expelled from France by the Revolution, was to return only in 1839, when Father Henry Lacordaire took the white habit of the Friar Preachers that was soon to create a stir in his native country and draw many followers. At any rate, John Alleman, at the age of twenty-six, emigrated to America. By that time he had not only completed his classical course, but begun the study of philosophy and theology. He seemed fully decided as to his future life, for, without tarrying, he journeyed to the convent of St. Rose, Springfield, Kentucky. Already since 1805 the Friar Preachers had been active there, and their founder, Edward Dominic Fenwick, had become first Bishop of Cincinnati (January 13, 1822). John Alleman was clothed with the Dominican habit and began his strict novitiate on December 3, 1832, meanwhile continuing his studies for the priesthood. His name in religion was Brother

Albert. During the following year he passed through a severe epidemic of cholera and did his full share in alleviating the suffering and the dying, all the rules of the cloister having been set aside in favor of the victims of the scourge. Fifteen months after his entrance into the monastery, on the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, March 7, 1834, he was admitted to solemn vows by the prior of St. Rose, the Rev. Richard Pius Miles, afterwards the first Bishop of Nashville, Tennessee.

On June 8, 1834, he was ordained priest in St. John's Church, Zanesville, Ohio, by the Right Rev. John B. Purcell, Bishop of Cincinnati, who was passing through that city on one of his missionary journeys. "The audience which thronged the church appeared deeply impressed with the scene and were frequently addressed by the bishop who explained the various ceremonies, demonstrated the necessity of ordination and mission for the valid exercise of the sacerdotal functions, and invoked the fervent prayers of his hearers that God might send worthy laborers into His vineyard and sustain by His grace those who were already burdened with the care of souls." Thus runs the bishop's own account of the ceremony sent to the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati and published under date of June 13, 1834.

Father Alleman was assigned at once to parochial work among the German Catholics clustering around the missions of St. John, Zanesville, St. Joseph, Somerset, and Canton. These had for some years past been active centers of Catholicity in Ohio, under the care of the tireless Friar Preachers, who, while few in number, spent themselves without stint. From the fall of 1837 to the fall of 1838 Father Alleman was stationed at St. Rose, Kentucky. There he had prepared himself for the labor of the ministry, and was now helping others to fit themselves for the same great work. But in the latter year he was sent back to St. Joseph's, near Somerset, to begin a long career as itinerant missionary, the best part of which was spent in the Mississippi Valley. For some time he traveled from his home over all northern Ohio, visiting the scattered Catholics, founding churches or acquiring property for future foundations, and keeping alive the faith among the pioneers of the wilderness.

It is almost impossible for us of the present day to realize what those early priests, who carried their church in their saddle bags, endured in the way of inconveniences, hardships, mental and bodily sufferings of all kinds. Schooled in the midst of more primitive surroundings, they undoubtedly found themselves better adapted to the trying circumstances of their daily life. They were not given to

complaining and repining. But even so many broke down under the crushing burden at a comparatively early age.

In Iowa

Father Alleman was ever ready for the heavier task, and the then "Far West" quite naturally attracted him. Here was an even greater dearth of priests than in Ohio. This realization inflamed his apostolic soul, and his mind was soon made up. With the full consent of his superiors he turned towards this new field. Traveling down the Ohio on a flatboat, he ascended the Mississippi to St. Louis, then little more than a frontier trading post. Passing the Missouri and the Illinois, he continued still northward in the wake of Marquette and at last established himself in the fall of 1840 at Fort Madison, Iowa, on the banks of the Father of Waters. Just one year earlier the Rt. Rev. Mathias Loras, on his way back from France to his see city of Dubuque, had ascended the upper Mississippi in company with Father Cretin, who was to be the first bishop of St. Paul, Minnesota; Father Pelamourgues and Father Mazuchelli, the latter also of the Friar Preachers.

Father Alleman soon made Fort Madison the center of numerous missionary excursions to all points of the compass and on both sides of the river. The Sac and Fox tribes of Indians had been driven from their last stronghold on Watch Tower Hill, near the mouth of the Rock River, in 1832. Their dauntless leader, Black Hawk, had been imprisoned by the United States government in Fortress Monroe, and they had sought refuge in Iowa. Father Alleman soon made friends with the chiefs and their braves, all of whom held him in the highest esteem, while they reposed in him the most absolute confidence, born from their experience of his justice and fair dealing. When the remnant of the Sacs and Foxes ceded to the United States government their reservation at the mouth of the Des Moines, they offered to Father Alleman, in appreciation of his services, the northern half of what is now the city of Keokuk, Iowa. The Indian, like all primitive races, was vindictive to an extreme degree when a wrong had been inflicted on him or his tribe. But with the same spontaneity he gave his heart and his all to those who dealt humanely and honorably with him. Father Alleman was experiencing on a smaller scale what Father De Smet was to emphasize shortly in his numerous dealings with the red sons of the forest: at his bidding they became docile as children, while white troops, superior to them in numbers and armament, did not inspire them with any fear whatever, and a

conflict with government soldiers brought out all the ferocity of the Indian's nature and his absolute contempt of death.

Father Alleman must have been fully aware of the great influence he exercised over his dusky neighbors, and the reason for it, which was none other than his Christian sense of justice towards all men. Yet, when questioned about the cause of the staunch friendship between him and the aborigines, he merely answered with a smile: "Because I was a bigger man than any of them." Father Larmer, an Illinois priest who knew him intimately, and who recounts the anecdote, says that he was "of a giant's stature". And he adds that, when Father Alleman was among the Indians, and was vesting for Mass, the chiefs in war paint, arms and feathers, came to his side to measure height with him. But none of the proud warriors reached the size of the tall Alsatian missionary.

He was far, however, from confining his services to the Indians. "Wherever he heard there were a few Catholics, he made them happy by visiting them, offering the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and administering the Sacraments. To reach his numerous missions, to attend to the spiritual wants of his so widely scattered flock, he occasionally traveled by steamboat, but more frequently on foot, and sometimes was glad in those journeys to climb up and ride behind the slow moving oxen, which in that early day were much employed in drawing heavy loads from place to place. . . . From Fort Madison he usually traveled on foot, as I saw him for years, under his arm a pair of saddle bags which contained all his church—all a missionary's conveniences to celebrate Mass. Being of huge stature and splendid health, he could cover in a morning on foot, without great fatigue, as much ground as an average horse. He took in all northern Missouri and southern Iowa; then he would cross the Mississippi and extend his missionary wanderings as far east as the Illinois River and north to the Wisconsin line. His name and labors are unknown to many; but I can testify that there are few missions, where churches now are in the territory mentioned, which did not have him for a founder. . . . To mention all the towns where he planted the church would cover a page."[3] What a pity that Father Larmer, who wrote this early account, has not also given us that page.

The parishes that have sprung from the missions organized by Father Alleman in Iowa are: in Fort Madison, the mother church of St. Joseph, St. Mary's parish, and Sacred Heart parish; in Keokuk,

[3] *Rev. A. Zaiser*, p. 33.

St. Peter's parish, St. Mary's parish, St. Francis de Sales parish; in West Point, St. Mary's parish; in St. Paul, formerly Sugar Creek, St. James parish. He also went north to Burlington, and as far as Dubuque, where a number of baptismal records are signed by him between 1841 and 1847. Father Alleman regularly attended all these missions from Fort Madison. There, almost immediately upon his arrival from Ohio, he began to erect his first church, dedicated to St. Joseph. It was begun towards the end of 1840 or the early part of 1841, and built of brick. It was only 16 by 18 feet. It was a church, rectory and school all in one, and Father Alleman was the teacher.

As was often the case, the moment a permanent pastor was established in Fort Madison, Catholic settlers came in ever-increasing numbers. There were eight families at first; five years later they had increased to seventy-five. In 1847 Father Alleman had to build a new church, 30 by 50 feet. St. Joseph's again came into possession, some years ago, of an old historic bell, secured for it by Father Alleman. Originally it was the signal bell of the steamer Osprey, belonging to Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet. When this steamer passed into the hands of Captain Pliny Alvord, he gave the bell to Father Alleman, who hung it in an octagon grape arbor beside his little church.

One of the first out-missions which Father Alleman began to attend from his central residence was that of Keokuk, to the south; and for eight years he continued as its pastor. Almost at the same time, in the summer of 1842, he organized the Catholics of West Point into a parish, and late that fall he began the erection of a frame church building, 21 by 40 feet. It was completed and dedicated to St. Philip in the fall of 1843, and was the wonder and pride of all the country about. In St. Paul, formerly Sugar Creek, a church had already been erected before Father Alleman's arrival. He immediately took charge of the small parish which was without a priest, and it became another flourishing mission. The surroundings were primitive, the facilities restricted; but the scattered members of his flock made up in fervor what they lacked in numbers, and their settlements grew with the passing years.[4]

In Illinois

Already while located in Iowa, Father Alleman ministered to the Catholics across the river, and the pioneer settlers of Illinois for many

[4] For a fuller account of these various missions see *Rev. A. Zaiser*, pp. 37, ff.

miles around soon came within the scope of his all-embracing zeal. Just southeast of him lay prosperous and beautiful Nauvoo, a teeming beehive with its twenty thousand Mormon inhabitants in the city and scattered over the country side. It would seem that he organized the parish there, his first foundation in Illinois, in 1847, and collected the money for the church building by traveling on foot over the prairie to get subscriptions.[5] It seems also that after the departure of the Mormons he bought for $900.00 the house of one of the Mormon leaders, Parley P. Pratt, who had erected it for his own use. The priest is said to have lived in part of the building, while another part was used for church. At first he read Mass in one of the main Mormon buildings, the use of which was graciously tendered him.

Tradition has it, moreover, that he procured the bell which is still doing duty in the Nauvoo Catholic Church, and that he himself sold the tickets to pay for it. Embossed on the outside of the bell are the following inscriptions: "Cast by Fr. Mayer, St. Louis, Mo., 1852"; and on the other side: "St. Patrick's Church, Nauvoo, J. G. Alleman, Pastor." The difficulty, however, is that in 1852 Father Alleman had for one year past been residing in Rock Island, Illinois, as pastor. The old bell is claimed to have cost $350.00.[6]

While ministering to the Nauvoo Catholics, Father Alleman could not avoid coming in contact with the Mormons. He welcomed the opportunity, and won the hearts of the leaders of this singular sect, then in its full ascendancy. Having wandered from New York to Ohio, then to Jackson County and Caldwell County, Missouri, Joseph Smith and his followers had been definitely driven forth from that State and forbidden under pain of death to return. They settled in Nauvoo, Illinois, and the surrounding territory,[7] where they were kindly received.

The praises of this beautiful, healthy and fertile location have been sung often, and the Mormon colony increased and prospered. The Legislature of Illinois granted them a liberal charter. As a protection against mob violence and spoliation, of which they had been the victims several times, they were permitted to organize the "Nauvoo Legion." While apparently part of the state militia, it

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[5] *Rev. A. Zaiser,* p. 90. The baptismal records signed by him run from March 17, 1850, to June 27, 1853. It is quite possible that the parish was organized only in 1850 and not in 1847.

[6] *Rev. A. Zaiser,* p. 90-91.

[7] For detailed history of their Nauvoo settlement see *Illinois Centennial History,* Vol. II, Chap. XIX, p. 340 ff.

was in reality an independent military body, commanded by Joseph Smith as lieutenant-general. A municipal court was also instituted to have jurisdiction in civil cases, as a bar to legal proceedings of a persecuting and vexatious character. Conscious of their power, and not content with being a self-contained community, they succeeded in becoming a political factor of great importance. Their high-handed methods, together with dissension in their own ranks, led to riots in which Joseph Smith was killed. Driven out from Nauvoo, they were set a-wandering once more across the prairies, until they took up their permanent abode in the Salt Lake Valley. While they were undisturbed lords of the land in Nauvoo, Smith and his followers made every effort to gather proselytes from far and near. Nor were they fastidious about the kind of men who were allowed to join their communion. Many were indeed earnest zealots who believed in the divine mission of the Nauvoo prophet. Others were outlaws and criminals who sought refuge from justice by recognizing Joseph Smith as their leader. Such men easily became the terror of the immigrants who now flocked to the Mississippi plains. For the land was cheap and productive, and the power of the Indians had been broken for good.[8] These immigrants sought counsel and protection from the "Big Priest," as Father Alleman was familiarly known, and his wide acquaintance with the territory of the valley enabled him to guide and direct them successfully, which he always did without any personal fee or reward.

With all his vagaries, Joseph Smith was a man possessed of worldly wisdom. Father Alleman's influence did not escape him, and, as on the frontier friendships were quickly made, the two were soon on intimate terms. It was seemingly Smith himself who made the first advances. No men could be more tenacious of their respective principles than were these two, and while sacrificing nothing, Father Alleman benefited most by this unusual friendship, as did the scattered members of his flock in Illinois. Not unfrequently the pioneers of that State would ride perhaps a hundred miles for the priest to attend the sick. As Father Alleman resided most of the time in Fort Madison, when they arrived at the Mississippi, they would find no means of crossing. Smith would invariably send his barge, manned with strong men, as the crossing was at the head of the rapids, to bring Father Alleman to the other side. On one occasion the latter thought it his duty to thank the prophet for his

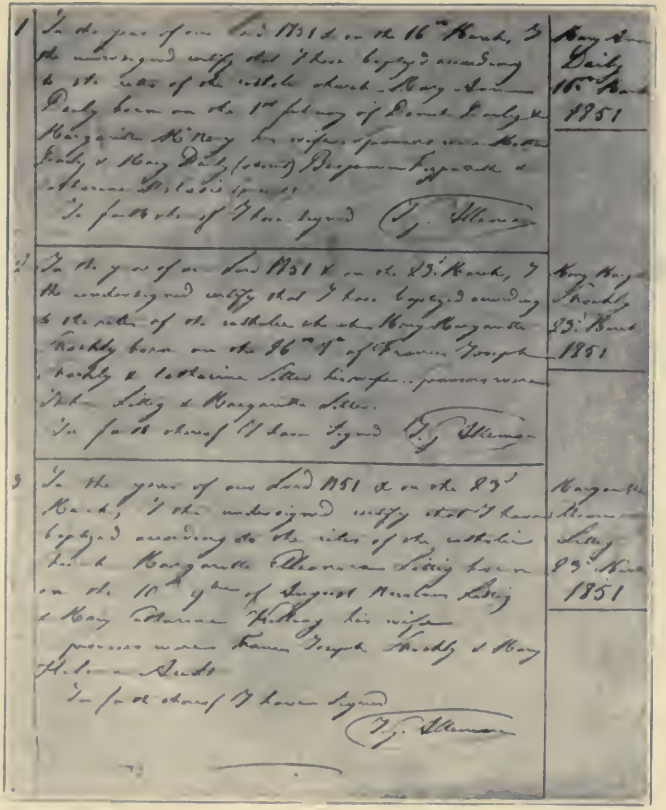
[8] *Illinois Centennial History*, Vol. II, p. 150 ff.

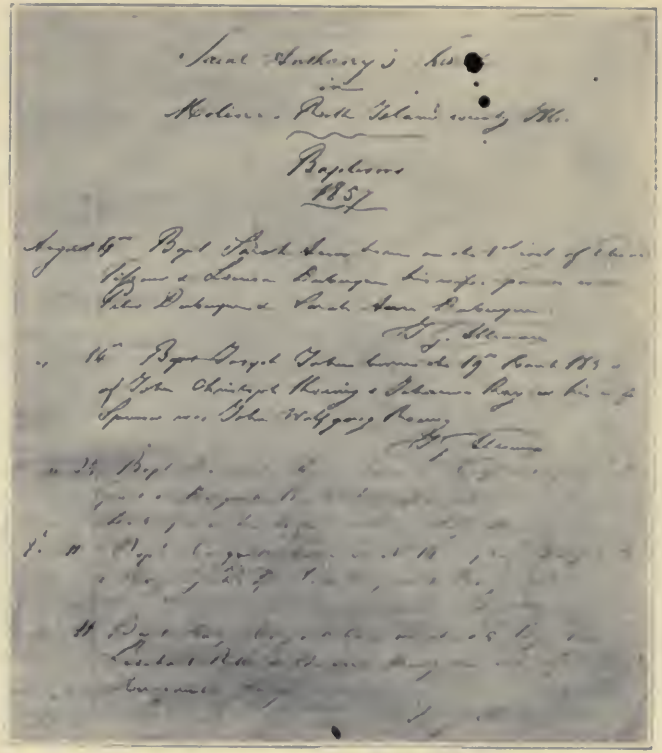
courtesy. "Never mind, Father," was Smith's ready answer, "next to the church of the Latter Day Saints, that of the Catholics is the best." And the quick retort of the priest, in his usual kindly manner: "About that there is a diversity of opinion," brought a smile to the face of the crafty Mormon. Smith went on to remark that he had often watched the conduct of Catholic clergymen and had found that they always attended to their own business and administered to the wants of their own people at great sacrifice; while those of other denominations, sent out from the east and supported by contributions from New York and Boston, did little else than meddle in politics and write home misrepresentations, especially against his own people, the Mormons.[9]

In the meantime, from the southern part of Illinois the settlers began to reach out more and more towards the north-western portion of the state. Catholicism progressed with them, and the Right Rev. William Quarter was consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, in 1844, as the first bishop of Chicago, taking possession of his see on May 5 of the same year. He found less than twenty priests in his extensive diocese which embraced the whole State. Two of these had been loaned by Bishop Bruté of Vincennes and were recalled almost at once. Bishop Quarter set out to provide new shepherds with such zeal that two years later he could summon thirty-two clergymen to his first dioecesan synod.

Having heard of Father Alleman's untiring efforts in behalf of Illinois Catholics, he begged him, "in the name of God and religion," to extend his apostolic labors frequently; nay, if possible, to give himself entirely to the north-western portion of the new dioecese. In answer to this urgent request, and little heeding the new burdens it would entail upon him, Father Alleman left Fort Madison, Iowa, and selected the city of Rock Island, Illinois, as the new center of his apostolate. He arrived in the beginning of 1851, a stranger in a strange community. Soon he had sought out several German Catholics. Together with Ignatius Huber, who was later to become one of Rock Island's well-known business men, he obtained room and board at John Ziegler's who lived at the north-east corner of Rock River and Dock streets, now Twenty-second Street and Fourth Avenue. The building of a new church was broached at once, and the project was taken up with such enthusiasm that he quickly found

[9] *Rev. A. Zaiser*, p. 31-32.





Register kept by Rev. George John Alleman, O. P.

EARLIEST CHURCH RECORDS OF ROCK ISLAND AND MOLINE

9178

himself in possession of the property across the street on which St. Mary's church and rectory now stand.[10]

With the assistance of the Littig, Meisner, and several other Catholic families, he began at once the erection of a church near the center of the lot he had acquired. The structure was 30 by 50 feet, built of limestone. The stone trimmings were brought from the Mormon buildings in Nauvoo, whence the Latter Day Saints had been expelled in 1846. It was dedicated to St. James, and the corner stone was laid on August 31, 1851. The contemporary account of the event is interesting:

ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS, September 2, 1851.

To the Editor of the New York Freeman's Journal:

DEAR SIR—The ceremony of the blessing of the corner stone of a new church took place in Rock Island, Illinois, on August 31, 1851. It being on Sunday, High Mass was celebrated by the Rev. Father Alleman, pastor of the congregation. The singing was by the choir of Davenport, and we heard many persons say that there are few choirs in the West that can compare with it for the beauty of execution. But, what is more to the praise of the singers who compose it, is that they are all pious Catholics who did not sing to please men but to please God.

The Rev. Mr. McGorrisk of Galena delivered a most splendid discourse on the Unity of the Church before a numerous assembly, composed mostly of Protestants. We have very seldom had the pleasure of hearing more numerous and more cogent arguments brought forth to prove the necessity of Unity in the Church of Christ, and that the Catholic Church alone possesses that necessary mark.

At three o'clock P. M. the blessing of the corner stone took place. The officiating priest was, at the request of the Right Rev. Bishop Van de Velde, the Very Rev. J. A. M. Pelamourgues of Davenport, Iowa. Another discourse, explanatory of the ceremonies just performed, was delivered by the Rev. Mr. McGorrisk, and all ended by the taking up of a collection, which amounted to over seventy dollars, and the singing of the *Te Deum Laudamus*.

Two beautiful lots on which to build a church were given by Protestants. The church will be Gothic, 50 by 30 feet, built of limestone; the cut stone and corner stone were brought from the Mormon Temple of Nauvoo. Through the zeal of the indefatigable Mr. Alleman we expect to see before the end of this year the sign of the Cross raise its head over one of the most beautiful sceneries in the valley of the Mississippi.

Catholics who wish to emigrate to the West will find Rock Island and vicinity one of the best and healthiest locations they can select. Preparations are making

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[10] For lack of written records, much of this information has been obtained form Patrick Lee, living at 1016 Fourteenth Street, Rock Island, Illinois, who came to the city in 1854, knew Father Alleman intimately, served his Mass, and accompanied him frequently on his missionary journeys. Other old settlers have also contributed their mite.

to build four or five new churches next year within fifteen miles of this place, some in Iowa and some in Illinois. When the new church, which is now in progress of building in the city of Davenport, will be completed, I may trouble you with another letter.

Yours in Christ,
A SUBSCRIBER.[11]

In 1853 he had gathered sufficient funds to build a small rectory on the south-east corner of the lot, slightly forward of the church. It was a frame structure, 14 by 16 feet and 9 feet high, painted a bright red. Later on this house was removed to make room for the present rectory, and it now stands across the street from its former location, being the rear part of No. 418, Twenty-second Street. It is the only one of Father Alleman's buildings now left in Rock Island. He occupied it for ten years. The school, which was built near the alley at the rear of the church, and which was of frame, 18 by 32 feet, 14 feet high, has been torn down. The stone church also was demolished after the present St. Mary's church was erected in 1863-64, on the south-west corner of the lot, which had been left vacant for that purpose. The present sacristy could be added to the church only after the stone building had been cleared away.

In the baptismal register of St. James Church is preserved a note dated August 4, 1852, for $30.00, loaned by Antoine Leclaire, the founder of Davenport, to Father Alleman for the the building of St. James Church, which amount the latter promises to "refund as soon as possible." The account was probably never collected, for the same register contains a bill, dated September 6, 1852, from a Davenport lumber yard to "Mr. Alleman" amounting to $42.45 for 3,575 feet of dressed flooring. The bill bears the following endorsement: "This bill was paid by Mr. A. Leclaire of Davenport and generously by him given as a donation to the R. C. Church of St. James at Rock Island."

That Catholicity flourished under his management, the records bear ample evidence, and they have fortunately all been preserved as they came from his hand, the first pages of the two oldest ones being herewith reproduced. In 1851, the year of his arrival, there were twenty baptisms and one marriage.

In 1852 he records twenty-three baptisms and two marriages;

In 1853, thirty-six baptisms and seven marriages;

In 1854, fifty-seven baptisms and eighteen marriages;

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[11] This clipping is due to the courtesy of Rev. A. Zaiser, Fort Madison, Iowa.

In 1855, ninety-two baptisms and thirty-eight marriages;

In 1856, 169 baptisms and fifty-four marriages.

Indeed, Catholicity was making such rapid strides that another priest, Father John P. Donelon, was sent in May, 1856, to help him in his work. With characteristic unselfishness and tireless energy, Father Alleman, far from enjoying in well-earned repose the fruit of his labors, at once turned to a new field of activity, where everything was to be built up once more from the bottom, and from now on his name appears less frequently on the registers of St. James parish, Rock Island. In 1857, forty-two baptismal records are signed by him out of a total of 152; in 1858 he signs sixty-seven out of a total of 175; in 1859, nine out of 138; in 1860, eleven out of 161; in 1861, thirty-five; in 1862, four. None are signed by him in 1863 or after, as he left the city for good that year.

The Rock Island parishes that have sprung from Father Alleman's original foundation are, in the order of time: St. Mary's, the successor to St. James church; St. Joseph's church; Sacred Heart church, St. Paul's church. Having made what men would call "an unqualified success" of his foundation in Rock Island, he handed it over to other hands, and once more became an itinerant missionary. Just east of Rock Island was growing up the village of Moline. Cheap water power was furnished by the Mississippi and squatters had taken up land on the island which is now the property of the United States government and houses the Rock Island Arsenal, as well as on the mainland opposite from it. Among them were several Catholics who had been visited by Father Pelamourgues of Davenport and Bishop Loras of Dubuque. Father Alleman visited them in turn and read Mass in Moline on several occasions during 1855 in the house of Peter Dubuque. The following year he bought ground adjoining the latter's property, paying $200.00 for it, and Bernard Van Kerkhove was commissioned to build the church, a small frame structure. Other members of the little congregation donated their labor, and in 1857 the building was under roof. While the interior was far from completed, services were held in it constantly. It was dedicated to St. Anthony, and was situated on what is now Ninth Avenue, between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets. The churches that sprang from it in the course of time in Moline are: St. Mary's, the successor to St. Anthony's Church; Sacred Heart Church, and Holy Trinity Church. Beside, in the younger city of East Moline, St. Mary's Church and Holy Name Church.

Father Alleman did not live in Moline, but kept his residence in

Rock Island. From this central station he began, now more than ever, to travel over the surrounding territory. In the same year, 1857, he also organized a parish in Hampton, some six miles east of Moline, on the Mississippi, dedicating the church to St. Stephen, and recording the first baptism on April 1 of that year. Hampton was a settlement that seemed to have a great future in store for it. It had a good boat landing and river traffic was at its height. Coal was found in the neighboring hills. The Rock Island railroad was making a survey to cross the river there into Iowa. But river traffic decreased, the coal mines gave out; the railroad took another direction. Hampton is today a very small, quiet village. Father Alleman's parish is in existence, however, and from it has sprung another parish, St. John the Baptist, in Rapids City, to the east.

The baptismal register of "St. Anthony's Church, Moline, Rock Island County, Illinois," begun by him in 1857, and the first page of which is herewith reproduced, gives some idea of his missionary journeys. Thus, for the year 1857 he registers therein baptisms not only from Moline and Hampton, but also from Keithsburg, Mercer County; Genesco, Henry County; Pekin, Tazewell County; Coal Valley, Rock Island County; Hennepin, Putnam County; Sheffield, Bureau County. These are quite likely the first recorded baptisms from any of these parishes, everyone of which is in existence today. And perhaps there are other places where an examination of the registers would disclose Father Alleman's presence.

His name continues to appear in the Moline register in 1859. It is absent from the register during 1860, when other priests took his place. It reappears again in 1861, for the last time under date of March 24. As stated above, he performed four baptisms in Rock Island in 1862, these being the last records to bear his signature.

He kept on living in Rock Island, however, but his health had broken down under the strain, and he could no longer perform the work of the ministry. Although only about fifty-six years at this time, his rugged frame had not been able to withstand the racking labor of twenty-five years' almost constant traveling and the many privations that were inseparable from it. He was forced to keep to his bed most of the time. He who had so often and so unselfishly ministered to the wants of others, was now taken care of in turn by loving hands. He lived alone in his little frame dwelling where his meals were brought to him. Only on rare occasion was he able to rise from his couch. He became morose and difficult to approach, and was at last induced to go to a hospital. He left Rock Island in the

fall of 1863, and the record of St. Vincent's Hospital, St. Louis, states that he entered that institution November 26, 1863, "suffering from melancholia". He died there July 14, 1865, and was buried in Calvary Cemetery, St. Louis. His grave is unmarked, being one of seven priests' graves that bear no name. Far from his friends and the scenes of his labors, he died as he had lived: a humble friar, intent only on God's work, caring not at all about a name and a record.

The Man and the Priest

From all accounts, oral and documentary, Father Alleman was a remarkable character in many ways. He stands out in bold relief among the other pioneer priests of his day. It is not easy to point out any one single trait that made him what he was. It was rather a harmonious blending of the best natural virtues with heroic priestly qualities which made him revered and beloved by Mormon, Protestant and Catholic alike wherever he went. No picture of him is extant as far as known. Those who knew him describe him as tall, of ample girth and slightly stoop-shouldered. His face radiated goodness and kindly humor. His non-committal answer to Joseph Smith is almost a classic. His standing joke with the Mississippi steamboat captains may bear retelling. He was well known to many of them, and they could be as broadly human now and then as they were harsh at other times. Whenever he wished to take a steamer, he would go to the landing, and call out: "Oh, Captain!"

"Well, what can I do for you today, Father?"

"Say, Captain, is this a Christian boat?"

"It will be if you come aboard, Father; come and go with us." It was a "free pass" for the trip.

A would-be punster, pointing to the holes in the priest's sleeves, dryly remarked: "Herr Pfarrer, die Weisheit schaut heraus."

"Ja, und die Dummheit schaut hinein," came the pointed rejoinder with the quickness of a flash.[12]

He was a lover of nature and of children. Perhaps the two are inseparable. To his little nursery in Fort Madison he devoted his leisure hours, and he gave freely of his flowers and trees to all who asked, even planting the latter himself in public places where he thought they might be useful or ornamental. With children he was at home everywhere. They felt drawn to him as he to them. In the schools, which he never failed to build alongside the church

[12] *Rev. A. Zaiser*, p. 114-115, 123.

whenever possible, he would not only teach, but romp and play with his charges as well.

Not afraid of menial tasks, he cut the firewood for the parochial buildings in the forests along the river banks, dragged it home over the ice, and chopped the logs himself. The pioneer priest had none of the modern comforts. Yet he never lacked the primitive conveniences which a poor but generous flock could and did provide most willingly for their spiritual leaders.

Father Alleman's poverty was self-imposed. Not only were his successive dwellings simple in the extreme, but his dress was ever old and shabby. In vain did Bishop Loras reprimand him gently and present him with enough new cloth just brought from France, for a new suit. It was sold to buy altar vessels for his new church in West Point. In Rock Island the women of his small congregation raised seventy dollars and handed it to him to buy a new suit of clothes. He did buy clothes this time,—but for the children of his school.

Men are wont to label all such acts: "eccentricities". Perhaps they bear another name in the Book of Life. As a man, Father Alleman was a singularly lovable character. As a priest he rivalled in zeal, in energy, in results achieved, any pioneer of the Mississippi Valley.

J. B. CULEMANS.

Moline, Illinois.

THE IRISH IN EARLY ILLINOIS*

There was a time when every white man was a foreigner in Illinois, as well as in all other parts of America, and, therefore, Illinois cannot be claimed as the birthright of any race, unless it be that of the redman. The claim therefore of any race of men to credit or distinction here, depends not upon what it was or is, but upon what it has done.

Let us examine briefly the claims of the Irish race.

As is well known, the French are entitled to the honor of the discovery, exploration and first settlement of the territory now included within the boundaries of Illinois, and they were in almost exclusive possession, save for the Indians, of the entire Illinois country for nearly one hundred years before other white men came here. But even in French days there were to be found men of Irish blood.

Irishmen Among the French

According to his own statement, Hugh Crawford[1] must have been the first Irishman that traveled about the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers. He says he made trading trips leaving the Ohio and Mississippi as early as 1739, and he continued in this work until after the Revolutionary War. He was associated in trade with Colonel George Croghan and Thomas Smallman, and first came to the West at the instance of George Washington to look over lands with a view to investments. After the conclusion of the war between France and England, by which England became entitled to the French possessions east of the Mississippi, he was employed to bring Pontiac, the famous Indian Chief, to Sir William Johnson in 1766 for the purpose of negotiating a settlement and permitting the English to take possession after the treaty of Paris. Crawford was an important factor in all the history of the territory up to the time of his death in 1770.

A most romantic figure in the very early history of the Illinois country was Francis Morgan, better known as the Chevalier de

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*Paper read before the Illinois Chapter, American Irish Historical Society. This will be followed by another paper entitled: "Chicago and Up-State Irish."

[1] Note, *Illinois Historical Collection, Volume X, Critical Period*, p. 483.

Vincennes, after whom the city of Vincennes is named. Although little seems to be known of his origin, he is said by Bishop Alerding to have been Irish.[2] Reynolds, in speaking of Vincennes, said: "The brave and gallant young hero was the hope and pride of the Wabash country." His tragic end is one of the saddest incidents in the history of the Northwest. Bienville was the French Governor in 1736, when the Chickasaw Indians were causing much disturbance. To quell the Indian uprising it was arranged that Bienville should proceed from New Orleans with an army and join a force under the gallant Frenchman, De Artaguette, then the Intendant at Fort Chartres near Kaskaskia, and another force under Vincennes from the region of the Wabash. The junction of the forces was planned for the 10th of May of that year. De Artaguette and Vincennes had their forces at the appointed rendezvous, near the sources of the Tombigbee and Yazoo rivers. Bienville started from New Orleans with a quite formidable army, but the water in the Tombigbee was low and the forces never met. The forces of De Artaguette and Vincennes camped in sight of the enemy until the 20th of May, waiting for Bienville, and were then forced into battle with the much greater number of opponents by the impatience of their Indian allies. The Chickasaw towns were fortified under the direction of the British, and the opposing army fought under the British flag. The Illinois forces drove the Chickasaws out of two of their fortified towns, and were on the eve of success in the third and last when the brave De Artaguette received two wounds which disabled him. So disheartened were the soldiers that they retreated, leaving their gallant commander wounded upon the battle field. Here Vincennes played a heroic part. Together with Father Antonius Senat, one of the noble Jesuits who did so much for the infant country, he steadfastly refused to leave his comrade, and falling into the hands of the Chickasaws, De Artaguette, Vincennes and Father Senat were ignominiously treated for several weeks, and at last burned at the stake. Thus ended the life of one of the most gallant young men that ever graced this part of the world, and in the company of a soldier and a priest, the pride and glory of their day.[3]

Chevalier McCarty[4] was an administrator of French affairs as

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[2] Note, Alerding, *The Diocese of Vincennes*, p. 54. Vincennes is said to have been a nephew of Louis Jolliet the discoverer.

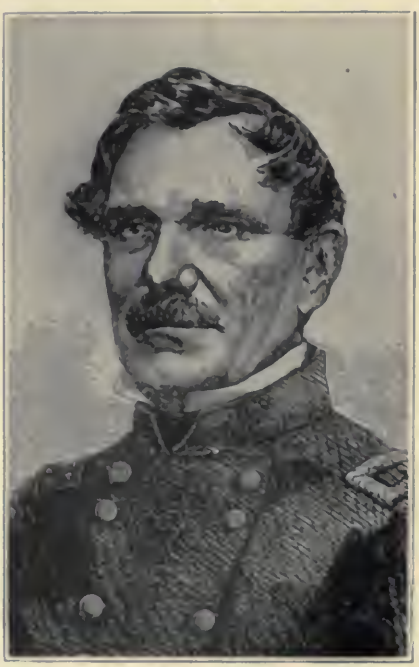
[3] For a stirring account of the sad incident see Monnette's *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 286-88.

[4] There is quite general agreement that Chevalier McCarty was of Irish

U. S. Senator Elias Kent Kane

Gov. John Reynolds

Gov. Thomas Ford



General James Shields

Distinguished Irishmen of Early Illinois

Governor of the Illinois country from 1751 until a short time before the territory came into the ownership of the British under the treaty of Paris, which was concluded between the French and English in 1763.

Chevalier McCarty was a fort builder and the legitimate successor of La Salle. It was he that rebuilt Fort Chartres in 1756 in such a manner that it was said to be the best fortification in America. The ruins of this very fort are still an object of intense interest, as they may be viewed near the site of old Kaskaskia, which has long since been swept away. He was also the builder of the old Fort Massac, which has become a point of special historic interest, especially due to the fact that it is believed to be the first point in the state at which the American flag was raised. Both these forts, now the property of the State of Illinois, are being appropriately cared for and preserved.

Colonel George Croghan[5] was a very distinguished Irishman, who came at an early day to the Northwest. Croghan and his associates are said to have established strings of stores and trading places in the Northwest as early as 1754. When Sir William Johnson,[6] who, by the way, was an Irishman, and perhaps the ablest representative the British government ever had in this country, was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he made Croghan his deputy, and Croghan attained the reputation of being the "fittest person in

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extraction. He is frequently called McCarty McTique. It is interesting to know that after leaving the Illinois country McCarty became a land proprietor on the lower Mississippi and on the occasion of the banishment of the Jesuits kindly received and entertained them on their journey down to New Orleans. See letter of Father Philibert Watrin published by Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 70, 211, also published by Alvord and Carter in *The Critical Period*, Vol. X, *Illinois Historical Collection*, p. 113. See also account of his death on April 20, 1764, and burial with military honors, *Journal of Dabaddie*, published in Alvord & Carter's *Critical Period*, Vol. X, *Illinois Historical Collection*, p. 183.

[5] For a satisfactory biographical note of this great Irishman see Alvord & Carter's *The Critical Period*, Vol. X, *Illinois Historical Collection*, p. 221. This volume and Vol. IX *Illinois Historical Collection*, entitled *The New Regime*, contain Croghan's correspondence and journal and well illustrate his great activities. It is of interest to note that Croghan was in Kaskaskia and at Fort Chartres in August, 1766, and gave a complete report to General Gage. See *The New Regime*, p. 489. See also, Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, pp. 58-59..

[6] Sir William Johnson was born in Ireland in 1715. For satisfactory biog. note see Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period, Illinois Historical Collection*, Vol. X, p. 17. See portrait *Ibid.* opposite p. 221.

America", to transact business with the Indians. This fitness was demonstrated when he successfully negotiated, after the dismal failure of many others, the submission of the great Chief Pontiac. There are many of Croghan's letters extant, and they and other evidences demonstrate that he was a straightforward and, at the same time, a very forceful character. It is pleasant to know that though he was a loyal servitor of Great Britain, yet when the time came to make a choice between Great Britain and the young Republic, America, he chose the latter.

Colonel Croghan was not the last of his line to distinguish his name in this country. His family and that of General George Rogers Clark, so distinguished in our history, intermarried, and a direct descendant of Colonel Croghan and of the Clarks by such intermarriage, Major George Croghan, became one of the heroic figures of the War of 1812. On the 1st of August, 1813, General Proctor, with the principal British force consisting of about eight hundred regulars and two thousand Indians, after virtually overrunning the country, attacked Fort Stephenson. The fort was in command of Major Croghan, then twenty-one years of age, seconded and ably assisted by another gallant young Irishman, Joseph Duncan, who afterward became the fifth Governor of the State of Illinois. After making such a disposition of his troops as to prevent the escape of the garrison, General Proctor summoned Croghan to surrender, threatening the garrison with an Indian massacre in case of refusal. Croghan's force numbered but one hundred and fifty men, and the fort was but a mean protection; in fact, totally indefensible in the opinion of General Harrison, who had issued orders that it be abandoned. These orders were sent by messenger, but the bearer lost his way, and when the orders were received a large party of Indians had already surrounded the works, rendering it more dangerous to retreat than to remain. To Proctor's demand and threat, the gallant young officer replied: "When the fort shall be taken there shall be none left to massacre, as it will not be given up while there is a man left who is able to fight." Upon the receipt of this reply, the British at once attacked the northwest angle of the fort. Major Croghan, judging that it was the intention of the enemy to make a breach in that quarter, caused it to be strengthened by bags of sand and flour, and, under cover of darkness which set in, he placed his single gun, a six-pounder, charged with slugs and grape shot, in such a position as to command the point of attack. The fire of the besiegers was kept up during the night of the 1st of April and until late in the

evening of the 2nd, when a storming party of 360 men advanced under cover of the smoke and darkness to within twenty paces of the walls of the fort. The musketry now opened upon them, but with little effect; the ditch was gained and in a moment filled with men. At that moment the masked cannon, only thirty feet distant, opened upon the assailants, killing twenty-seven and wounding as many more. The broken column was reformed and the ditch again filled, but the cannon being again discharged with similar effect, the besiegers became disheartened, abandoned the attack and the little fort was saved. Croghan was breveted Lieutenant-Colonel for his gallant conduct, was afterward commended by resolution of Congress for bravery, and Croghan and Duncan were each presented by Congress with a sword.[7]

During the English Regime

When the British secured the French Territory the Government took up the question of its management, and Lord Shelburne (William Petty, born in Dublin) who was secretary of state for the southern department, upon the recommendation of Benjamin Franklin and others, planned the establishment of three new colonies to be located at Detroit, at the Illinois, and at the mouth of the Ohio, but having become disconnected from the ministry, his recommendation was not carried out.

He was again in the British Cabinet at the time the Treaty of Peace which closed the Revolutionary War was negotiated, and it was largely through his influence that the United States obtained under the treaty the old Northwest, including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.[8]

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[7] Lippincott's, *Cabinet History of Illinois,* p. 168. See also Blanchard, *Discovery of the Northwest,* pp. 300, 301. Black Hawk was with the British in the siege of Fort Stephenson.

[8] Lord Shelburne was born in Dublin. For satisfactory biography see Alvord and Carter, *The New Regime,* p. 370. For portrait see *ibid.* frontispiece.

Alvord calls Lord Shelburne the first statesman of England. "To name Lord Shelburne is to name the man who has exercised a greater influence on the development of America than any other British statesman, not excepting William Pitt."—Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* I, p. 140. Of his character he says: "On the whole he was very tolerant in his religious beliefs; and it is not surprising, therefore, that he found the ecclesiastical plan of the Grenville-Bedford ministry, with tis attempt to bribe or to drive the Canadians out of the Roman Catholic Church, a plan which the Old Whigs had partially

After the treaty of Paris and the cession of New France to England, Guy Carlton,[9] an Irishman, became the Governor under the English crown. A Major Loftus, probably Irish, with a force of Irishmen of the 22nd, British regiment, tried to take possession of the Illinois country, but failed, but, as has been seen, another Irishman—Colonel George Croghan—succeeded in securing the possession stipulated for in the treaty. Subsequently, the 18th, or "Royal Regiment of Ireland," nearly all of the members of which were Irish, garrisoned the forts in the Illinois country for some time under the British regime, but were later withdrawn and a local militia force was organized under the command of Captain Richard McCarthy, of whom we are to hear more.

The number of Irish in the territory increased somewhat during the period of British ascendency in Illinois, and some very conspicuous Irishmen are known to have been here during that time.

William and Daniel Murray[10] and Patrick Kenndey[11] were three very worthy Irishmen here during that period. They were all traders of a high type. They dealt fairly with every one, including the Indians. Kennedy seems to have come to the country about 1766 and the Murrays in 1767. Alvord says of William Murray:

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inaugurated, as not wholly suited to his benevolent purpose of winning the new subjects from their old allegiance to France."—Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* Vol. II, p. 223.

"The ablest and most accomplished minister of the eighteenth century."—Disraeli in *Sybil.*

[9] See *Dictionary of National Biography,* 3:1002.

It is said of Sir Guy Carlton that he "will always retain the first rank in Canadian annals. He was one of those rare men who, during a long and varied public life, lived so utterly irreproachably that his memory remains untainted by the charge of a semblance of vice."—Kingsford, *History of Canada,* Vol. V, p. 191. Quoted by Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* Vol. II, p. 227. Alvord further says: "Carlton's sympathies went out to the large French-Canadian population he governed; and he was expecting to win their loyalty to England by permitting them to enjoy the forms of government, law and church to which they had long been accustomed."—*Ibid.,* p. 227.

[10] The Murray's are frequently referred to as English, but it was usual to refer to all subjects of Great Britain as Englishmen. It is a distinctly Irish name and the Murray's were from the very earliest Anti-British and Pro American. See Alvord, *Illinois Historical Collection,* Vol. II, p. 36.

[11] Patrick Kennedy was undoubtedly Irish and understood Irish and Gaelic. He interpreted the testimony of an Irishman named Daniel Cail at a court of Inquiry, September 11, 1777. See Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records, Illinois Historical Collection,* Vol. V, p. 34.

"In the annals of the West the names of such men as Samuel Wharton, Phinneas Lyman, George Morgan, William Murray, Richard Henderson and George Washington * * * should occupy a conspicuous place."

There seems to be little room for doubt that the Murrays and Kennedy were the very people who furnished George Rogers Clark with information and co-operated with his force in the conquest of Kaskaskia. They were all ardent patriots in the American cause and Patrick Kennedy was at once appointed assistant quartermaster upon Clark's taking possession of Illinois.[12] William Shannon was quartermaster.

Another worthy Irishman of this period was William Arundel,[13] who was born in Ireland and came to Cahokia prior to the Clark conquest. During a part of his residence in the Illinois country, he lived near Peoria. He was a merchant and trader and is spoken of as "an orderly, moral and correct man". He died in Kaskaskia in 1816.

Thomas Brady was a conspicuous figure in this early day. In 1776, Brady, with a small company of volunteers, consisting of sixteen men, marched across the state to the nearest British fort on Lake Michigan (Fort St. Joseph) near the present city of Niles, Michigan, and surprised and captured the fort, securing, it is said, $50,000 worth of supplies and munitions. The victors seem, however, to have overlooked a point or two in their subsequent proceedings. They paroled the British garrison, but the British, ignoring their pledges, informed their Indian allies, and together they and their allies overpowered Brady's force, took them prisoners, and recovered the goods somewhere near the present site of Chicago. In turn, however, the goods were recaptured from the British by a force which left Peoria soon after, led by Maillet, who was a relative of some of Brady's followers. Brady escaped his captors and returned by a circuitous route to Kaskaskia, where he afterward married the much-renowned and highly-respected Widow La Compte, and in 1790 became the sheriff of St. Clair County, then one of the highest positions available to any citizen. Reynolds says of Brady: "He had the reputation of an honest, correct citizen and I believe he deserved

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[12] See this subject treated in detail in Thompson's *Illinois' First Citizen—Pierre Gibault*, Illinois Catholic Historical Review, July, 1918.

[13] An Irish merchant from Canada. Reynold's *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 128. Arundel was a trader of large magnitude and was for years clerk of the U. S. Territorial Court.

it.''[14] Brady was a judge of the Court of Cahokia in 1785,[15] was Indian Commissioner in 1787 and in that capacity prohibited the sale of liquor to the Indians.[16] The town, now city of East St. Louis (Illinoiston) was laid out on a part of his land.[17]

Conquest of the Northwest by George Rogers Clark

The story of Clark's conquest of the Northwest is of absorbing interest and especially so for men of Irish extraction.

As before stated, the French were the discoverers and settlers of this part of the country and held undisputed sway from the time of the discovery in 1673 until 1763, when the British came into the ownership of it under the terms of the treaty of Paris. Accordingly, the English were in possession for only eleven or twelve years before the close of the Revolutionary War. It was a troublous time and the new possessors had little opportunity to do much in such a remote place as the Illinois country, and in fact but little was done. The Illinois settlements had a most unsatisfactory experience under the English domination, and had no reason for any special gratitude or loyalty to Great Britain. There is no doubt but that the French and other settlers in these parts sympathized with the Revolutionary movement, and that fact makes Clark's conquest more comprehensible. Briefly, the story of Clark's conquest is this:

George Rogers Clark, a young Irishman[18] of twenty-four, of sturdy stock and of indomitable courage and energy, was, at the outbreak of tho Revolution, in Kentucky, then, as well as the Illinois country, a part of the colony of Virginia. He was a military genius and recognized the strategic advantage of getting possession of the British posts in the West—Kaskaskia, Vincennes and Detroit. To effect this purpose, he appealed in person to Patrick Henry, another

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[14] Reynold's *Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 89, 90, 128, 168. A letter from Major De Peyster to General Haldimand, dated Detroit, January 8, 1781, reports this attack substantially as above. Published in *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. XIII, pp. 63 and 64.

[15] Alvord, *Illinois Historical Collection*, Vol. II, p. 197.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[17] Tyson, *History of East St. Louis*, p. 24.

[18] There have been disputes about Clark's nationality, but there seems little doubt that he was of Irish extraction. In his *Scotch-Irish in American History*, Gray says Clark was ''the son of an Irishman''. Pub. No. 9, Historical Library of Illinois, p. 311. See also *Scotch and Scotch-Irish in America*, Smyth, in *Magazine of American History*, Vol. IV, p. 161.

Irishman,[19] then the Governor of Virginia, for authority to make a conquest of the Northwest. Henry and his advisers were impressed and granted the prayer. Virginia had no money, but appealed to Oliver Pollock, who proved one of the greatest benefactors of America, justly called "the Morris of the West", the friend of Count Alexander O'Reilly and other Spanish officials, and obtained the credit necessary to prosecute the Clark enterprise.

Oliver Pollock of New Orleans was not only a distinguished Irishman,[20] but such an enthusiastic supporter of the American cause as to advance many thousands of dollars of his own funds for its success. He was, too, of the type of Irish citizen that clung to the

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[19] It has also been attempted to show that Patrick Henry was not Irish. With his name of Patrick there should be little doubt even though the name Patrick was sometimes given in Scotland in the early times when Scotland was Catholic. Patrick Henry's branch of the Henry family conformed to the established English Church, but other members remained Catholic. The ancestral home of his family was and is near Draperston, County Derry, Ireland, where representatives of the family still live. Mr. Hugh O'Neill, a prominent lawyer and writer of Chicago, was born and raised not far distant from the Henry home and at my request has sent for documents to establish beyond controversy that Patrick Henry's ancestors were Irish for many generations. Gray also calls Patrick Henry "the son of an Irishman," Pub. No. 9, Historical Library of Illinois, p. 311. See also Smyth, *Magazine of American History*, Vol. IV, p. 161.

[20] Pollock's father, Jared Pollock, removed from near Coleraine, Ireland, to Pennsylvania. Oliver Pollock engaged in business in Havana, Cuba, in 1763, and there married a Spanish Catholic lady. He was an intimate friend of the Jesuits there and of Governor General Alexander O'Reilly, and always remained a staunch Catholic. See *Oliver Pollock, His Connections with the Conquest of Illinois, 1778,* by Horace Edwin Hayden, in *Magazine of American History,* Vol. XXII, pp. 414 to 420. See also James, *George Rogers Clark Papares,* Illinois Historical Collection, Vol. VIII, under the following headings: Agent at New Orleans, LXVI, XCVI, 64, 81; aids Clark, LXVII, 55, 64; Montgomery, 498: drafts on LXV, LXVI, LXVII, 173, 330, 379, 496; enlists under Galvez, CXXVI; letter of to G. R. Clark, 330; P. Henry, XCVII; T. Jefferson, 388; J. Todd, 528; letter to from G. R. Clark, LXVI, XCIX, No. 1, 55, 64, 330, 418. R. George, 496; mortgages property, XCVI; order George to join Clark, 367; protests bills of exchange, 330; redeems continental currency, XCVIII; receives Spanish aid, LXVI.

"Pollock borrowed eighty thousand dollars on his own credit during the war, which was devoted to the use of Virginia and the United States. (Virginia State Papers, 111, 29.) Pollock became possessor of eight thousand, four hundred and seventy dollars in continental currency, which he was forced to keep, as it did not pass at New Orleans. Pollock to the President of Congress, September 18, 1782, *Papers of Continental Congress,* "Letters and Papers of Oliver Pollock," 1, 50 et seq., *Illinois Historical Collection,* Vol. VIII, p. 97.

love and traditions of the land of his birth, while he gave his undivided loyalty to the land of his adoption. As a proof of this fact it may be pointed out that he was later one of the founders at Philadelphia of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Clark set about recruiting his army,[21] and the sequel shows that the Irish responded as readily in that as in our day. After much tribulation and months of delay, Clark, with the nucleus of his army, was about to embark upon the Ohio for his projected conquest. It was something of an effort in those days, especially in the midst of the Revolutionary War, to equip his army. Powder was a prime essential and was hard to procure. To get a supply of this necessary article, William Linn,[22] one of America's most noted scouts and an Irishman, was dispatched to New Orleans, where, through the aid of Oliver Pollock, he secured a cargo of powder,[23] and despite all the perils that beset his way, succeeded in delivering it to General Edward Hand,[24] another worthy Irishman, in chief command of Fort Pitt, who in time very materially forwarded Clark's purpose.

Yet more than powder was necessary for the expedition, and Patrick Henry sent Colonel David Rogers, who was born in Ireland,[25] to New Orleans, accompanied by twenty-eight men, to secure goods from Pollock's friend, the Spanish Governor Galvez, and other necessary supplies. These, too, were delivered to Clark by General Hand.

Finally, Clark starts on his journey down the Ohio, and upon arriving near the falls of that river, he says in his "Memoir", "Fortunately I had just received a letter from Colonel Campbell

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[21] Gray states that Clark's Virginia soldiers were "recruited in great part in the Scotch-Irish settlements of the State." *The Scotch-Irish in American History*, Pub. No. 9, *Illinois Historical Library*, p. 309.

[22] *Under Three Flags*, Moore, subject *Linn*. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records, Illinois Historical Collection*, p. 12.

[23] Governor Henry's instructions to Clark, *George Rogers Clark Papers, Illinois Historical Collection*, Vol. VIII, p. 35. See as to Pollock's securing powder for Clark; James, *The George Rogers Clark Papers, Illinois Historical* Collection, pp. 66 and 67, where it is stated "During the summer of 1776 he obtained ten thousand pounds of powder from Governor Unzaga, and the greater part of it was delivered by Lieutenant William Linn'". "The following January five thousand pounds of powder and some swivels were received by Clark from the same source."

[24] Was born in Ireland. See biog. sketch, James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, p. 35, note 2.

[25] See biog. sketch, *Ibid.*, p. 38, note 1.

dated Pittsburg, informing me of the contents of the treaty between France and America." This was the one great piece of news that made his success possible. The great fact he could relate to the French people of the Illinois, and which did in fact exercise a profound influence in securing their allegiance. This Colonel Campbell was Colonel John Campbell, born in Ireland,[26] a valiant soldier and officer of the Revolution and a distinguished citizen and statesman of Louisville in after life. The bearer of this letter was none other than the intrepid William Linn, who succeeded in getting the powder for Clark from New Orleans, and who rowed down the Ohio the entire distance alone, through all the dangers of that day, to deliver that cheering message, and who from there joined Clark's "army," and, as will be seen, played an important role in the conquest.

Captain James O'Hara,[27] who was on the way with two batteaus loaded with provisions sent by General Hand to Captain Willing who was to assist Clark in the conquest, joined Clark at the mouth of the Kanawha.

At last we find Clark at Corn Island, in the Ohio River opposite the site of the present city of Louisville, Kentucky, with his "army" ready for an advance. Before he starts on the last stage of his journey, let us look over Clark's army, noting of what materials it is constituted. First of all there was Clark of Irish ancestry in supreme command as the commander-in-chief. Upon a roll call of officers there would respond Lieutenant-Colonel John Montgomery, Major Thomas Quirk, Major William Linn, Captain John Rogers, Lieutenants Valentine Dalton, Martin Carney, Richard Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, William Clark, James Davis, James Montgomery and Levi Todd. Sergeants James Brown, Michael Miles, John Moore, John O'Rear, Robert Patterson, John Vaughn, John Williams and Charles Morgan. To call the roll of the privates would be too prolix, but I have their names and have established on the authority of reliable historians that of the something less than one hundred and twenty men Clark had gathered around him at Corn Island, ninety at least were Irish, and that out of the entire 225 men that were placed upon the Clark roll during his entire service more than one hundred and seventy-five were Irish.[28]

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[26] See letter and sketch, James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, p. 225.

[27] Sketch, *Ibid.*, p. 117, note 3.

[28] See list in Cawthorne, *A History of Vincennes*. The following are known to have been of Irish extraction:

Before this time the spies, Ben Linn and George Moore, both Irish, whom Clarke had sent for information, reached Kaskaskia and there they conferred with friendly inhabitants, none other, I am satisfied from the records, than William and Daniel Murray and Patrick Kennedy,[29] and when Clark and his army approached Kaskaskia, he is able to get full information of the conditions. Nay, more, he is furnished a guide who is, in all probability, one of these three men.[29a] Clark's army halts across the river, and at least one account has it that a delegation goes out to meet him headed by the Pastor, Pierre Gibault, and he is made welcome so far as the townspeople are concerned.[30]

But the English governor and the garrison at the fort are yet

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Irishmen by birth or descent in Clark's army that took Kaskaskia: Officers—Colonel-in-Command, George Rogers Clark; Lieutenant-Colonel, John Montgomery; Major Thomas Quirk, Major William Linn; Captains Richard McCarty, John Rodgers, John Williams; Lieutenants Valentine Dalton, John Swain, Martin Carney, Richard Clark, William Clark, James Montgomery, Levi Todd; Sergeants James Brown, Michael Miles, John Moore, John O'Rear, Robert Patterson, John Vaughan, John Williams, Charles Morgan. Privates: John Arch, Thomas Batten, William Bell, James Bigger, John Boyle, James Bryant, Edward Bulger, Nicholas Burke, John Campbell, Andrew Conore, Thomas Clifton, Dennis Choheren, Cornelius Copeland, John Cowan, James Curry, Robert Davis, Frederick Doherty, Neal Doherty, Patrick Dorn, John Duff, Edward Fear, Samuel Finley, James Finley, James Finn, Michael Glass, David Glen, Francis Godfrey, John Green, John Grimes, William Givin, Silas Horland, Hugh Henry, Barney Higgins, John Hughes, Edward Johnson, Mathew Jones, John Joynes, William Leare, Richard Letterell, John Lyons, Joseph Lyons, Isaac McBride, Frances McDermott, David McDonald, John McFlanagan, John McCann, Alexander McIntyre, George McManus, John McManus, John McManus, Jr., Samuel McMillen, James McNutt, Florence Mahoney, Patrick Marr, Charles Martin, John Montgomery, John Moore, Thomas Moore, John Murphy, Edward Murray, Peter Newton, Michael O'Hara, Daniel O'Rear, Peter Priest, William Purcell, William Stack, Francis Spellman, John Talley, Joseph Thornton, Daniel Tygert, Barney Whalen, Dominique Welch.

Most of the other troops about which I can learn nothing specific have names that are common to Irish and English. It seems fair to assume in such cases that they are Irish, due to the fact that the Irish readily espoused the American cause, while it was not so of the English.

[29] "Such men as Winston, Kennedy, and the Murrays had been preaching the joys of independence for years." Alvord, *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 42.

[29a] "If tradition is trustworthy, his soldiers were admitted to the fort and guided to the bed chamber of Rocheblave by a Pennsylvanian, who may have been Daniel Murray." Alvord, *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 52.

[30] Cawthorne, *A History of Vincennes*, pp. 86 and 87.

to be dealt with. The Commandant and Governor at this time was one Rocheblave, and, though a Frenchman, a bitter and uncompromising partisan of the British Government he served. How is he to be overcome in his stronghold? A bold stratagem is decided upon and men must be chosen to execute it. In the emergency, the very boldest and cleverest are necessary, and Clark happily is accompanied by such. Simon Kenton,[31] a scout, the most renowned of all the western plainsmen known to history, and an Irishman, possessing all the fearlessness of the Irish character, is placed in command of one detachment to enter the fort and Lieutenant-Colonel John Montgomery of another to surround the town.[32] How many Irishmen accompanied Kenton we are not informed, but we are advised that after thy had boldly entered the fort (the entrance to which had been left unlocked and unguarded by the contrivance of the friendly agents in Kaskaskia) and under the guidance of the same friendly agents who gave Clark information, had threaded their circuitous way through the windings of the fortress into the very abode of the Governor and penetrated to his very boudoir, it was another Irishman, almost equally bold and equally renowned, the famous scout, William Linn, before referred to, who actually seized Rocheblave in his bed, overcame and made him prisoner, thus ending British sovereignty within the confines of this State.[33] It was a small matter to take possession after the capture of the fort thus effected, as the Murrays and Kennedy had prepared the populace other than the French and Father Gibault had attended to or did attend to that task. Rocheblave was, however, obdurate, and had to be sent a prisoner to Virginia, and appropriately two Irishmen, Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery and Lieutenant Levi Todd were assigned the task of conveying him to the East to be afterwards dealt with by Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson.

It would extend this paper too far to dwell upon succeeding events, including the conquest of Vincennes, effected so largely

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[31] Lossing, *Field Book of the American Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 288. Kenton led the Kentucky troops that joined Clark's expedition from Drennen's Lick to Louisville. See letter of William Buckley, *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. V, p. 347.

[32] Reynold's *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 95.

[33] This distinction is accorded by Reynolds to Simon Kenton instead of Linn. See p. 95. The cargo of powder brought from New Orleans as before alluded to is said to be the first cargo ever brought up the Mississippi and Ohio from New Orleans to Pittsburg. English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, Vol. II, p. 143.

through the efforts of Father Gibault, but it is interesting to know that Clark added two more companies to his army, recruited at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, amongst which were many Irishmen and especially that one was headed by an Irish Captain, Richard McCarty[34] and the other by a Frenchman, when they drew out of Kaskaskia for that awful march across the swamps of lower Illinois to attack the British at Vincennes. It is also of interest that the armed Batteau, the "Willing", prepared by Clark to carry supplies down the Mississippi and up the Ohio and Wabash and join Clark at Vincennes, was placed under command of Lieutenant John Rogers, another capable Irishman, who did his part well.[35]

The Virginia and Post Revolution Period

The country won, the next step was to govern it, and for that purpose there must be a governor, and in keeping with all the steps so far taken with reference to American control, an Irishman, John Todd,[36] was appointed Governor, or, to be technical, "County Lieutenant" of the County of Illinois, which then included the considerable territory within the present boundaries of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. The succeeding decade reflected but little credit upon the new government, to be sure, but that was the result of national rather than local conditions.

After the close of the war, it is certain that of the stream of people that poured into the State, a great many were Irish. Buck, in his new book, the introductory volume of the Centennial history, entitled "Illinois in 1818," says that:

> A large proportion of the names (found not only in the biographies and genealogical data available in the county histories, but also in the names of heads of families in the schedules of the census of 1818) are typically Scotch (?), Irish, Welsh or German, with Scotch-Irish predominating, and thus they are

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[34] See biog. sketch Alvord, *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 2, note 3. Although McCarty became unpopular on account of trying to support the troops, he nevertheless later became very popular with them and died in their service carrying a petition from them to the Governor of Virginia. See *Haldimand Papers, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection*, Vol. 19, p. 646.

[35] See sketch in James' *George Rogers Clark Papers*, Illinois Historical Collection, Vol. VIII, p. 139.

[36] John Todd was a son of David Todd and Hanna Owen, who came from Ireland, where they were married. Levi Todd was a brother of John. Abraham Lincoln's wife, Mary Todd, was a daughter of Levi Todd's son. See biog. sketch by Judge Joseph P. Gillespie in Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 143 and 144.

indicative of the connection of the people with that stream of non-English immigrants which poured into Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century and thence up the valley and through the gaps to the back country of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. By the time of the Revolution the occupation of this region had been completed and the stream began to flow into Kentucky and Tennessee. In the early decades of the nineteenth century it progressed into southern Indiana, Illinois and Missouri.[37]

It is a matter of regret that this official volume should, by using it, tend to perpetuate the fiction involved in the title "Scotch-Irish", but it has been used so much that it has become a sort of habit—a bad habit, I grant, and too prevalent.

I should like to dwell upon the record of the Irish who came into Illinois in the several years immediately succeeding the Revolution. Elsewhere[38] I have treated them under the titles "First Settlers and Settlements,"[39] "Early Irish School Teachers,"[40] "The Fighting

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[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97.

[38] *Irish in Early Illinois* in course of preparation.

[39] The following important families were very early settlers: Flannery, Lyons, Gibbons, Pulliam, Riley, Ryan, Powers, Primm, O'Melvaney, Whitesides, Hanniberry, McCain, Lively, Going, Fulton, Higgins, Bilderback, Hill, Anderson, Thompson, Irvin, McDonald, Cox, Couch, Nelson, Faherty, O'Hara, Kavanaugh, Piggot, Patterson, Leavitt, McBride. Plumb Creek Township in Randolph County had in 1825, 169 Irish families the names of whom are given in *Irish in Early Illinois*.

[40] *Illinois in 1818*, a State publication written by Solon J. Buck as an introductory volume to the official history of Illinois, being written and published under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Commission, quotes an early Baptist preacher, John M. Peck, as saying: "Not a few drunken, profane, worthless Irishmen were perambulating the country, and getting up schools, and yet they could neither speak, read, pronounce, spell or write the English language." This was said by Peck with reference to Missouri. On his account Buck says: "The situation in Illinois was very similar." (See p. 165 State edition. This slander was omitted from the McClurg edition of the book.) Here are some of the facts: John Doyle came to Illinois in the Clark army in 1778 and began teaching in Illinois in 1780. He was a scholar. Spoke the French language and the Indian dialect and frequently acted as interpreter. He was also a brave soldier and "was considered an honest man and was always respected while alive as he is now, dead." Reynold's *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 137.

"An Irishman named Halfpenny taught school in many sections of Illinois for many years. This preceptor taught almost all the American children in Illinois in his day that received any education at all. He might be styled the School-Master General of Illinois at that day." Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 152.

William Bradsby "taught school in various neighborhoods. He had a school in 1806 in the American Bottom almost west of the present Collinsville, and the

Irish,'' meaning the daring men who protected the frontier, and ''The Martyrs to Civilization.'' Here I must content myself with reference to just a few commanding figures, and to some incidents of absorbing interest.

(Continued in Subsequent Numbers.)

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

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year after he taught in the Turkey Hill settlement.'' Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois,* p. 337. I think it will be conceded that the Bradsby's were the equals of any of the pioneers of Illinois. Read Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois,* pp. 336, 337, 338.

John Messinger came to Illinois, 1802, was an ''excellent English scholar, taught the science of surveying, surveyed the United States lands into townships, was not only an excellent mathematician but he wrote and published a book entitled ''A Manual or Hand Book Intended for Convenience in Practical Surveying''. He was professor of mathematics in the seminary at Rock Springs; he was an efficient and scientific astronomer. See Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois,* pp. 330 to 332.

Messinger was a son-in-law of Matthew Lyon, the Irish Congressman. He, Messinger, is said by John Mason Peck, the same John Mason Peck quoted by Mr. Buck as above referred to, not to have been a church member. Peck says: ''The late John Messinger, who was a philanthropist as well as a mathematician, though never a member of any church, obtained subscribers for the quarto family Bible, published by Matthew Carey of Philadelphia [the distinguished Irish scholar, writer and publisher] in 1814, and circulated copies in many families in St. Clair County. Mr. Messinger taught many young men the theory and practice of surveying and he frequently taught an evening school for young and old; and it is no disparagement to some gentlemen who have since been distinguished in the State, at the bar, and in the pulpit, to have it known that they received the groundwork of their education, after they had families, from Mr. Messinger.'' (Communication of John M. Peck in Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois,* p. 273.) The Bible distributed by Mr. Messinger was the Douay Catholic Bible, published in 1790, the first Bible printed in the United States. It may be wondered why this philanthropist was distributing Catholic Bibles if he was not a member of any church.

James Lemen, the first of the long line of Baptist preachers of that family, was an Irish school teacher in early Illinois, as was also General James Shields, a distinguished Catholic afterwards judge of the Supreme Court, hero of three wars, and United States Senator from three States.

Illinois Catholic Historical Review

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COMMENDATION OF MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN

This publication is one we can be proud of. It is gotten up in an attractive form and its contents are interesting and instructive. I have been complimented on it and have heard it praised in many quarters. * * * The Society should receive encouragement from every source, and all who possibly can should enroll in its membership. * * * I need not add that your work has not only my blessing, it has my encouragement. It has every aid I can give it.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Good and Bad News of a Contemporary—Rev. Peter Guilday of the *Catholic Historical Review,* Washington, D. C., has undergone a long illness which was so severe as to prevent his work on the *Review* and make it necessary to omit the publication of the July number. It is now reported, however, not only that the next number of the *Review* (October) will be a double number with an excellent list of articles but that Very Rev. Victor F. O'Daniel, O. P., S. T. M., of the Dominican House of Studies, at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., has been elected an Associate Editor.

Book Reviews—Publishers think well of our book reviews and consider themselves fortunate if we approve of their books. This is some indication that they are of some interest and you might enjoy them.

We do not write book reviews with the sole purpose of advertising the book. We are not afraid, however, to praise a book, if we are convinced it merits praise, lest our praise should result in a benefit to the author and publisher for which we get no compensation. Indeed we consider that a part of our mission—to help spread the light through valuable publications.

Neither are our book reviews written to please the writers or publishers. Indeed we sometimes displease them very greatlyffi but we consider it a part of our mission also to warn our readers against false and unfair statements and to protest against unjustifiable statements. We expect to do our full share in exposing the conspiracy that has too long existed to discredit things Catholic and persons and peoples related to Catholicity and root it up.

The Fort Dearborn Massacre, which history records as having been instigated by England's military authorities in the hope of using the aboriginal Red Men of this continent in a destructive assault upon the life of the young Republic of the Western hemisphere, was fittingly commemorated Aug. 15, the anniversary of the dastardly event.

A party of citizens of Chicago, Austin and Oak Park, commemorating the deeds of the brave men and women who fought and died in the infamous massacre, paid a visit to the scene of the massacre, 18th street and Calumet avenue, and laid a beautiful wreath on the monument.

Joseph J. Thompson, lawyer and writer, delivered an eloquent address.

After alluding feelingly to the heroism of the participants in this tragic event and dwelling upon the atrocities perpetrated by the Indians, Mr. Thompson put and answered the inquiry, "Why the Fort Dearborn Massacre?"

In answer to the inquiry the speaker charged the British with responsibility for the rapine and slaughter of that bloodiest day in the annals of Illinois. He described the methods of "hair buying" of the British government. Showed that the British maintained a system of rewards for the scalps of white men and even of white women and children; that the scalp of a dead white man was worth more in the hands of an Indian than the body of a live prisoner. He told how the British formed their alliances with the Indians and set them upon the trail of the Americans to slaughter and mutilate them.

Leading up to the time of the Massacre he read from official documents the records that fixed the responsibility for that awful deed of slaughter.

"But," said the speaker, "we are asked: why open old sores? That day has passed and England is in a commanding position. We have joined with her in a great war for the freedom of all mankind. Why not forgive and forget?"

"In all Christian creeds," said the speaker, "repentance and atonement are conditions of forgiveness. We cannot forgive until Great Britain atones. She has shown no disposition to repent. It cannot be that nations are governed by a different code of morals than men. Far from repenting, expressing sorrow for the Fort Dearborn tragedy, she has persisted in a similar course with weaker peoples throughout the world. In all the exchanges of amity and confidence with the United States she has never by word or deed shown any regret that she ever tried to oppress us before the revolution; that she looked upon the treaty of Paris as a scrap of paper, refusing for years to fulfill its terms; that she violated that treaty so glaringly that we had to go to war with her again in 1812 to force her to respect it; that she intrigued with the southern secessionists during the Civil War with the hope of disrupting the country and making it an easy prey. All these charges have been abundantly proven, yet Great Britain has never by word or deed said 'we are sorry.'

Nor is a change of methods or conscience indicated by her intercourse with other peoples. To say nothing of India, South Africa and Egypt the single example of Ireland will suffice to prove that England remains obdurate and unrepentant. Without dwelling upon the seven-hundred years of oppression and tyranny through which she has enslaved Ireland it may simply be pointed out that no longer ago than Easter week of the year of grace 1916, she stood up against the prison walls of one of her dungeons sixteen noble youths and by her

hirelings shot them to death for the crime of loving their country. Or allusion may be made to the prisoners of the Easter rising. Thrown into dungeons, their hands pinioned behind their backs and thus obliged to stand, to sit, to lay, to eat, to receive the sacraments at God's altar. And all of this while British agents were declaiming against German atrocities.

"The deluge of blood poured out in this war should cleanse the world. British spokesmen have declared that should be the result. Oppression, tyranny, exploitation are to cease. The crimes of the past are to be atoned. The guilty are to be punished, and the world made free.

"Until England takes her blighting hand off Ireland, until she shows before the world tribunal a renunciation of her former course, until she is willing to apply principles of justice to her own affairs as well as demand that they be applied to the affairs of others, she can have no part in the regeneration while the sores inflicted by England are permitted to fester and smell to heaven. If England wants a place in the respect and affection of the nations she must show a disposition to live as worthy nations must live. The best evidence she can produce of such a disposition is to do justice to Ireland."

The foregoing is from the *Chicago Citizen*, to which may be added that the speaker, referring to the magnificent monument which marks the site of the slaughter of August 15, 1812, said that it was not truly representative of the tragic event in that the real heroes and heroine, George Rowan, Otho Hayes, John Burns, Samuel Wells and Susan Corbin were not in any way memorialized. He averred that the same was true of many historical personages related to Chicago and that many sites of the highest interest were unmarked, and recommended that some action was imperative, due to alterations to be made in streets and for other reasons. Accordingly at the conclusion of the meeting the following resolutions were adopted and a provisional committee was appointed agreeably thereto:

In view of the fact that there have been many changes in streets and boulevards and other changes are in contemplation, and the further fact that there are many historic sites in the City of Chicago that are not marked or commemorated in any way, and historic personages who deserve well that have not been memorialized,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that some action should be taken looking to the purposes above mentioned, and to that end be it further

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the purposes indicated in these resolutions, cooperate with other committees or associations and call a meeting or take such other action as shall seem expedient in the premises.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Hidden Phase of American History. "Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty." By Michael J. O'Brien. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.

For the first time in any published work of importance has justice been done the Irish race in America. *A Hidden Phase of American History,* the historical classic of Mr. Michael J. O'Brien, Historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society, at once lifts the record of the Irish race from obscurity to the exalted position earned by the most devoted service and highest usefulness to our country.

Platitudes and generalities give place in this masterly work to facts and figures. Conjecture and speculation find no place in the book and conclusive proof is adduced for every statement of fact that could possibly become the subject of controversy.

In an introduction by Joseph I. C. Clarke, President-General, American Irish Historical Society, the scope of the work is thus alluded to:

"The work divides itself easily into three parts—one devoted to laying bare the heart of the Irish race in Ireland during the War for Independence as beating in sympathy with the revolted Colonies in America, and thus refuting the statements of Bancroft founded upon one-sided quotation and misread information, and involving suppression of important historical facts. In its way it is as conclusive as other parts of the work, and will be read by the Irish-born and Irish-descended with real gusto. The second part is devoted to the Irish in the Revolutionary army. I may say he establishes unequivocally that thirty-eight per cent of the Revolutionary army that won American independence was Irish! The third part deals most importantly with the early Irish immigration into the American colonies, evolving remarkable conclusions based on attainable facts. While these facts are spread out to the confusion of ignorant or prejudiced historians, they mightily contribute to the self-respect and add to the knowledge of the American Irish."

Mr. O'Brien has provided the means of refutation of the habitual slanders and misrepresentations concerning the early Irish and the proof of the conspiracy of suppression on the part of historians, claiming to detail facts.

For long years the statement of Bancroft that "When the news from Lexington and Bunker Hill arrived, the Irish Parliament voted that it heard of the rebellion with abhorrence and was ready to show to the world its attachment to the sacred person of the King," has gone unchallenged, but were Bancroft alive and able to read Mr. O'Brien's refutation of this falsehood, he must blush either for his mendacity or his ignorance. Mr. O'Brien points out that "In the seventh volume of the *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland,* published in 1776, it is shown that the 'Address to the King,' as originally framed, was rejected by ninety-two 'noes' to fifty-two 'ayes.'" This division occurred with reference to the very words that Bancroft quotes, viz: "We hear with abhorrence and feel with indignation of the rebellion existing in a part of your American Dominions."

Bancroft's other statement that "the people (of Ireland) sent against them (the Americans) some of their very best troops and their ablest men" is shown to be equally false. The Irish Parliament, so recently set up and so soon to end, which, following its British masters' behest undertook to sanction the sending of troops to fight the Americans, over the protest of the few Irish in the Parliament, was of such a composition that the Irish people were basely misrepresented. "Only seventy-two of the three hundred and seven members were elected by the people, the others being appointed by the English Lord Lieutenant." Under these adverse circumstances, even "*The Journals of the House of Commons* show that the sessions of the Irish Parliament in the spring and autumn of 1775 were wholly spent in a vigorous struggle between a minority, supported by the almost unanimous voice of the Irish nation, and a corrupt majority which held itself in readiness to carry out every whim and mandate of the English ministry, in reckless disregard of national feeling in Ireland."

That Ireland was unreservedly in favor of the American cause was at the time universally conceded, even by the English. Lord Chatham in the British Parliament said: "Ireland to a man is in favor of the Americans." Benjamin Franklin, who made several visits to Ireland to ascertain the feeling there, wrote Dr. Samuel Cooper as early as April 27, 1769: "All Ireland is strongly in favor of the American cause."

As for sending "their best troops and their ablest men" against the Americans, as asserted by Bancroft, it is clearly shown that Irish

troops in the English army were there only by compulsion. Unusual efforts were made to secure enlistments; honors, rewards and bribes were offered, but without avail. Under the usual plan of recruiting through the landlords, who exercised control over the tenantry on account of their power of dispossession, no results were obtained. "The landlords caused the most strenuous and unscrupulous efforts to be made to secure recruits, and even formed 'press gangs' of their own, who forcibly dragged out of their beds at night the young Irishmen who had not fled to the hills, and brought them, 'bound hand and foot,' to the military depots, where they were kept in close confinement until the agents were ready to ship them off like cattle to the seaport towns." (P. 52.) And these despicable creatures (the landlords) had the audacity to send an address to the King in which they said: "We humbly presume to lay at your feet two millions of loyal, faithful and affectionate hearts and hands, zealous, ready and desirous to exert themselves strenuously in defense of your Majesty's most sacred person and Government." They described the "loyalty of the Irish Catholics" as "unanimous, constant and unalterable" which sentiments "they well knew to be those of all their fellow Roman Catholic Irish subjects." It is upon such false and ridiculous statements that Bancroft and others have relied instead of noting the fact that but a mere handful of Irish served in the British army against the Americans and that the Irish who were driven into the British service deserted to the American service whenever an opportunity presented.

In refutation of all suggestions to the effect that the Irish were unfavorable to the American cause the author says "The *New York Royal Gazette* of January 3, 1778, published 'An extract from a letter from Carlow in Ireland,' saying that 'four regiments of Roman Catholics will be immediately raised here for the American service, and it is the general opinion that they will be raised in a few weeks"; but in a later issue of the paper the editor announced 'with regret' the abandonment of the attempt to raise these troops in Ireland. And Lecky states: 'Recruiting agents traversed the Highlands of Scotland and the most remote districts of Ireland, and the poor Catholics of Munster and Connaught were gladly welcomed. Recruits however, came in very slowly." (p. 46.) We have still another important witness, says the author, in the person of the famous Horace Walpole, who recorded in his *Last Journals,* under the date of August, 1775: "The government could not get above four hundred recruits and failed in their attempts to raise a regiment of Roman Catholics.'

"The fact that the Irish never wavered in their sympathies even when the fortunes of war seemed to be going against the Americans, is verified by newspaper accounts showing that many of the soldiers were 'compelled to go on board the transports, where they were chained down to the ring bolts and fed with bread and water; several of them suffered this torture before they could be made to yield and sign the paper of enlistment.' "

This then, was the manner in which the Irish "people sent against them (Americans) some of their best troops and their ablest men."

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in his "History of the English Colonies in America," says of the Irish: "They were an idle, quarrelsome and disorderly class, always at odds with the Government." Mr. O'Brien shows conclusively not only that this statement is a gratuitous slander, but that as to the charge of being idle, quarrelsome and disorderly, the very opposite was true. That they were at odds with the English Government is not denied and it is shown that they were the first to demand independence and the first to flock to the American standard when war came. Incidentally it is pointed out that these same people whom Lodge slandered volunteered in great numbers, but that though there were many Lodges in the same region at the same time not one of the name is to be found upon the muster rolls. The "orderly" residents were chiefly Tories and joined the British forces or left the country.

Mr. O'Brien wrote Senator Lodge about this reflection on the Irish and Lodge replied that it was merely his opinion. "And," says Mr. O'Brien, "an opinion not predicated upon the records nor upon any special study of the conditions under which those people lived." (P. 100.)

Senator James A. O'Gorman, in speaking in the United States Senate on July 25, 1916, in favor of a resolution urging clemency for Sir Roger Casement, "called attention to the debt that America owes to Ireland in return for the services rendered by Irish soldiers in the War of the Revolution. Two of his fellow Senators disputed the statement and retorted by asking, 'If it be accepted as a fact that fifty per cent of the Continental troops were Irish, and if other races were given the credit which is claimed in their behalf, were there any Americans fighting in the Continental army?' Senator O'Gorman replied by informing his interrogators of the large number of Americans who were in the employ of the British army, and that,

if by 'Americans' of that time they meant immigrants of English ancestry 'the record shows that four-fifths of all the inhabitants of America during that period boasting of English ancestry remained loyalists and were the Tories of the Revolution.' O'Gorman was not far out in his reckoning, for General Robertson testified (before a Committee of the House of Commons of Great Britain in 1779) that 'two thirds of the Americans' remained loyal, and Galloway (before the same committee) said that 'many more than four-fifths of the people would prefer a union with Great Britain upon constitutional principles to that of independence.'' (P. 114.)

The last word in the discussion of the composition of the Revolutionary army is the muster roll. Writers have prated about the different race representatives and uttered wise dicta based upon something or nothing, but it seems not to have occurred to those who have said most upon this subject that they could tell more about it if they would look at the records. Mr. O'Brien has invited all these glib gentlemen to count noses. He has done more, he has dug up the muster rolls and after a careful examination has given the result. As it is of course impossible to trace each individual soldier to determine if he or his ancestors actually came from Ireland, Mr. O'Brien has adopted the method in many cases of judging by the name. In so doing there are excellent reasons for believing that he has very much understated the real number, due to the fact that he has taken into consideration only *typical* Irish names. It is perfectly well known that there are and were then many Irish not having Irish names.

''On the basis before explained,'' says Mr. O'Brien, ''I have made a careful calculation, (1) by counting the total number of soldiers in each unit, and (2) by a separate count of those of undoubted Irish birth or descent. In some companies I find the extraordinarily high percentage of seventy-five per cent Irish, while, on the other hand, it must be said that in other companies the percentage runs as low as ten, and in some New England regiments and some of those raised in the old Dutch districts of New York and the German settlements in Pennsylvania, no Irish names at all appear. But on averaging them all up, I have determined that 35.83 per cent of the soldiers of the Revolutionary army were Irish. To this must be added some small percentage for those of non-Irish names, and not recorded as Irish; and it is proper also to consider the Irish proportion

of those scattering bodies not attached to the regiments of the line. If we take the conservatively low figure of two per cent as representing these elements, we arrive at a total of 37.83 per cent, or substantially thirty-eight per cent." (Pp. 134-5.)

The pages and pages of names, quotations and statistics which Mr. O'Brien has assembled to sustain his conclusions constitute a most interesting feature of his book. In answer to silly falsehoods of Sir George Trevelyan and his followers to the effect that only a few hundred Celts were enlisted in the war, the author has set out some tables that confound all the traducers of the Irish race. Selecting twelve Irish names he shows that they were represented on the muster rolls as follows: Burke, 221; Connolly, 243; Connor, O'Connor, 327; Dougherty, 248; Kelly, 695; McCarthy, 331; Murphy, 494; O'Brien, 231; O'Neill, 178; Reilly, 285; Ryan, 322; Sullivan, 266. Showing that Irishmen of these twelve names only were in the service to the number of 3,841. Selecting ninety other names, undoubtedly Irish, Mr. O'Brien shows that 8,352 men of these names were in the service.

"The total number of 'Patricks' and 'Pats.' on the Revolutionary rolls is approximately two thousand." (P. 219.)

All the colonies furnished brave Irish soldiers for the American cause. Mr. Lodge, following his bent of exalting the English, says that the population of Massachusetts at the time of the Revolution was "of almost pure English blood, with a small infusion of Scotch Irish from Londonderry." Other pro-Anglos have written in the same strain. It appears, however, that there are approximately three thousand real Irish names on the Revolutionary muster rolls of Massachusetts. "But while there were plenty of Lodges in Massachusetts, one searches in vain for one soldier of the name on the Revolutionary rolls." (P. 223.)

On the muster rolls of Virginia more than 3,000 Irish names are shown, more than 4,600 in Maryland, and more than 2,000 in New York. In Heitman's compilation of the names of the officers of the Revolutionary war a total of more than six hundred officers with Irish names is shown in the Continental Line alone, and the list is incomplete. The author in an appendix gives the name and rank of fifteen hundred officers bearing Irish names.

"That some of the Irish officers were important men may be assumed from the warm regard which Washington manifested toward them. For his *aids-de-camp* he chose, in succession, Joseph Reed, the son of an Irish immigrant; Joseph Carey, Stephen Moylan, John Fitz-

gerald, and James McHenry; and his esteem for Sullivan, Montgomery, Hand, Butler, Irvine, Thompson, Barry, and other Irish commanders was displayed on many occasions." (p. 228.) "It is known that Washington considered General Lewis one of the foremost military men of the country, and it is an interesting historical fact that, prior to his own appointment, he recommended Lewis to Congress as commander-in-chief of the army of the Revolution." (p. 230.) The significance of this is that General Lewis was a native of County Donegal, Ireland.

The estimate placed upon these Irish soldiers in comparison with the soldiers of New England will interest all readers. The forces from Pennsylvania, often alluded to as the "Pennsylvania Line" but which might be, according to General Henry Lee, afterwards Governor of Virginia, "with more propriety called the Line of Ireland," comprised about twenty-four thousand men and have been conceded to have been one of the most effective fighting forces of the Revolution. Dr. David Ramsay, speaking of these forces said: "The common soldiers enlisted in that State (Pennsylvania) were for the most part natives of Ireland, but though not bound to America by the accidental tie of birth, they were inferior to none in discipline, courage, or attachment to the cause of Independence." It was said of these soldiers that "they served everywhere and surrendered nowhere."

Morgan's Rifle Corps was another Irish contingent that reflected much credit on the Irish. Lossing in his *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* says: "Some riflemen from Maryland, Virginia and western Pennsylvania enlisted under the order of Congress, and led by Daniel Morgan, a man of powerful frame and sterling courage, soon joined the camp. Upon their breasts they wore the motto *'Liberty or Death.'* A large proportion of them were Irishmen and were not very agreeable to the New Englanders. These men attracted much attention, and on account of their sure and deadly aim they became a terror to the British. Wonderful stories of their exploits went to England, and one of the riflemen, who was carried there a prisoner, was gazed at as a great curiosity."

South Carolina attained an enviable place in the annals of the Revolution largely by reason of the distinguished services of gallant Irish officers and soldiers. General Francis Marion, General Edward Lacey and Captain John McClure were among the most distinguished officers of the war and their commands, composed chiefly of Irishmen from the Williamsburg, York and Chester districts called forth the highest praises.

These Irish soldiers and officers fought well everywhere. The author quotes Colonel Alexander Graydon: "As for the genuine sons of Hibernia, it was enough for them to know that England was the antagonist. Stimulants here were wholly superfluous, and the sequel has constantly shown that in a contest with Englishmen, Irishmen, like the mettlesome courser of Phaëthon, only required reining in."

Turning now to the record of the New England troops, let Washington and others characterize them. General Richard Montgomery, writing to General Washington on October 5, 1775, of the personnel of his command during the Canadian campaign, said: "The New Englanders are the worst stuff imaginable for soldiers. They are homesick. Their regiments are melted away and yet not a man dead of any distemper. There is such an equality among them, that the officers have no authority, and there are very few among them in whose spirit I have any confidence. The privates are all generals, but no soldiers, and so jealous that it is impossible, though a man risk his person, to escape the imputation of treachery. I don't see among them that zealous attachment to our cause I flattered myself with, but indeed they are homesick."

Referring to this letter Washington on January 31, 1776, wrote: "The account given of the behavior of the men under General Montgomery is exactly consonant to the opinion I have formed of these people, and such as they will exhibit abundant proof of in similar cases whenever called upon. Place them behind a parapet, a breastwork, stone wall, or anything that will afford shelter, and from their knowledge of a firelock, they will give a good account of the enemy; but I am as well convinced, as if I had seen it that they will not march boldly up to a work, nor stand exposed in a plain."

Several pages of similar expressions from Washington and other contemporaries and historians are supplied to illustrate the reputation of the New England troops. Were we to listen to Mr. Lodge and historians of his ilk however, we must believe that it is to such troops as these we owe our independence.

Perhaps the most gratifying part of Mr. O'Brien's book is his disposition of the Scotch-Irish myth. This comparatively recent invention of writers with anti-Catholic tendencies has developed into one of the most flagrant insults ever thrown in the faces of a self-respecting people. Let an Irishman assume some pretensions, gain some renown, wax wealthy and put on some airs, and behold he is "Scotch

Irish'' in the estimation of some writer, especially if he or some of his ancestors have apostatized or fallen away from the Catholic Church.

Writers have been persistent in declaring that the Irish who came to America early were from the north of Ireland, and, being Protestants, or at least non-Catholic, were ''Scotch Irish.'' From this premise they proceed to argue that all the Irish in the Revolutionary war were ''Scotch Irish'', and all the prominent early settlers of the states, the generals, governors and other men of note were ''Scotch Irish.'' With some writers, every Irishman prominent enough to get his name before the public in any way is a ''Scotch Irishman,'' provided they don't know that he is a Catholic.

Mr. O'Brien shows by actual records that it is not true that all the early Irishmen were from the north of Ireland where the ''Scotch Irishman'' is supposed to incubate. After setting forth the number of ships from the several Irish ports that brought passengers to America before the Revolutionary War and showing that a large majority of them came from ports other than those of the north of Ireland, Mr. O'Brien sums up the evidence thus:

''It is shown by the authorities already quoted that Irish immigrations to America during the period referred to (1767 to 1774) averaged 12,000 per year, and it is also shown that the percentage of those who probably came from Ulster was forty-one per cent., and from all the rest of Ireland fifty-eight per cent. of the whole. From the first mentioned proportion some deduction must be made to allow for those of unquestioned Irish blood in the north; for not even the most enthusiastic advocate of the ''Scotch Irish'' theory can claim that the entire population of Ulster was of Scotch descent. For instance, it cannot for a moment be thought that a passenger ship sailing from Letterkenny or Londonderry carried only those who were called ''Scotch-Irish''; for it is natural to assume that a certain proportion of the passengers must have been from Donegal, one of the most 'Irish' counties of Ireland. In fact a striking feature of the town and county histories of Pennsylvania is the frequent repetition of the statement, in relation to some certain individual or family referred to by the local historian, that he or they 'came from Donegal.' If we deduct one-fifth of the forty-two per cent. as representing this element, we have only thirty-four per cent. of the total Irish immigration left to the ''Scotch Irish'', or an estimate for the period, 1767 to 1774, of 32,640 'Scotch-Irish' and 63,360 plain Irish immigrants.'' (p. 289.)

"It is difficult to determine," says the author, "who it was that discovered the 'Scotch Irish' race. As already stated the term is altogether unknown in Ireland and its earliest use in this country seems to have been about thirty-five years before the Revolution and then only as a term of opprobium and contempt. The late Martin I. J. Griffin, the Philadelphia historian, than whom there was no better authority, informed me that according to a newspaper account the term was first used in Philadelphia in 1740 by an Irish merchant of that city. According to Griffin it appears that at a merchant's club in the 'Quaker City' an Irish member was taunted by a fellow member by a sarcastic reference to the fact that 'an Irish Paddy' was the first person to be convicted under a then recent Pennsylvania statute. The Irishman could not deny it, but, mortified at the taunt, he petulantly exclaimed: 'Yes, but he was only a *Scotch* Irishman,' laying particular emphasis on the prefix and showing by the tone of his voice the contempt in which the criminal was held by his countrymen!"

Writers who seek to establish credit for officers or soldiers of the Revolution are particularly unfortunate in intimating that a Scotch connection is any guaranty or recommendation. "The record of the Scotch in the Revolution shows them to have been practically unanimous against the Colonists." (p. 340.) "We know that Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence arraigned the British government for sending 'Scotch mercenaries' among us, but that this was eliminated out of respect for John Witherspoon. The Scotch in the Mohawk valley were Tories, and their countrymen who settled along the Cape Fear River were nearly all active Tory partisans; the descendants of those who came over after the defeat of Culloden were Tories, and the 'Scotch Regulators' who followed Ferguson to death at King's Mountain in the border warfare in the Virginia valleys were of the same race." (p. 341.)

The Government made what purported to be a census in 1790 which was called *A Century of Population Growth* which Mr. O'Brien shows to be a mere travesty on the facts so far as the number of Irish recorded is concerned. He is able to show by the records that there were more Irishmen in the war from each of the colonies than the census makers set down for the total number of Irish in the colony. This is illustrated by a table to be found on pages 380-1. Totaled up the table shows that there were 6770 soldiers of the Revolution of forty-one selected Irish names in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, but

the so-called census gives only 414 Irish of these forty-one names in the two states. How utterly absurd, therefore is the conclusion which the statisticians of this bogus census who set down the Irish as only 1.6 per cent. of the population.

This is the manner in which Michael J. O'Brien hammers home the facts relating to the connection of the Irish race with the birth and making of our nation. Hereafter there can be no innocent or inadvertent reflections upon the patriotism and services of the Irish. The man who shall hereafter disparage the Irish will do so designedly and maliciously.

In proof of this assertion let us assemble a few of the big facts Mr. O'Brien has established by conclusive evidence:

The Irish in Ireland were practically unanimous in upholding America. Distinguished Irishmen, members of the Irish Parliament and others members of the British Parliament, were outspoken in their advocacy of the American cause. Bushe, Daly and conolly in the Irish Parliament and Burke, Barré and Conolly in the British Parliament were the greatest of all of America's champions. Grattan described America as "the only hope of Ireland and the only refuge of the liberties of mankind." "During the Revolutionary War, so utterly fearless were Burke and Fox in their advocacy of American rights, that 'they openly proclaimed in Parliament their correspondence with Franklin, and they united with Chatham in holding that every British and Hessian victory was a victory over English freedom and in publicly giving encouragement to the American insurgents.'" Barré in one of the most powerful addresses of his career characterized the struggling Americans as "those sons of Liberty." When the report of his speech reached America, "Barré's shibboleth was at once adopted by the patriots and thenceforward the various patriotic associations began to call themselves the "Sons of Liberty". "It is generally conceded," says the author, "that it was the Sons of Liberty who began the agitation which culminated in the Revolution."

Irishmen in America were amongst the most outpsoken and most active in the agitation which preceded the Revolution. "In New York we have the example of Hercules Mulligan, the man who prevailed upon Alexander Hamilton to join the organization of the 'Sons of Liberty" and who with William Mooney, Isaac Sears, and other citizens of New York, led in that famous act of disenthrallment, the destruction of the statue of the English King on the 9th of July, 1776.

Throughout the Revolution, with a faithfulness and zeal unequalled by any other American patriot, Hercules Mulligan served the immortal Washington in the city of New York as his chief source of information concerning the movements and intentions of the enemy forces, and on one occasion at least, he saved the beloved patriot leader from capture and possible assassination by the enemy." (p. 150.)

In Pennsylvania, the Irishman Charles Thomson was an active patriot long before opposition to Great Britain became popular in America. * * His countryman, George Bryan, "was among the earliest and most active and uniform friends of the rights of man before the Revolutionary War. As a member of the assembly of Pennsylvania and of the Congress of New York in 1765, and as a citizen he was conspicuous in opposition to the Stamp Act and other acts of British tyranny in America." (From the inscription on Bryan's tomb.) It is well known that there was no more fearless advocate of the cause of the Colonists than Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Matthew Lyon, "the Hampden of Congress" was an unflinching champion of the rights of the Colonists. In Connecticut John McCurdy, at great personal risk, published in New England, the Virginia resolutions of 1765 and the famous speech of Barré on the Stamp Act. In South Carolina William Thomson, afterward general in the Continental army, and brother of Charles Thomson, openly espoused the patriot cause. John and Edward Rutledge were amongst the most intelligent exponents of the rights of the people in the days when the Revolution was only aborning. In Massachusetts Thaddeus McCarty of Worcester for several years before the outbreak of the Revolution was a powerful factor in moulding public opinion in the right direction; and no man of the time exercised a greater influence over the minds of New England youth, in inculcating the doctrine that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," than John Sullivan, the schoolmaster of Maine and New Hampshire. At a period when it required more than ordinary courage openly to oppose British interests in America, we find an Irishman, Captain Daniel Malcom of Boston, occupying a prominent position in the business and political life of that town and taking an active part in the agitation over the Stamp Act. His store in Fleet Street became "the resort of many of the more energetic of the patriots and a constant menace to the peace of the King's officers." Here the questions of the hour, which culminated in 1775 in the resort to arms, were discussed by Hancock,

Adams, Ward, Otis and other leading citizens. On his tombstone may be read this inscription: "He was a true Son of Liberty, a Friend to the Publick, an enemy to oppression and one of the foremost in opposing the Revenue Acts on America." James Duane of New York, William O'Bryan of Georgia, and Cornelius Harnett of North Carolina, were all active patriots long before the shot was fired that was "heard around the world."

"The seeds of revolution planted in the minds of American youth by their Irish tutors fructified in time, and it is a notable fact that Dr. Francis Allison of Donegal, Ireland, master of an academy at New London, Penna., had in his school at one time three boys who became distinguished as signers of the Declaration of Independence." (James Smith, George Read and Thomas McKean.) Lossing declares that "Allison's chief claim to honor among men is that he was the tutor of a large number of Americans who were conspicuous in the events of the Revolution that accomplished the independence of the United States."

The Irish in the army and navy were by far the biggest single element of the Revolution, almost equal to all other elements combined. What has already been said has established this point beyond controversy.

Irishmen were amongst the most conspicuous of all the residents of America in every movement for the welfare of the Colonies. "Irishmen were signers of the Declaration of Independence." (Smith, Taylor, Rutledge and Thornton were natives of Ireland, and Carroll, McKean, Read and Lynch were descendants of Irish immigrants. O'Hart says that Robert Treat Paine was also of Irish descent.)

Irishmen were members of the first American Congress that began in 1774 and continued down to the year of the framing of the Constitution. (The following Irishmen were members of the Continental Congress: Pierse Long, Matthew Thornton and Thomas FitzSimmons, natives of Limerick. John Sullivan's father came from the same city. James Duane was a son of Anthony Duane from County Galway; Edward Hand was a native of Kings County; Edward Carrington was of a Mayo family; Thomas Burke was a native of Galway; John Armstrong of Donegal; James McHenry of Antrim; Pierce Butler of Kilkenny; Cornelius Harnett of Dublin; Thomas Lynch of the Galway family and John and Edward Rutledge, both natives of Ireland. Kean, Read, Heney, and Kearney were all of Irish descent.)

Irishmen were among the framers of the Constitution. (Four

natives of Ireland, namely Thomas FitzSimmons, James McHenry, John Rutledge, and Pierce Butler, as well as George Read and the Carrolls, Charles and Daniel, of Irish descent, were members of the Federal Convention of 1787.) Many other instances are cited by the author which the reader will greatly appreciate.

But what is to be said as to the religion of the early Irish? Some writers have asserted that few or none of the Irish that came to America before the Revolution were Catholics. Mr. O'Brien in the same satisfactory manner that he has established all the other features of his work that lend themselves to disputation has proven this assertion to be false. A contemporaneous statement of Bishop Carroll in the *Columbian Magazine* for December, 1787, is strong evidence on this point: "The American army swarmed with Roman Catholic soldiers, and the world would have held them justified had they withdrawn themselves from the defense of a state which treated them with so much cruelty and injustice, and which they then covered from the depredations of the British army. But their patriotism was too disinterested to hearken to the first impulse of even just resentment."

. After examining the evidence as to the religion of the Irish here before the Revolution Mr. O'Brien concludes: "It is perfectly obvious that multitudes of Catholics emigrated from Ireland to America before the Revolution, and the long succession of names representative of the ancient Catholic families of Ireland which appear in the early records here referred to is sufficient proof of that fact." The author admits that many of the Catholics ceased to practice their religion and that some connected themselves with some of the sects. "In most cases, even those who abhorred the idea of apostasy, had no chance of practicing their religion, for the open profession of the Catholic faith was not tolerated; they had neither priests nor churches, and there was no encouragement to bring over priests secretly. Compelled by local laws to have their children baptized by Protestant clergy so as to legalize their birth, and compelled by similar laws to send their children to churches and schools where "Papists" were ridiculed and the cry of "No Popery" was constantly in their ears, it is no wonder the parents weakened and that when the children grew up they either had no religion at all or became absorbed by the different Protestant sects. Thus in course of time, they lost their faith, and with it, in many cases ,the distinctive characteristics of the Celtic race."

"But," says Mr. O'Brien, "the fact that many of the Colonial Irish were not practical Catholics did not de-Irishize them, for religion

does not make nationality, however much it may change certain racial ideas."

From the review of facts and conditions given us by Mr. O'Brien and such other knowledge as we possess we are impressed with the fact that the question of religion caused little or no distinction or discrimination as is quite generally the case in time of danger or war. It is only when the ignorant and selfish are secure and restful that religious animosities are displayed. When they need help or protection they do not make religious tests prominent.

Regarding the make up of this excellent book it may be said the dress is worthy of the contents. The publishers have done their enviable record credit in its production. The handsome portraits reproduced from pictures in the famous collection Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet are a delightful feature and the reproductions of documents by Anna Francis Levins are models of art and accuracy.

This review has run into an intolerable length and confessedly, without doing full justice to the merits of the work; but the book is an epoch maker. It must and surely will change the character of literature relating to the Irish race in this part of the world at least. The glories of ancient Ireland are useful and valuable as subjects of culture and entertainment but the world is on tip-toe for the race to just progress. When enlightened men learn as they may from this book and other literature of the same character, that the outstanding characteristics of the Irish race are a love for justice and a willingness to serve her ends at all hazards and under all circumstances Irishmen will have a more secure place in the affections of their fellows.

Mr. O'Brien's book demonstrates something more. The Irishman, dependent upon circumstances, can faithfully and dutifully follow, and successfully and victoriously lead. There is no necessary duty beneath him and no responsibility or distinction beyond him. Men and women of Celtic blood of mature years may glory in the record of their race as set down for them by Mr. O'Brien and the youth of the land may take inspiration from the achievements of the joint founders of the American republic as detailed in *A Hidden Phase of American History*. We urge our readers strongly to secure copies of this truly remarkable book. Everyone of the more than five hundred pages is filled with interest and numerous subjects that we have not been able to touch upon are ably treated. No one lacking the information contained in the book can now be considered well-versed in Irish affairs. J. J. T.

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APPROBATION

The Archbishop and Bishops of the Province have indorsed the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and its work, and proffered their assistance.

Following are extracts from their letters:

I give hearty approval of the establishment of a Catholic Historical Society that will not be confined to the limits of this Diocese only, but will embrace the entire province and State of Illinois, and to further encourage this movement, I desire you to enroll me among the life members of the Society.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN, *Archbishop.*

The Bishop desired me to write you that he is pleased to accept the Honorary Presidency, and cordially approves of the good work undertaken by the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Faithfully yours in Christ,

M. A. TARRANT,
Secy. to the Bishop of Alton.

I am glad to have your letter about the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and will gladly serve in the capacity suggested. This will be a depository and will fill a much felt need.

P. J. MULDOON, *Bishop of Rockford.*

The sole aim of the Society, namely, 'To make known the glories of the Church,' should certainly appeal to all our Catholic people. I confidently hope that the Society may meet with the generous encouragement it richly deserves from everyone under my jurisdiction.

EDMUND M. DUNNE, *Bishop of Peoria.*

I wish to assure you that I am willing to give you every possible assistance in the good work you have undertaken, and in compliance with your request, I am likewise willing to be one of your Honorary Presidents.

Wishing God's blessing, I remain,

HENRY ALTHOFF, *Bishop of Belleville.*

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REMINISCENCES OF EARLY CHICAGO*

Seventy-Six Years a Resident

Two years after Fort Dearborn had been abandoned as a garrison, my father and mother[1] came to Chicago to make it their home. The troops were withdrawn in 1837 from the Fort, but the building remained standing until 1856, at which time I was 13 years old. The City Charter was two years old at the time my parents arrived here and the population something over 4000. Some of our loop buildings today house about three times the population of Chicago at that time.

It may be interesting to know that the boundaries of the little city then were Jackson Street on the South, Ohio Street on the North, Jefferson Street on the West, and the Lake on the East.

Fear of the Indian attacks kept the first traders to locate here close to the Fort. In case of danger a dash was made for safety within the walls of the Fort.

With more settled conditions of life new settlers from the East selected as the most suitable site for dwelling the point at the junction of the North Branch of the River and the South Branch on the West Side. It was on the West Side, therefore, on what is now Canal Street, between Randolph and Washington Streets, that I was born, on March 2, 1843. Sometime later my father purchased a fifty foot lot on Jefferson Street near Van Buren, and putting the little house in which I was born on a wagon drawn by an ox team, moved it to the new location on Jefferson Street. In two years a one and one-half

*Read before the "Ambrose Woman's Club," Friday, October 24, 1919.

[1] Michael and Ellen Kehoe, the parents of the writer came to Chicago in 1839. Mrs. Ellen Kehoe was a Finerty. This Finerty family was in no way related to the John F. Finerty who came to Chicago later and became prominent.

story addition was built in front and here we lived for fourteen years. From this location we moved to a very fine fifteen-room residence on the corner of 12th and Jefferson Streets. From this home I was married in 1864.[2] Today this property is in the heart of the Ghetto. Later my father purchased a home on Ashland Boulevard, and in this home my parents died, my father in May, 1890, at the age of 84, and my mother 10 weeks later, at the age of 81.

On arriving in Chicago, my parents went to the home of my mother's uncle, James Finnerty, where they boarded for a time. Mr. Finnerty kept a general store on the corner of State and Water Streets. Mother's cousin, Peter Finnerty, married the daughter of Jean Baptiste Beaubien,[3] whose history is so closely interwoven with Fort Dearborn and early Chicago.

Two grandchildren of Jean Baptiste Beaubien still live in Chicago, James Finnerty and Mrs. Chas. Smale, whose maiden name was Josette Finnerty.

Memories of the Illinois and Michigan Canal

About the year 1848, some eastern men came to Chicago and opened the Canal Land Office. Their office was over the crockery store of A. J. Burley on Lake Street near Clark. These men subdivided sections, named streets, and sold what were known as Canal Lands. Canal Street, on which I was born, had not been cut through as a street nor had it been named until then.

My father had the good fortune to get a position in the Land Office and later became Government Inspector of Canal Boats. In those days the Illinois and Michigan Canal was a living factor in Chicago life. I have lived to see in our day a revival of interest in this great waterway, as I lived to see the railroad, the canal's great rival, kill it in the years that have passed.

I remember my father's associates in the Canal Office and as I recall the names, it is like reading the roll call of Chicago's great pioneers. John H. Kinzie,[4] Col. Oakley,[5] John Wentworth,[6] Dr. Wil-

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[2] The writer was married on April 28, 1864 to Gilbert J. Garraghan who then was bookkeeper for Charles Follinsbee, the first large dealer in ice in Chicago, Gilbert J. Garraghan died in 1904. He and the writer were the parents of Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J. of the St. Louis University and Doctor Edward F. Garraghan of Chicago.

[3] For details of the Beaubiens see article in Illinois Catholic Historical Review, "The Beaubiens of Chicago."

[4] Son of John Kinzie the early fur trader.

liam B. Eagan,[7] George Davis,[8] Wm. B. Ogden,[9] and Mr. Galoway.[10] I knew these men well; Sister and I, when calling for father on Saturday, would be given gifts of pens and paper by any of those in the office at the time.

I remember during my father's term as Inspector that he was taken quite sick during the hot August days one year with a bilious attack. He was confined to his bed for sometime and I was delegated to act as Inspector. With book and pencil I took my stand at Van Buren Street Bridge and jotted down the names of the passing boats, together with the time that they passed through on their way up to the locks at Bridgeport.[11] Wrist watches were not in vogue in those days, but my instructions were to get the correct time from a clock in a little lumber office near-by.

Shopping in the Early Days

As a little girl I remember my trip to the post-office for the family mail. There were no letter carriers in those days. On going to the post office I would give the number of our box and from it would receive the family letters.

In the early days, the housewives used what was known as brewer's yeast to raise their bread. I can remember as a child of ten years going from my home on Jefferson Street to Lill & Diversey's Brewery with a pop bottle for a week's supply of yeast. Lill & Diversey's Brewery was on the North Side.

Indians Numerous

On many occasions when a child, I have seen Indians lying beside our fence. Mr. John H. Kinzie being a fur trader had close

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[7] Lieutenant Col. Eugene H. Oakley, of the sixty-fifth regiment, Civil War.

[8] Familiarly called "Long John," editor of the *Chicago Democrat*, Mayor and Congressman.

[9] Much noted for his oratory and rapid accumulation of wealth through land speculation.

[10] An early business man and property owner.

[11] The first mayor of the *City* of Chicago. The settlement was made a city in 1837. Prior to that time it had been under village organization. Thomas Joseph Vincent Owen, was the first President of the Board of Trustees of the Village of Chicago. Ogden was one of the most prominent men of Chicago for several years, a large property owner, a railroad builder and a captain of finance and industry. He was noted as a generous friend of the Church.

[12] James Galloway came to Illinois from Ohio in 1824 and became prominent at an early day.

[13] Bridgeport was a "nickname" given to a locality, then outside the city limits and lying around Archer Avenue and Halsted Street.

acquaintance and business dealings with the neighboring tribes. When they came into the city, he would accommodate as many as possible in his home, and the remainder would be sent out to the old well-known Bull's Head Tavern. This famous tavern, the precursor of the Auditorium and the Blackstone, was situated on Madison Street, near Bishop Court. On this site later the Washingtonian Home stood.

My father often hired one of Cady's cabs, two-wheeled vehicles they were, to take us out to the Tavern. As the road was the usual country road, of those days, many a time our cart would be sunk hub deep in the mud and father would find it necessary to get out and help it out of the rut.

The Cholera Epidemic

I remember the cholera epidemic of 1849 and 1850. Many of our neighbors died of the disease and several times I saw the remains placed in pine boxes and carted away in wagons. The supply of coffins and hearses was not sufficient for the occasion. It was the custom after a case of cholera to carry the bedding out on the prairie and burn it. During the epidemic we were supplied with little bags of camphor which we wore on strings around our necks.

School Days

The first school that I attended was the old Scammon School on West Madison Street, near Halsted Street. Mr. Austin D. Sturtevant was the principal and Miss Hoisington his assistant. Mr. Frank Lombard, of the famous Lombard brothers, was the first singing teacher. Many a time the children would meet him at Madison Street Bridge and carry his fiddle case for him. The people of Civil War days will recall how much the Lombard brothers did to lighten the hearts of our people in those days by their songs.

In October, 1855, I attended the Foster School on O'Brien Street near Twelfth Street for six months. In June, 1856, I took the examination for admission to the High School. It was the first examination held in Chicago for admission to the High School. I was the first pupil to pass the entrance examination from the Foster School, and I was the only one to pass that year. The examination was held in the Dearborn School on Madison Street. Albert Lane, then about 14 years old, came from the Scammon School to try the examination. He passed and was admitted to the high school. Later, as Super-

intendent of Chicago Public Schools, his reputation became nation-wide.

I still belong to the Foster School Alumni. At the last reunion only three of the Class of 1855 remained—William P. Henneberry, John Fitzpatrick and myself.

The Early Church

My recollection of the first Bishop of Chicago—Bishop Quarter—is to see his remains lying in state in the new St. Mary's Church, built shortly before on the southwest corner of Wabash Avenue and Madison Street. This was in 1849. I have lived to see Chicago's Bishops and Archbishops in succession since.

The land on which the first Catholic Church was built in Chicago was given for that purpose by Jean Baptiste Beaubien. On this site—the corner of Lake and State Streets, the first St. Mary's Church was built. It was a little frame structure. Later his building was moved to the southwest corner of Michigan Avenue and Madison Street, After the erection of the new brick church on the southwest corner of Wabash Avenue and Madison Street, the old frame structure was again moved, this time back of the new church on Madison Street, and was then used as a parochial school for girls. When the building stood on Michigan Avenue and Madison Street, it was used as a boy's school during the week. I recall a few of the boys who attended that school, among them Rev. James McGovern, Rev. Edward Gavin, Col. James Mulligan, and Bishop John McMullin.

St. Xavier's Established

If I remember rightly, it was in 1848 that Bishop Quarter sent east for six Sisters of Mercy to take charge of an academy that he had built. It was a two-story brick building and called St. Xavier's Academy. It was the first private academy in Chicago, and was patronized by wealthy and prominent families—the protestant girls had the majority in the school. It was located next to St. Mary's on Wabash Avenue, until the fire of 1871, when it was removed to the corner of 29th Street and Wabash Avenue. Later the institution was removed to 49th Street and Evans Avenue, where it stands today, a prosperous institution.

Among the pupils of St. Xavier's Academy and Boarding School in the days that I am recalling, were two daughters of Chief Robinson

of the Pottowatomi tribe of Indians. I must say that the two girls—Cynthia and Mary Robinson, were the best behaved girls in the school. They were in every way a credit to the school. The chief and his wife would often come in from the Reservation at Desplaines, in 1852, and stop at the convent all night. In the morning they would walk around the grounds wrapped in their blankets, much to the delight of the girls, to whom they were objects of curiosity.

Two other girls attended St. Xavier's that same year—girls whose names in years following were frequently to be seen on the front page of every daily paper. These girls were Victoria and Tennessee Claflin. Their mother kept a boarding house on Madison Street, near Clark Street, and on the door hung a large sign—"Vapor Baths." Later in life these sisters created considerable excitement by their lectures on Woman Suffrage and Free Love—carrying their theories to Europe, they continued their sensation careers for some time. Later, both married, the older becoming Mrs. Victoria Claflin Woodhull Martin, while Tennessee became Lady Cook. In later years they returned to New York, opened a bank and caused some excitement on the Stock Exchange.

I heard Tennessee lecture in Chicago in 1912. Her subject was Woman Suffrage. How vividly I recall her as a child. She was very delicate and often went off in what her sister called a trance. Victoria would run for a cup of water, dash it on her sister's face and revive her.

Another pupil of those days made history of a different kind. Catherine Carroll was a pupil of St. Xavier's in those days and later in life, as Mrs. — Foley, became the mother of Rev. William M. Foley, pastor of St. Ambrose.

If I remember correctly, it was in 1850 that my older sister, Mary Ann, started to attend St. Xavier's Academy, Mary Ann Murphy and Abbie Morrison, the daughters of neighbors, likewise attended at this time. We lived on Jefferson Street near Van Buren and as there were no street cars, they usually walked to school. Later I joined the school and I can recall our pleasure when my father or Abbie Morrison's father would call for us in a two-seated buggy. There were at the time four bridges connecting the West Side with the South Side. These bridges were on Van Buran, Madison, Lake and Randolph Streets. I recall a ferry at Rush Street. That was used by people crossing over to the South Side. One morning at 8 o'clock, the ferry boat tipped over, with the result that a few persons were drowned.

St. Xavier's pupils were not among the victims of the accident as it was too early for our North Side pupils to cross.

Amongst my early schoolmates were: Isabelle Pinkerton, Rose Eliza Gavin, Marian Nugent, who became the wife of Col. James A. Mulligan, Alice Nugent, Catherine Michie, the wife of David F. Brenner, both husband and wife still living, Mary and Maggie Walsh (Maggie became the wife of Doctor Henry Guerin), Harriett McDonnell, Katie and Mary Cure.

The First Book Store

John McNally was the pioneer book man of Chicago. Long before any other person or firm dealt in books, papers and periodicals John McNally conducted a store on Dearborn Street, between Randolph and Washington, adjoining Rice's Theatre. He was established early in the fifties and dealt in books and all kinds of periodicals. It was with McNally that John R. Walsh, afterward to become so famous as a newspaper man and financier made his start. After working for McNally for some time young Walsh opened a stand on Madison Street securing books and periodicals from McNally, and prospered in the business. This McNally was in no way related to or connected with the man of the same name who came much later and was connected with the Rand-McNally Company.

Charles McDonnell at about the same time or soon after opened a Catholic Book Store on Market Street, north of Randolph Street.

Dancing Academy

Contrary to statements frequently made, Martine's Dancing Academy was the first dancing school of any importance in Chicago. I remember the academy well. It was situated on Clark near Monroe. It was conducted by Mr. Martine and a Mr. Burnique and his wife who was Libbie Brannigan, the daughter of a tailor in business here at that time were instructors. The assemblies of the dancing academy which were held once a week were notable affairs in Chicago.

The Military

In 1850, several companies of soldiers were organized in Chicago, among them the Montgomery Guards, the Shields' Guards, and the Emmett Guards—probably as well equipped as the guards of our own day when one considers the changes that time has made in our mode of life.

There was also that splendid organization known as the Highland Guards, which contained among others my good friend Mr. David F. Bremner, who later served with much distinction during the civil war.

On reviewing day quite often the guards would serenade the convent. The rule of etiquette on such occasions was to draw down shades. This was as great a disappointment to the young lady boarders as it was to the soldier lads. Little Dan Cupid was as active a member of the community seventy years ago as he is today. I believe the only persons satisfied with the shrouded windows were the good nuns.

St. Patrick's Church

I remember when St. Patrick's Church, a small frame structure, stood on the southwest corner of Randolph and Desplaines Streets, Rev. Father McLaughlin was the first pastor. It was only a few years until the congregation was able to build a splendid brick structure on the corner of Adams and Desplaines Streets, where it still stands. Today it ministers to the needs of a far different congregation from what it did in those days. With its noonday services, its missions and societies, it is doing good work among the poor and the outcasts.

In my 76 years of life I have seen Chicago grow to rank with cities of the old world centuries old. I have seen during my span of life the first railroad, the first street car, the first theatre, all to become a part of Chicago's life.

It is said that all Chicago turned out in procession when Jean Baptiste Beaubien brought the first two-wheeled pleasure carriage to Chicago. I have lived to see Chicago pass through all stages of surprises at new inventions of locomotion, including the crowning wonder of flying through the air. I have seen the home fireside lighted by the candle, the kerosene lamp, the illuminating gas and finally the electric light.

I have lived to see wonderful things developed in the city of my birth, and for the health and happiness I have enjoyed among these wonders and blessings, I thank God.

Bedelia Kehoe Garraghan.

Chicago.

THE NORTHEASTERN PART OF THE DIOCESE OF ST. LOUIS UNDER BISHOP ROSATI

(Continued from October, 1919)

III. Rev. John McMahon at Fever River

The Black Hawk War came to an end in the Fall of 1832 and opened the Rock River country, just south of Galena, to immigration. Galena must have a pastor, and the person fixed on was the Rev. John McMahon, a priest only lately ordained at the Barrens. It is a strange, pathetic career that we now must place before our readers in rapid sequence. John McMahon and his wife Judith emigrated from Ireland to the United States about 1825, but having no children and desirous of a higher life, determined on a separation, he to enter the holy priesthood and she to become a Dominican nun in Ireland.[23] With the consent of Bishop Rosati, Mr. McMahon entered the Seminary of St. Mary's at the Barrens, whilst Judith his wife returned to Dublin. But, as Bishop Rosati writes, November 6, 1828:

Mrs. McMahon, not being able to pay the sum required for admission into any of the Religious houses of the Dominican Order in Ireland, has been entrusted by the Archbishop of Dublin with the care of the Penitents' Asylum, Townsend

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[23] We subjoin the original letter of Bishop Rosati to Bishop Murray of Dublin, dated September 28, 1828:

Joannes McMahon et Juditha Wagry, non modicae pietatis conjuges, ex Hybernia aliquibus abhinc annis ad Foederatas Americae Septentrionalis Procincias commigarunt. Post aliquod in statu conjugali tempus laudabiliter transactum, perfectioris vitae amplectendae studio, communi consilio, nulla liberorum cura, quibus carent impediti, separationem thori decreverunt, et in suscepto proposito Dei adjuvante gratia perseverant. Judith Religiosam vitam cogitans in Hyberniam reversa est. Johannes vero in nostro Sanctae Mariae ad Sylvam Crematam Seminario secundum annum agit, scientiis homini ecclesiastico necessariis acquirendis intentus. Quum autem ad sacros ordines juxta canonum praescripta promoveri minime possit quin mihi tum de ejus uxoris, quum de ejus Ordinarii consensu constet, Amplitudinem Tuam precor ut praefato Johanni McMahon Dubliniensis diocesis per litteras quas dimissoriales vocant concedat, ut clero Sancti Ludovicensis diocesis aggregari, atque ad ordines promoveri possit. Ad consensum vero Judith uxoris ejus quod attinet, quum in re tanti ponderis nullae unquam cautiones superfluae esse videantur, faveat Amplitudo Vestra ejus voluntatem, vel per se vel per aliquem ad hoc delegatum sacerdotem explorare, atque consensus praestiti litteras testimoniales ad me transmittere.

Amplitudinis Vestrae.

Street, Dublin. She will make a vow of perpetual chastity to facilitate the dispensation for your being promoted to holy orders which I shall ask from Rome.

Demissorials arrived from Dublin April 17, 1829,[24] and dispensation being granted by Pope Pius VIII, John McMahon was ordained by Bishop Rosati on November 20, 1831, together with that indomitable servant of God, Peter Paul Lefevre. On April 13, 1832, Father McMahon obtains permission to build a church at Baily's Landing, about eighteen miles below St. Mary's, in Missouri. Here is the brief letter telling of Father McMahon's first success in the ministry:

St. Marys, March 27, 1832.

Right Rev. Father—I went on Sunday last to a place on the bank of the river called Baily's Landing, situated about eighteen miles below St. Marys, the inhabitants of which with unanimity have agreed to build a church immediately; provided it meets your approbation. I replied that I had no doubt of that, and further that there was a probability that you would also subscribe five dollars towards the undertaking. I promised two dollars, which will exhaust my purse. The church is to be thirty by twenty-five for the present, the Catholics being only few. But it is presumed that many Protestants will attend each Sunday so that a priest may have it in his power to attend the settlement. I marked out the ground for the erection of the church on a beautiful mound within about five hundred yards of the river, and thus far have consecrated it to God, in whom I hope for the future blessing of the humble beginning. Have the goodness, my beloved Father, to signify your ideas on the matter by the post returning, if possible, and thereby confer a new favor on one who loves you with the most tender and obsequious regard, and your Lordship's servant,

John McMahon.

Bishop Rosati granted the permission on condition that there be a piece of land set aside sufficient for the purposes of a parish; and he subscribed $5.00 as we learn from the letter of April 13, 1832.

On August 22, 1832, Father McMahon, the priest of less than a year's experience, was appointed pastor of Galena and Prairie du Chien, whilst his fellow student, Peter Paul Lefevre, was sent to the wilds of northeastern Missouri with his residence at St. Paul's, Salt River. Bishop Rosati must at an earlier date have intimated to Father McMahon his destination for the northern mission, for on July 28, 1832, the bishop received the following letter from him at the Seminary:

Right Rev. Father—It may be unnecessary to call your attention to the possibility, nay more, the probability, of the river at St. Louis being so shallow

[24] Pope Pius VIII granted the faculty for ordination, *remota quavis occasione conversandi cum Juditha Wagry, uxore, libero consensu praestito.*

in a few weeks from this period, as to render the practicability of my premeditated trip upwards totally void; add to which, the river above may become frozen. I therefore, relying on the goodness which you have ever evinced in wishing to accommodate all, beg the favor of your order by the returning post, to prepare immediately for the intended journey. I am impelled to thus humbly yet confidently address you on account of the above assigned reasons, in conjunction with the disagreeableness of my situation, which is every day becoming more irksome, and in such a degree that it appears impossible for me to continue any longer in it subject to present arrangements. I shall commence packing up my few articles of apparel, etc., etc., forthwith, in order that, upon the receipt of your commands, I may be enabled the sooner to comply therewith.

Your obedient servant,
JOHN MCMAHON.

The bishop answered on August 7, 1832: "You must come to St. Louis as soon as possible not to lose the opportunity of the steamboats that yet go up to Galena. Take notice that you will go alone. When there you will see if the inhabitants of Prairie du Chien are able and willing to support a priest."

By August 27 Father McMahon is on his way to his destination, sending a letter from what was then called the Foot of the Rapids, near Keokuk. But from now on we will let the zealous, perhaps over-zealous, Father tell his own story in his simple, earnest way that has a pathos all its own:

August 27, 1832.

RIGHT REV. FATHER—Have the goodness to employ Martin,[35] or some other person, to procure me a tin box, which you will please have filled with hosts, large and small, which I forgot to supply myself with ere I left the city; and also a pair of large smoothing irons, that I may hereafter make the hosts myself, and finally one-half pound of beeswax. All of which, if sent to Mr. Walsh, will be forwarded to me with my trunks and horse which I hope have arrived ere this at St. Louis. A dialogue on the real presence, which passed between an intelligent passenger and myself on our way hither, may be somewhat entertaining to some of Mr. Taylor's readers; if you think so, I am determined to lend it you, on my arrival at the destined place; you will please hand it him for insertion. We have got as far as the foot of the Rapids, against which we shall begin our struggle on Monday.

I am in good health and spirits thus far, and your Lordship's affectionate servant,

JOHN MCMAHON.

Under date of May 19, Bishop Rosati notes in his Letter-Book: "Mr. Taylor leaves Hartford; Catholic Press will be published in

[35] Brother Martin Blanca, the companion of Fathers De Andreis and Rosati in the first caravan sent over from Bordeaux to Missouri.

St. Louis by July 1, 1832." Deodat Taylor and his brother Francis were converts and men of superior talents. The paper published by Taylor antedated by two years the first appearance of the "Shepherd of the Valley." We know of no copy of the "Catholic Press," or whatever name Mr. Taylor's paper bore; yet from Father McMahon's words it appears that it was the earliest Catholic paper west of the Mississippi River. An interesting anecdote concerning Deodat Taylor is found in Shea's "History of the Catholic Church in the United States," Vol. III, p. 156. But, to return to Father McMahon, we will give another letter dated:

GALENA, September 27, 1832.

BELOVED AND RIGHT REV. FATHER—I would have written ere this, were I not prevented by being continually occupied in my ministerial avocations. I have baptized and received two Protestants into the Church—one man and one woman, and baptized several children, the parents of whom are Protestants, and ferreted out some of the old careless ones, and got them to confession, some of whom have not been there for fourteen years. The enclosed $10.00 I received from a man to whom I granted a dispensation from the banns of matrimony. His case was a desperate one, having lived with his present wife before my arrival for three years. He is a Catholic, she a Baptist. However, I baptized her conditionally, having previously instructed her in the rudiments of our holy religion, with which she seemed to be much moved; but upon the whole I had to do the best in my power to get them married. I have been also about forty miles in the interior of the country, where I had to marry a couple who were also living in the state of sin for a long time, and have had children, some of whom I baptized. This affair giving much scandal in the neighborhood, I concluded it as quickly as possible, without any requisition relative to the banns or anything else, but gave them some instructions in the presence of a considerable number, who assembled upon the occasion, and departed. They speak of building a church there for me. I am extremely bad off for my trunks, having no clothes, nor books to consult. The place is getting very cold, to guard against which clothes are essential. I have none, and no money to buy them. People are talking of building a church here. I am at preesnt tolerably well. They have employed a man to attend me, so things may be better after some time. Pray, beloved Father, that God may strengthen me with His grace to promote His honor and glory and the salvation of those over whom He has placed me. I am called, therefore accept of the affectionate wishes for your health, etc.

J. MCMAHON.

Conditions must have improved somewhat after this; perhaps Father McMahon learned the trick of placing his necessities before his people, so that they could no longer disregard them. In his next letter he strikes a more cheerful note:

GALENA, October 4, 1832.

RIGHT REV. FATHER—I wrote you some days ago, giving a hasty idea of my success so far. Since which time the people have rented for me a commodious

house, which will suit for the two-fold purpose, a church and apartments for the priest, until they can get able to build a new one. I have now got carpenters at work making some necessary alterations. I beg of you to send me some ornaments for the altar, particularly a picture, if any be to spare, and also a missal. I have a small one, but it is inconveniently so. I am kept continually going; so there is not much danger of getting the gout, and from the cholera, O Lord deliver us. I have lost only one of my flock as yet, but several of the mushroom sects have been its victims. My health is still good.

Is it permissible to suffer the man and wife to stand as god-father and god-mother for their neighbor's child at baptism? It seems a simple case; but to save my life, I cannot satisfy my mind on it, having no books to consult. This is the only difficulty that has occured to me so far. Yesterday I got information that a young man, a Catholic, has been associated to a woman by a civil magistrate; the woman has a husband alive, but got from him a regular divorce, to which the husband, however, never gave his consent. He is, I believe, a Protestant, but if she be a Catholic and wishes to get married by me, what must I do? Her former marriage was also before a squire. I have sent for the young man who lives at a distance of about twenty-five miles. If he does not come, I shall go to him and endeavor to get him to leave her and, making her some compensation, get from her hand, in the presence of witnesses, a total discharge from any claim on her part hereafter on or against his person. But I shall be governed by your instructions, which I hope to know soon, as the sin continues, you know, every day becoming more red.

Beloved Father, pray for your servant,

JOHN MCMAHON.

The cholera, of which we meet the first mention in the foregoing letter, spread terror and desolation through the entire West from the autumn of 1832 until the end of summer, 1834. Strange to say, the appearance and progress of the dread disease did not seem to present any evidences of infection or contagion.[26]

GALENA, November 16, 1832.

RIGHT REV. FATHER—Your two letters dated 18th ult. were received a few days ago; that contained your permisison for the use of flesh meat on the Friday, etc. I read it to the people assembled at Mass on Sunday, agreeably to the requisition thereof. We have had no cases of cholera here now for some days throughout the whole of the mortality. I continue thankful to my God for having spared the whole of my congregation except one, who, it is believed, died by her own want of timely care of herself. I called on last Sunday a meeting to ascertain what I had to depend on for my support. A list was found which contains the amount and individual names, who subscribed about $360.00. I told them I wanted a sum immediately to buy my winter's wood and some clothes, but none has yet come. Winter is already commenced here, and no wood nor warm clothes. I have been sent for to go to General Dodge, about seventy-two miles from Galena, through a bad and cold country. If I can procure any mode of conveyance, I purpose starting next week. I received also your letter giving

[26] *Western Annals*, p. 801.

an account of the death which took place at Dublin. For your kind attention in this particular, as likewise for every other connected and relative to my solicitude, accept the breathing of a grateful heart.

Our little church is crowded every Sunday with a few of all the town's people. I look forward to better times, but at present my situation is not to be envied. I expect, if God spare me, to see you about next April, if I can get as much money together as will pay expenses. I have been thinking of selling my books by auction to get some money. If you have any masses, send me a few. If not, I shall do the best I can. I have not been able as yet to go to Prairie du Chien, having no horse, etc., etc. I sent the people thereof word of my arrival here, saying that if they wanted my spiritual assistance, they should provide some mode of conveyance, and I would go to them. I have been told that a French priest has been there for some time, and that he said, when interrogated, he would stay there all the winter. I cannot learn who he is or where he came from. If I stop here and keep my health until summer, I may be enabled to go then; but at present I am pretty busy. The box which contained the hosts was so well packed and so light, the people at the river, when the boat landed, enquired what was in it. I told them in a loud voice, it contained bank notes. That through General Jackson's veto they became of so little use, that the Bishop thus sent them to all his clergy in order to get rid of them as soon as possible, which caused a loud and general laugh.

With most profound respect and heartfelt love,

I am your servant,

JOHN MCMAHON.

On account of the prevalence of the cholera, Bishop Rosati had granted dispensation in regard to abstinence from flesh-meat even on Fridays. The remark about "the death which took place at Dublin" refers to the death of Mrs. McMahon, concerning which the bishop had written to the priest. The joke about the bank-notes is a gentle reflection on President Jackson's veto of the charter of the Bank of the United States in July, 1832. Father McMahon was of a naturally cheerful disposition. But Galena was a lonely place for a priest who had always enjoyed the company of educated people, and the one person that came to cheer his loneliness, a student from the Barrens, only added grief and vexation to his other burdens.

GALENA, January 13, 1833.

RIGHT REV. FATHER—I am sorry on one account of being so far from you as respects space, and that is the possibility of being altogether forgotten by you. Not a single word have I been favored with for six weeks and more. Were you aware of what comfort your letters give me, I know your goodness would induce you to repeat them often. Lent is at the door. If you deem it proper to make any new regulations thereto, pray inform me thereof. I have nothing particular to communicate except the arrival of Mr. Ratigan from the Barrens some weeks ago with the consent of the Superior as he informs me. He hopes, with the salubrity of the air here to recover his health soon and be able to resume his

studies. However he has ever since his arrival been confined to his bed, but is now in a state of convalescence. His expenses to this place amount to twenty-six dollars, to which add doctor's fees, etc., etc. Since he came here I have been obliged to open a small school to make out a living. The people are so poor after the war that they with difficulty can live themselves; but next year it is thought will be better. I also want an *Ordo Divini Officii*, for which I shall pay you when I can get as much money as will bring me to St. Louis. My health is tolerably good.

I remain, beloved Father, with profound respect and great affection,

Your devoted servant,

JOHN MCMAHON.

The Letter-Book of Bishop Rosati alludes to a letter sent to Father McMahon at Galena on the fifth day of February, 1833, but the space is left blank, probably to be filled in later. Father McMahon alludes to it on March 3, as we shall see.

GALENA, February 14, 1833.

RIGHT REV. FATHER—I am painfully obliged to inform your Lordship that Mr. Ratigan has left my place, having previously abused me much in the presence of a lad who stops with me for his education. I made him no reply and only mention the matter now through a sense of duty. At the same time I attribute the little anger, of which he showed some signs, to the debilitated state of his head occasioned by his long sickness. More of this when I go down. I received on Friday in due form a lady of quality into the Church, and today received a visit from one of the principal prostitutes of the town, attired in all her grandeur. A person who knows her, coming in after her leaving me, told me all about her mode of living hitherto. However, during her stay, I gave her some instructions and advice, lent her a book to read and dismissed her until next Tuesday when she promised to come to confession. I delivered three discourses on several Sundays on the nefarious practice of gambling, on which God has been pleased to evince his approbation; for immediately after the cards and card-tables of the different houses in the town were upset and committed to the fire. If God grants me the like success in overturning the rendezvous of iniquity called bad houses, I shall call my time well spent indeed. Mr. Ratigan received a letter from Pittsburg requesting him to go there soon. His brother spoke to Bishop Kenrick (of Philadelphia) to take him under his care, to which the Bishop answered that he would have no objection, provided he would get an *exeat* from you. So it is possible he may apply, but where he is now I know not. Tomororw will be Quinquagesima Sunday. I have received no instructions yet relative to Lent. I am busy all the time, which is very desirable to

Your servant indeed,

JOHN MCMAHON.

Vice of all kind was rampant in the town filled with wild adventurers. But Father McMahon, nothing daunted, returned to the attack again and again, with some success, it seems, in changing stony hearts, as the next letter would testify:

GALENA, March 3, 1833.

RIGHT REV. FATHER—The receipt of a letter from you a few days ago, administered to my soul much consolation. I did not despair of receiving such exhilarating comfort from your fatherly solicitude and attention, but I was really somewhat dejected. On Quadragesima Sunday I administered the Sacrament of Baptism to a young creature, who has hitherto been progressing through the most vile path of immorality. In the course of my instructions on the Sacrament, I called her the Magdalen of Galena. Two of her former suitors were present, whose countenances seemed to speak disapprobation at being thus deprived of a companion on their road to perdition. My instructions after Mass were on the Epistle of the day, at the close of which, looking steadfastly at these heroes of iniquity, I exclaimed in emphatical language: let the night stroller now divest himself of the works of darkness and put on the armor of Light, Justice, Sobriety, and Chastity. Say, ye candidates for perdition, what have you hitherto been doing, what is your mind now plotting, though curiosity detains your person here? Shall I answer the question for you? Adding further iniquities to the black catalogue of your crimes, which, like an accumulated heap of stubble, the Justice of an offended Deity will one day set fire to, when you shall burn, if you repent not, for all eternity. One of these sinners has signified his wish to be instructed. I also received publicly into the Church a few days ago a lady of respectability, in the church, and have now more under a course of instructions. One of the noted gamblers has also come forward, and is about getting his family baptized. He has already put down his name as a subscriber to my support. The Rosary I say every evening during Lent, after which I give an instruction. The Catechism I teach every day to the children, some of whom I am preparing against Easter for their First Communion, and every Sunday I preach to a crowded audience, thus far, thanks to God. I feel my health somewhat shaken and have taken the liberty to take a little bread every morning with a cup of coffee, which I hope will not displease you. I have much to say, but am limited as to time. Remember me and beg of God that He may make me meek and humble of heart. While I am yours, and ever will be, affectionate and humble servant in Christ,

I am,
JOHN MCMAHON.

Most submissive to the laws and preecpts of Holy Church, Father McMahon would not brook any interference with his spiritual authority from laymen, however powerful they might be.

GALENA, March 17, 1833.

RIGHT REV. FATHER—Ever happy in having it in my power to communicate any and every thing which has a tendency to comfort you, I embrace the opportunity which Mr. Tool offers to inform you that every week adds to the Galenian Church. Since my last I have received one more of the unfortunate girls of the town, who is now undergoing the preparatory steps toward becoming a good Christian. I have much hope of her continuance, but the people in general are of a different opinion and seem not quite pleased that she has been thus far countenanced, but I laconically replied to their insinuations that I am determined to do my duty at the point of the sword, and that I could not suffer

any laymen to dictate to me. Ever since they are silenced, and the poor girl is every day growing more fervent, etc. An Episcopalian lady makes her first communion today. I feel confident that she will make a good R. Catholic. Mr. Ratigan has returned from the country and has humbled himself and earnestly asked my pardon for what he did, which I immediately and willingly granted. The person that owns the house, that I at present occupy as a church, has given notice for us to quit it. What will be done, I am not at present able to say; but I know the people are too poor this year to build one. I shall see you, God willing, some time in May. The health of the people, generally speaking, is good; mine is not as good as it has been. Pray for me, my Beloved Father, and accept the assurance of the sincerity of

Your servant,
JOHN MCMAHON.

This pathetic letter was the last Bishop Rosati was to receive from Father McMahon. On June 19, 1833, he died at Galena, without a priest to cheer his last hours. It was the cholera that struck him down, just ten months after his coming to Fever River, a martyr of his devotion to duty and of his love for poor, wayward souls.[27]

IV. BRIGHTER PROSPECTS

From a brief note of Father Charles Quickenborne, S. J., it appears that Father Wiseman was sent to Galena immediately after Father McMahon's death, probably to attend to the funeral. Certain it is that Father Charles F. Van Quickenborne, S. J., spent a few days in July, 1832, at Dubuque and Galena in order to make arrangements for the development of the religious possibilities of both places. Dubuque as a village is coeval with Galena; as a trading-post, however, it is much older, being visited and explored for its mineral wealth as early as 1786 by Julien Dubuque, who two years later obtained from the Indians a grant of 140,000 acres of land. Here M. Dubuque built his trading-post, around which the city that bears his name was to rise and flourish and prosper. Up to 1835 only three visits of priests at Dubuque are recorded, and no serious move had been made to form a religious establishment. But now, with the return of order and the opening of vast tracts of land to settlers, the time seemed propitious. Meetings were held at Dubuque and at Galena, of which Father Van Quickenborne, S. J., has given a full account:

[27] Father McMahon's earthly remains were buried in the public cemetery of the town, but, as Father Mazzuchelli tells us in one of his letters, they were disinterred and together with the remains of Father Fitzmaurice laid to rest in the Catholic Churchyard of Galena.

July 19, 1833.

MEMORANDUM LEFT WITH JAMES FANNING AT DUBUQUE

At an aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics living at the Dubuque Mines on the 14th of July, 1833, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. That, as it is the general wish that a Catholic church be built in this vicinity, the permit shall be obtained in the name of the Right Rev. Dr. Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis.

2. That, as a majority of four have declared the town of Dubuque or its vicinity to be the most suitable neighborhood for the contemplated church, the designation of the precise spot shall be left to the decision of the committee to be appointed, or a majority of these.

3. That the following gentlemen do form the said committee: viz., James Fanning, James McCabe, Patrick O'Mara, N. Gregoiv, and Thomas Fitzpatrick. Mr. James Fanning was unanimously chosen treasurer, into whose hands the subscriptions and donations shall be paid; of which moneys received and expended an account shall be given by the same treasurer to the clergyman appointed by the Bishop to the congregation.

4. That the said committee shall have power to nominate a president out of their number, and he or two of its members to have power to call for a meeting of the committee, and a majority of them to be a quorum to transact all the business relative to the building of the church.

5. The building to be raised by the subscriptions of the Catholics at this place and to be as follows: A hewed log building, 25 feet by 20 feet, and 10 feet or 12 feet high, with a shingle roof and plank floor, with four windows each having 28 lights of 8 by 10 and shutters, the door to be 8 feet by 5 feet.

From Dubuque, Father Van Quickenborn crossed over to Galena for the purpose of placing that congregation on a solid financial basis. The people were willing, and a good start was made, as the following document, signed by Father Van Quickenborn, would indicate:

A COPY OF THE SUBSCRIPTION PAPER FOR GALENA LEFT WITH NICHOLAS DOWLING

The enclosed five acres of ground near Galena having been made over by Patrick Gray to the Right Rev. Dr. Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, for the purpose of raising thereon a church and a house for the officiating clergyman, the inhabitants of this town and its vicinity are respectfully requested to give their assistance towards the accomplishment of so estimable an object.

The frame building in contemplation is to be 25 feet by 35 feet. The moneys to be collected by the committee consisting of five gentlemen, and they to give their accounts to the clergyman sent by the Bishop to the congregation. Therefore we, the undersigned, do oblige ourselves and assigns to pay within six months from this date the sums annexed to our respective names.

Galena, 19th of July, 1833,

C. F. VAN QUICKENBORNE.

Patrick Gray, Blockhouse		Leopold Massner	$ 10
Laurence Ryan, pd. $20	$ 30	Patrick Colligan	10
Alexander Butterworth	10	Laurent Robidoux	10

James Nagle	25	Kiernan Murray	10
Michael Murphy	10	Pat. Sullivan	5
John Reily	10	James Murphy, $10	
Patrick Murphy, paid	10	Dennis Murphy and Pat. S.	25
Claymore Le Page	5	John Ryan	10
Thomas Drum	20	*Dennis O'Neil	5
Martin Gray	20		
	$140		$ 85
			140
			$225
		Promised sums which can be relied on	200
			$425

MEMORANDUM LEFT WITH NICHOLAS DOWLING AND PUBLISHED IN THE CHURCH OF GALENA

1. The Catholics of this country, to whom great praise is due for their liberality in the support of religion, are respectfully requested by the underwritten to persevere in these laudable sentiments, and to pay the subscriptions they may have made heretofore for the support of the late Rev. Mr. McMahon, some of which have not as yet been paid. The proceeds of these subscriptions will be employed, 1st, in paying the debts contracted by Mr. McMahon and not paid. 2. In raising the building of the contemplated church, or for the support of the clergyman who, it is hoped, will be sent by the bishop.

2. The debt contracted by Mr. McMahon amounted to $273. It is hoped that the sale of furniture which is in his house, including horse and dearborn, will cover this sum. However, as these things are sold sometimes very cheap, it would be very desirable in that circumstance that they should be bought for the use of the next clergyman, and in this case the payment of the sums subscribed for the support of Mr. McMahon which are not as yet paid would be absolutely necessary.

3. The sacred vestments and everything appertaining to the chapel will be kept as things belonging to the bishop.

4. The books of Mr. McMahon show that he has received from the subscription made for his support about $340.

The carpenter's bill for fitting out the chapel amounts to $75 and has been paid by a subscription. The house rent is as yet to be paid and amounts to $15. The rent of the house belonging to Mrs. Farra and used as a church has been paid by a subscription.

5. The proceeds of the subscriptions will be placed into the hands of Mr. Nicholas Dowling, Sr., subject to the order of the Bishop for the purposes for which they shall have been paid.

C. F. VAN QUICKENBORNE, S. J.

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE CHURCH

The church is to be a frame building, 43 feet by 24 or 25 and 12 feet high, the sill must be mortised and tenanted.

The side sills shall receive eight posts and the spaces filled up with studding

two feet apart. There are to be three openings on each side to receive 24 lights each, 8 by 10. The side posts to be braced in four places, both above and below, and those of the front and rear shall have two above and two below. The front and rear shall have four posts each. The front door to be 5 feet wide, 7 feet high, with a circular sash above. In the rear there shall be two doors, 3 feet wide, each so placed as to leave in the middle a place of 8 feet free, the spaces to be filled up as above.

Twenty-two pairs of rafters shall be put up of the proper length to be of scantling 6 inches by 3, to have collar beams, then sheeting and shingling—the making of door and window frames and casings outside and inside—weather-boarding—the laying of the sleepers, but the three next to the rear should be one foot higher than the rest. A girder is to go across to make a gallery 8 feet high, 6 feet wide, and two girders more to receive the frame of a steeple.

Let a contract be entered into for the above bill, but divide it into four jobs.

The 1st to consist of the raising of the frame to the square, which will cost, say	$ 40
The 2nd to embrace the roof, viz., rafters, sheeting and shingling, cost of shingles added	82
The 3rd to include window frames and casings	25
The 4th will be made out of the balance, planks, walls and labor	95
	$242

Reserve to yourself the privilege of stopping at each of these jobs, and I will be responsible for the payment of each of them; but none of them is to be commenced without my paying beforehand.

Galena, 16th of July, 1833,

C. F. Van Quickenborne, S. J.

N. B.—Forty dollars have been paid on the subscription and placed in the hands of Mr. Dowling to make a beginning. The blockhouse will furnish all the timber.

Mr. McMahon owes:

Mr. Michael Byrne, $180, but he sold books to the amount of $34	$146.00
Charles's, in St. Louis	15.75
Tiernan, in St. Louis	17.50
Walsh, $30, not certain	30.00
Mr. Ryan in Galena	20.00
Estes, in St. Louis, not certain	18.00
	$247.25
Intentions received, 103	
Discharged only... 3	50.00
100	$297.25

Probable Estimate of Furniture

1 first-rate Dearborn and harness, new	$130.00
Horse	70.00
1 featherbed	22.00
1 featherbed	20.00
Blanket and quilts	20.00
Bedstead	10.00
Mattress	1.00
Quilts	5.00
Clock	25.00
Watch	15.00
Looking-glasses	2.00

Mr. Michael Byrne has taken out letters of administration. He lives in Galena. This gentleman might be written to, to send to St. Louis, 1, all the books; 2, his clothes (of late Mr. McMahon). He might be advised to sell all the furniture since it would be very difficult to preserve it.

N. B.—The Catholics have paid the passage up and down of Mr. Wiseman —have given him money whilst there. Have paid the passage of the little boy.

Kitchen utensils	$ 20.00
Coffee and tea-pots	5.00
Plates, dishes and pitchers	5.00
½ keg of coffee	4.00
½ keg of wine	3.00
Handirons and tongs	5.00
Almost a barrel of sugar	10.00
Axes and several other objects	10.00
	$282.00
Then will come in a lot of books worth	$150.00

It will be necessary for the clergyman living there (Galena) or visiting to see the Catholics of a part of Michigan territory, since the line of Illinois goes only six miles above Galena, and of course he must have the necessary faculties. Is meat allowed on Saturdays there? How is Lent kept? Which are the holy days? Fast days or days of abstinence? Was that country under Canada when in 1764 the dispensations were given about marriages?[28]

These desultory notes jotted down by Father Van Quickenborne will, we hope, be of interest as giving not only the bright prospects of these early Catholic settlements, but also the difficult and sometimes sordid circumstances in which the ministers of God were constrained to live.

It will be remembered that Father McMahon alluded to the presence of a French priest at Prairie du Chien who, as the rumor went, intended to stay there all winter. This was the Dominican Father, Samuel Mazzuchelli, as we learn from a letter written by him to Bishop Rosati September 29, 1832. As in this letter, the first of a long series, Father Mazzuchelli gives a sort of critical estimate of the priests that had preceded him at Prairie du Chien, and as it introduces a man who was destined to accomplish great things for religion on both sides of the Upper Mississippi, we will insert it here, as in its proper place:[29]

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, September 29, 1832.

RIGHT REV. BISHOP—The Rev'd. Mr. Jeanjean, who in July last visited with Bishop Fenwick the Island of Mackinac, informed me that your Lordship had given him a letter for me, but that at his return to St. Louis, he forgot it. I should have been extremely flattered to have had such a token of my being still

[28] Archives Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

[29] Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O. P., was descended from a distinguished family of Milan which in 1577 had given to Italy and the world the celebrated painter, Pietro Francesco Mazzuchelli, also called il Morazzone, from his birth place, Morazzone, near Milan.

present to your mind. A useless servant, as I am, in the vineyard of the Lord, I have nothing in my missionary labor worthy of your attention; if some good has been done in this wild and Indian portion of the Church, the Lord being the author of it, nothing remains to us his unworthy instruments of which we can boast. Notwithstanding, I cannot contain myself from making known to your apostolical zeal the graces which our Divine Saviour is showering down on some parts of this territory. Our missions of Arbre Croche are in the highest state of Christian perfection, without exaggeration (which is to be abhorred by a Catholic missionary). There are about one thousand Indians who by the water of baptism dissipated the dark clouds of idolatry, and most of them, if not nearly all, have preserved unspotted the white garment of baptismal grace. My chosen flock of Mackinac is, thanks be to God, extremely edifying. The dispersed and wild sheep of the Lake Superior, who repair to Mackinac every summer, are fast improving. At the Sault Ste. Marie I hope to have a church built next spring. The Presbyterians around us, whose peculiar character was foretold by St. Paul in those words, *having an appearance of piety, but denying the power* thereof: have the first seats, and, dressed in tracts and Bibles, make the first show in this world; we still remaining here, with the utmost satisfaction, "the little flock." Green Bay, inhabited by Canadians and Metis (half breeds) of bad conduct, begins to flourish; drunkenness and indifference were prevalent; now an universal but gradual change is taking place. In two years more than one hundred Indians have been well instructed and baptized. Last year, in spite of thousands of difficulties, I began the building of a Gothic church now handsomely finished, 66 feet long, 35 feet wide. I was the only priest in the Northwest Territory, till the 1st of September last, when I arrived at Green Bay with Mr. Saenderl,[30] the Superior of three Liguorians from Vienna, who wish to establish their Order in the United States. I omitted no exertion to convince Mr. Saenderl of the great necessity in which this new territory stands of their zeal. He is now determined on building his convent at Green Bay, where without any trouble he has a new church. I am unable to express my gladness to see that portion of my parish, where I labored more, and to which I was so partial, in possession of new and better pastors. On the 13th of September I left Green Bay to visit a part of the Territory and see what good can be done. After eight days riding I arrived here, where last year your Lordship sent Mr. Lutz, whom the people esteemed. This place has been very much neglected. Mr. Vincent Badin spent seven months here, but his limited talents and French manners were not satisfactory to most of the inhabitants, and in several instances caused our holy religion to be despised or neglected. In the opinion of the public, The Prairie will become a considerable place in

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[30] Father Simon Saenderl was born in Malgersdorf in Bavaria, September 30, 1800, ordained priest June 2, 1822, and became a member of the Redemptorists, also called the Liguorians, from their founder, St. Alphonsus. He was the superior of the band of three, consisting of himself and Fathers Tschenhens and Hetscher, sent to the American missions by the Leopoldine Society of Vienna. Leaving the Liguorian Congregation on the 20th September, 1847, Father Saenderl died the death of a saint as a Trappist in Gethsemany, February 22, 1879.

the new Territory; so our efforts are more demanded to make a good congregation while we can make it without opposition. To this end I am about procuring a house for next spring to answer for temporary chapel and residence for the priest. The people are well disposed to help him in his wants. Several lots are offered for the church. I will make the plan of it. It will be of stone, because cheaper and stronger than a frame. Next spring, if nothing prevents me, with the permission of the bishop, I intend to come here with a Liguorian of Green Bay, and thus give a good start to the making of a new and interesting parish. The Society of Vienna[31] promised the Liguorians all possible assistance. I said this about Prairie du Chien because it interests your zeal, as well as that of Bishop Fenwick. On the establishment of a good and edifying congregation here it depends in great measure what the future state of religion in this Territory will be and what success the conversion of the Indians will have. These poor beings have been neglected to this day, notwithstanding their good disposition. An annual appropriation of three or four hundred dollars for the support of every priest who feels disposed to labor for the conversion of the Indians is necessary. Priests of such vocations are, as far as I know, left to their zeal without encouragement. All the Indians of the North are willing to embrace Christianity, but nothing can be done unless the priest lives among them, what he cannot do without human means. The Liguorians say that the Society of Vienna has for its object the conversion of the Indians. This makes me rejoice in expectation of doing some good among the inhabitants on the confines of Lake Superior. As a missionary of the Northwest Territory, I have a favor to ask of your Lordship. The age and infirmity of Bishop Fenwick and his extensive diocese are things well known. A bishopric in the new State of Michigan is now believed to be of absolute necessity to carry on these extensive missions. With the consent of Bishop Fenwick I have already written on this subject to Pope Gregory the XVI, with whom I am well acquainted. Were your Lordship and other bishops to recommend to his Holiness the necessity of a new diocese in Michigan and the Northwest, I have not the least doubt but we should obtain it. It is distressing for us, your missionaries, to think that only a small part of our parishes can be visited by our pastor and that we are so far from him. Many Catholics are deprived of the gift of confirmation, while their faith is at a great trial among heretics of the worst kind, who even among the natives have done and still do more for the loss of souls than we are able to do for their salvation. I have learned, with the highest degree of satisfaction, that your zeal is now occupied in the erection of a new and splendid cathedral. May the Almighty give grace and strentgh to your Lordship, not only to complete it, but also to sanctify it by the exercise of the holy functions of your sacred and apostolical dignity.

Your humble servant,

SAMUEL MAZZUCHELLI, O. P.

P. S.—Next week I shall leave this place to visit the Indians of Fort Winibegoe.

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[31] The Society of Vienna is the Leopoldine Society of which we will hear more in the course of our history.

Father Mazzuchelli did not stay long at Prairie du Chien; and Galena, the religious center of the whole region, must be immediately provided with a pastor. But whom shall Bishop Rosati send? On May 16, 1834, there came to him, all unannounced, a priest whose papers showed that he was ordained in Paris and had served in the Cura at Nevers in France, but had returned to his native Ireland and from there had sailed for America. His name was Charles Francis Fitzmaurice. The Bishop gladly adopted him, and on May 19, 1834, sent him to the missions of Galena and Dubuque. He arrived at Galena on May 23. He took up the work with great hopes, as we see from his letter to Bishop Rosati dated:

GALENA, July 28, 1834.

MY LORD—I should have written to you before this period, were it not that I wished previously to render *Men* and *things* more favorable to religion than I had found them on my arrival in this mission; an almost total desuetude in matters of spiritual concern originating from the want of religious instructions since the death of the Rev. Mr. McMahon, has rendered a great many indifferent, not to say forgetful, of the great work of their eternal salvation! But more of this at another time. I met with some difficulties, my Lord, in the commencement in procuring a decent place for the celebration of the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and also lodging for myself, but through the joined exertions of some of my flock I have succeeded in obtaining both about eight days ago. Until then my position was not very pleasant, as being obliged to lodge with a man who kept a *grocery* in one end of his house, and whose habits would by no means be a source of consolation to any ecclesiastic happening to be his inmate.

I had made inquiries relative to the temporal concerns of the Rev. Mr. McMahon, and was informed that a Mr. Byrne of this town and lately married by the Rev. Mr. Lutz at St. Louis, had taken out letters of administration immediately after the death of the Rev. Mr. McMahon and auctioned off all his property together with his books of every description for the purpose (it was said) of paying his debts. I have examined the chasubles (four in number) and found them in a very bad state; the chalice and patena were rolled in a clean cloth and kept in a decent place, but I could find no account of the oil-stocks. They say here that the Cure of St. Charles[32] must know something of them.

I have alternated since my arrival, on Sundays between this town and Dubuque Mines. There are many sick cases in both places; I am consequently called on very often to attend the sick. The mortality, however, is not great in either place. We have had only one case of cholera which proved fatal.

I have, at stated periods, called meetings of the congregation in order to devise some means suitable for the building of a Catholic Church in this town, and could not until lately effect anything like unanimity among them. About eight days ago I had convened the last meeting, when they came to the resolution of getting a church of stone built as soon as possible, and, to make a beginning, seven or eight of the most respectable Catholics of this town have subscribed

[32] Father Van Quickenborne, S. J.

their names each for $100, so that there is every appearance of things getting on well at present.

As there are a great many French in this congregation, I give instructions in English at Mass, and in French at Vespers, every Sunday that I say Mass in town. A great many of other religious denominations assist at Mass and act with the greatest decorum. Two adults have embraced the Catholic faith since my arrival in this region, the one a certain Walker, who departed this life a few days after being received into the bosom of the Church, the other a lady who was never baptized, although she lived with a Catholic man.

The Catholic inhabitants of Dubuque Mines have subscribed to the amount of $1,100 for the purpose of getting a Catholic church built, in consequence of which I made application to the agent and obtained a lot of land in your Lordship's name for that purpose. We have already bought the lumber, let out the contract to a carpenter, and expect to have it finished before All Saints Day, as they are far more zealous and active there on this occasion than at Galena.

My Lord, I hope your cathedral will very soon be completed, that you may enjoy good health, as also the Rev. M. M. Jeanjean, Borgna, and Lutz, to whom I here present my most humble respects. They are together, but, alas! I am alone. Still God's protection extends to us all. My sister's health was not very good since she came here, having labored under a very severe bilious attack, but is at present getting better.

With ardent prayers for the preservation of your Lordship's health, I have the honor to remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

C. J. FITZMAURICE, PT.

Alas, for the uncertainty of human affairs, Father Fitzmaurice died in the spring of the year 1835, some say of the cholera; some, of the yellow fever; the second Galena priest to die within a twelve month after his appointment. It was a sad blow to the struggling parishes, but the sacrifice was not in vain. For, as Father Mazzuchelli writes in 1837: "In the year 1835 a lot was secured at Galena for the church, of which the first stone was laid on the 12th of August in the same year. The Church of Galena is dedicated to St. Michael, measures 70 feet by 39 feet. It is all of stone and is now built ten feet above the ground; nearly all the wooden materials are purchased. The parish of Galena numbers about five hundred Catholics."

The lot spoken of in the report of Father Mazzuchelli was bought from Patrick Gray, July 19, 1833, for 200 dollars, paid out of the subscriptions. The lot was "bounded on the east by the road leading to Meeker's Farm, on the north by Martin Gray's claim, on the west by the burial ground, on the north by the public lands, and contained about five acres. It was deeded to Bishop Rosati."

REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

St. Louis.

THE IRISH IN EARLY ILLINOIS

(Continued from October, 1919)

An accident or inadvertence by means of which a page of manuscript was displaced left a former article without mention of a very popular and distinguished Irishman who was in the Illinois country during the French period, and accordingly we are here inserting such mention out of the regular order:

Benoist de St. Clair came to the Illinois country as a subordinate officer of the French garrison and to all appearances became very popular. He was a gallant young Irishman and the son of a veteran of the famous "Irish Brigade" so distinguished in the French service.

St. Clair became commandant or governor of Illinois in 1740 and served in that capacity until 1742. He was again called to the chief command in 1748 and served until 1751. When he was appointed governor the second time he signalized his entry upon that duty by marrying a young woman of Kaskaskia. He was succeeded by another Irishman, the Chevalier MaCarty.

In Territorial Days

The leading man of the entire northwest from the time he came to Kaskaskia in 1784 until almost the day of his death in 1832 was John Edgar, a native of Ireland, and the leading woman of the same period was Rachael Edgar, his wife, a shining example of the admirable Irish wife.[41] At the outbreak of the Revolution, Edgar was in the British Naval Service, but left it to espouse the American cause. He was seized by the British, and languished in a British jail for nineteen months. Upon his release, he informed the United States Government of a conspiracy he discovered to deliver up Vermont to the British, and the Government was enabled to nip the plan in the bud. He then entered the service of the United States and was made commander of a United States war ship. At the close of the war he came West, settled in Kaskaskia, and became the

[41] The best accounts of Edgar and his wife are to be found in Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois,* pp. 110, 116-118, 180 and 215, 347, 246-7, and in James H. Roberts, *The Life and Times of General John Edgar,* published in Publication No. 12, Illinois State Library, pp. 64, 73. It will be seen by reference to the Roberts article, that both Edgar and his wife were born in Ireland. Mrs. Edgar has been frequently referred to as the "American Wife". Much information about Edgar is also contained in the Illinois Historical Collections.

leading spirit in public and private enterprises, building mills, operating salt mines, and buying and improving lands. He was a man of wealth and used his wealth freely in developing the country. He became a judge of the courts and served in that capacity for many years. He was the first delegate selected from Randolph County to represent that part of the Illinois country (being all of the present State south of the Illinois River) in the Territorial Legislature which met in Marietta, Ohio. It was at the "mansion" of John Edgar that Marquis de La Fayette was entertained on the occasion of his visit to this country. His leadership was undisputed during the entire period of his life, and in the last analysis Edgar was the final arbiter of all important questions. Mrs. Edgar was an intimate friend and boon companion of Martha Washington, and at one period of her life, a member of the Washington household. I have wondered why no branch of the Daughters of the American Revolution or of any other society, patriotic or otherwise, has been named for Mrs. Edgar, whose record of patriotism is unsurpassed, if equalled, by any other woman in America. John Edgar was a splendid type of the citizen. It may be of interest to know that fine portraits of both Edgar and his wife are hung in the rooms of the Chicago Historical Society.

Samuel O'Melvaney was another Irishman of excellent character and splendid reputation.[42] He was the leader of the first colony that came directly from Europe and settled in Illinois. This Irish colony located on the Ohio River in 1804 and engaged in agriculture. There were several families, all prosperous, as they deserved to be, and the leader became a man of great weight and influnce as well as a benevolent Captain of Industry. He was a miller, a fine stock man, and in general a very valuable addition to the country. As time passed, he became a judge of the early courts, a representative in the territorial legislature, and a delegate to the first Constitutional Convention. The family remained prominent for many years, and his sons besides becoming substantial citizens, filled many places of trust and confidence.

The Lemen family was one of the most influential that came to Illinois in the early days. James Lemen,[43] the head of the family, was born in Berkley County, Virginia, in 1760. His grandfather was born in Ireland. He came to Kaskaskia in 1786. He had served

[42] Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 389-90. For the members of this big family and other reference to Samuel, see index to Reynolds.

[43] Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 271. Consult index for other references.

in the Revolutionary War with Washington, and was in the battle of White Plains. When he first came to Illinois, he settled in the American Bottom, so called because of the settlement of that locality by settlers from the other states of other than French extraction. Afterwards, he led a settlement father north to what he called New Design. He took a live interst in public affairs, and during the course of his life here served as a justice of the peace and judge of the County Court. He was one of the earliest opponents of slavery and it is claimed that he had an understanding with Thomas Jefferson in regard to the prevention of slavery in the State. He was deeply religious, became a minister of the Baptist church and one of the most influential of that denomination in his day. He raised a large family, several of whom became Baptist ministers, and exerted a profound influence in the early days.

Another highly respected and worthy Irish pioneer was William Scott, who came to Kaskaskia in 1797. He was the originator of the settlement known as the Turkey Hill Settlement, and he himself was known as "Turkey Hill" Scott. The settlement became conspicuous throughout the entire country, and Scott lived to the ripe old age of eighty-three.[44]

Amongst the ablest and most representative men of old Kaskaskia were the Morrisons, William, Robert and James, who were very substantial merchants as early as 1790.[45] The Moores, James, William, Risdon and others, also were among the very prominent men of old Kaskaskia.[46]

Several other worthy pioneers of that early day in and around Kaskaskia deserve at least mention here. Amongst them Daniel Flannery, John McCormick, James Kincaid, Charles Gill, William Drury, James Piggot, Samuel Hanley, Martin Carney, A. M. Laskey, John Clark, John Cochran, Catherine Ryan (widow), Lawrence Kenegan, Joseph Lambert, Mary Crow (widow), Mary Moony (widow), James Moore, Thomas Bradley, George Powers, William Tobin, James Bryan, James Garrison, Thomas Callaghan, Thaddeus

[44] William Scott was born of Irish parents. Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 205.

[45] My only authority for stating that the Morrisons were Irish is verbal. I have been told by descendants and relatives of the families they were of Irish extraction. Apparently they were not Catholics as William Morrison, the leader, was converted and baptised a Catholic late in life. See Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 164, 165.

[46] As to the Moores, of whom there were three families, I have no authority for stating their nationality outside of the name which is almost always borne by Irish.

Bradley, Henry McLaughlin, John Brady, Michael Roach. John Hays was sheriff of St. Clair County from 1798 to 1818. William St. Clair was lieutenant-colonel in command of the first regiment of St. Clair County.

Irish in the Territory and State

In the Legislature of the original Northwest Territory, which included Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and later in the Indiana Territorial Legislature, which included Indiana and Illinois, and lastly in the Illinois Territorial Legislature, there had been many able Irishmen whom we must overlook at this time, but because of the present interest in the State Centennial just past, we will notice just one such legislator, viz: Dr. William Bradsby.[47] In Dr. Bradsby we have a conspicuous example of a great man very little known. Men who have done much less for our country and State have been accorded great honors and distinctions, and yet I doubt if a score of readers remember of ever having heard the name of Dr. Bradsby mentioned. Yet it was Dr. Bradsby who introduced and pressed the resolution for the admission of the territory of Illinois into the Union as a State, which resolution, against strong opposition, was passed, and thus the great event celebrated during the whole of 1918 was accomplished.[48] Before that time, he had taken a definite stand more than once upon questions of the greatest moment. He was the father of the bill introduced to repeal the Indenture laws under which the provisions of the ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery were evaded,[49] and he signed the famous address against slavery that was the forerunner of the anti-slavery movement in this State.[50]

The Constitutional Convention of 1818, when called, was attended by Elias Kent Kane, Samuel O'Melvany, William McFatridge and James Lemen, who were certainly Irish, and John Messinger, Benjamin Stephenson, Caldwell Cairns, Enoch Moore, Hamlet Ferguson, Michael Jones, Thomas Kilpatrick and William McHenry, who were probably Irish, as delegates.

I have before spoken of Samuel O'Melvany and need only say

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[47] The father of William Bradsby came from Ireland in the middle of the eighteenth century. See note by Judge Gillespie in Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 336. For accounts of the Bradsby's consult index to Reynolds.

[48] Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, pp. 212, 213.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 261, note.

that he played quite a prominent part in this convention as a member of the committee on revision.

The leading spirit and light of the Constitutional Convention, however, was Elias Kent Kane.[51] Kane was easily the most brilliant lawyer of his day in Illinois. A Yale man of splendid address, the son of a brilliant Irishman who was caught in the reverses suffered by so many Americans on account of the war of 1812, a relative by descent of the famous Chancellor Kent in whose honor he was given his middle name, and who, independent of family, had made for himself an honored name in the new country to which he had removed in 1814. Kane was one of the five lawyers in the convention, and although but four years in the territory, he had been appointed a judge of the Territorial Court by the President of the United States. He had been in the trial of cases where he was opposed by Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and others of the great lawyers of the day. By sheer ability he dominated the convention, and has since been known as the "Father of the Constitution". Judge Breese, who studied law in Kane's office, said that the Constitution was written in Kane's office before the convention assembled.[52] As each constitution since adopted has been but a revision of that of 1818 with additions, we are justified in saying that Elias Kent Kane is the author of the organic law of Illinois. Kane was the first Secretary of State of Illinois and was United States Senator from 1825 to 1835. He died December 12, 1835, during his term of service in the United States Senate, and his remains lie buried on the hill opposite Old Kaskaskia.

Irish Governors of Illinois

After the adoption of the constitution, men of Irish blood continued to play an important part. During the territorial period, Ninian Edwards had been governor by appointment of the President. It is frequently stated that John Boyle was the first territorial governor. This statement is not literally correct. He was appointed

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[51] For an appreciative biography of Senator Kane see *Elias Kent Kane*, by Henry Barrett Chamberlain, in Publication No. 13, Illinois State Historical Library, pp. 162-170. Senator Kane was a Catholic. His daughter was the wife of Gov. Bissel who became a Catholic. For cut of Kane see Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, op. p. 266.

[52] John F. Snyder in note to *Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois*, Pub. No. 10, Historical Library of Illinois, p. 360. The table upon which Kane wrote the Constitution of 1818 is in the possession of St. Ignatius College, 1076 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago.

governor by the President, but being Chief Justice of the Territorial Court of Kentucky, he asked to be permitted to retain that post and an associate judge of that court, Ninian Edwards, was in his stead made Governor of the Territory of Illinois. When, however, the people were permitted a choice of governor, a friend of Kane's, Shadrach Bond, of Irish extraction,[53] was elected without opposition, and Kane was appointed Secretary of State, and has always been given credit for guiding the affairs of the new State.

Since Bond, there have been elected nine Governors of Irish blood, who have passed to their reward, viz: Coles, Reynolds, Duncan, Carlin, Ford, Oglesby, Palmer, Beveridge and Hamilton,[54] and four Lieutenant Governors, viz: Ewing,[55] Kinney, Casey[56] and Dougherty.[57] I speak only of the dead who have been honored by selection as Governor. Speaking of them in the order of time, it is interesting to recall that though Coles was considered cold and unpopular in his day he was the legitimate parent of sound anti-slavery agitation in this State and in the West, and the most potent force in creating the anti-slavery sentiment which placed Illinois amongst the leading anti-slavery states of the Union.

It would be unfair to dismiss Governor Reynolds with a few words. He was the first product of our prairies to reach exalted station and to be obliged to meet the complex question of a new and growing community with native ability alone unaided by any inheritance or any experience with large affairs. His lack of polish has been ridiculed, and he has been charged with a display of ignorance, but his public acts show him to have been guided by a sense of right. The difference between Reynolds and many other public men is well illustrated by a story which is told of one of his campaigns. In the early days much campaigning was done by means of dodgers and hand-bills as a sort of substitute for newspapers which were not so numerous then as in our day, and it is said that his opponent, who was a man of polish and education, got hold of a

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[53] Gray, *The Scotch-Irish in American History*, Pub. No. 9, Illinois Historical Library, p. 312.

[54] *Ibid.* For Palmer's nationality see his own *Memoirs*.

[55] Gray, 312.

[56] See biog. sketch by Judge Gillespie in Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 413, 414, 415. A son of Zadoc Casey practiced law in Springfield for several years and died there a Catholic, according to Palmer. *Bench and Bar*, Vol. II, p. 7077. Zadoc, the father was considered anti-Catholic one time.

[57] Dougherty "was always a Catholic," O'Neill in Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, p. 657.

hand-bill in which a small "i" was used for the personal pronoun of the first person. The opponent held the "Old Ranger" up to scorn for ignorance, and produced the hand-bill, which he said was Reynold's work, as an exhibit. In due time Reynolds fathered the work, although he was not a printer, and said that as his opponent had used all the big "I's" he had to resort to the small ones.

If Reynolds was deficient in some of the niceties of grammar and diction, he was at least alive to humanity. Upon the organization of the Northwest Territory, amongst the very first acts of the judge-legislators was a law providing for the whipping post, stocks, and pillory as punishment for crimes. If a resident were convicted of an offense, even a small one, he was to receive a stipulated number of lashes according to the gravity of the offense, "upon his bare back well laid on." By an act of January 5, 1795, passed by the judges of the Northwest Territory to which the Illinois country was then subject, a person convicted of the larceny of a sum not exceeding $1.50 might be punished by being publicly whipped upon his bare back not exceeding fifteen lashes. A long line of astute men, college graduates, cultured and polished, had succeeded each other in the government of the territories since 1788, when these laws were passed, but they had suffered them to remain unchanged. As soon as Reynolds attained some influence in the State of Illinois, he commenced to work for the repeal of these laws and the substitution of a humane prison system; and against a stubborn resistance succeeded in having them repealed, but not until 1832. Many have forgotten that right here in Illinois the whipping post, pillory and stocks existed until 1832, and that this so-called rude, uncultivated Irishman forced the repeal of the laws providing for such barbarous punishment against the opposition of the "high brows" of his day.

But Reynolds has more to his credit. He was one of the strongest proponents of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and he and another Irishman, Senator Michael Ryan, did much to promote the canal. Reynolds went to Europe in the interest of the canal. Besides his distinguished services as Governor, Judge, Member of Congress and Legislator, Reynolds has left us the best history of early Illinois yet written, even if the diction is not so chaste as in some others.[58]

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[58] Reynolds wrote two historical works, viz: *The Pioneer History of Illinois* and *A History of My Own Times*. They have been severely criticized by later writers for errors and inaccuracies and illogical arrangement. While it is true that not every statement made is exact and that some are erroneous, I think it

I have already had occasion to mention Governor Duncan in connection with his assistance to Major Croghan in the defense of Fort Stephenson. Duncan made a good Governor, but his independence as a member of Congress tended to make him unpopular with his party.

Carlin's administration was subject to no just criticism, and his charming manner and appearance, besides his personal heroism in the war of 1812, made him very popular.

In my judgment, Thomas Ford was the ablest Governor of Illinois prior to John M. Palmer. He came to the Governorship from the bench and was of the true judicial type. He was also strictly honest and unable to stretch his conscience even to advance his party's, his friends', or his own interests. He must ever be held in grateful memory as the man who saved Illinois from the stigma of repudiation of its debts. The justly revered Judge John D. Caton, another most distinguished Irishman,[59] gave utterance to a fine tribute to three of Illinois' great sons, two of whom have just been spoken of. Said the learned judge:

> Allow me to say that Illinois has produced three great men, whose conspicuous services will render their names immortal, and which should be commemorated by enduring monuments, and to whom we owe a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid. The first was Edward Coles, who was Governor of the State in 1824, and who saved the State from the black curse of African slavery, then and forever. The second was Thomas Ford, who was Governor in 1842, and who saved the State from the scarcely less blighting curse of repudiation; and the third was Abraham Lincoln, who saved the Union from dismemberment and the Nation from destruction. Not alone either of them, for all were assisted and supported by other great men whose names should be scarcely less honored, but they were the great leaders whose talents and whose integrity led the people to their great accomplishments. In all time to come posterity should bow its head in gratitude whenever either of these names should be spoken.[60]

The character and accomplishments of the subsequent governors

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safe to say that an equal number of errors or inaccuracies may be found in almost any treatise of similar scope. As to statements made from the author's personal knowledge, I consider them of greater probative value than the assertions or speculations of later writers who had no personal knowledge of the subjects treated. Reynolds was not a Catholic, nor was his parents. His father religiously was of the nature of the "Orangeman". Governor Reynolds married a Catholic French woman and helped to support the Church.

[59] Caton's grandfather, Robert Caton, was an Irishman by birth. Kirkland, *Story of Illinois*, p. 133. See also extended biographical sketch, Andreas, *History of Cook County*, pp. 267, 269, 270.

[60] *Sketch of Edward Coles*, p. 245.

is more familiar and need not be expressly alluded to here, but I feel that I would be recreant to my regard for him if I did not stop to commend Governor Palmer as the great champion of popular rights and amongst the first of our public men to realize the menace of special interests and willing to set his face against special legislation.

Irishmen of Distinction

There were other great public men of Irish extraction not hereinbefore mentioned that claim our admiration and commemoration, amongst the better known of whom may be mentioned General and President Ulysses S. Grant,[61] Stephen A. Douglas,[62] Senator John McLean,[63] Attorneys-General Benjamin H. Doyle,[64] William Meers,[65] James McCartney,[66] and Maurice T. Maloney.[67] Judges Robert McMahon,[68] John H. Ralston,[69] J. C. Gillespie,[70] John Dean Caton,[71] John H. Wilkey, and others. Amongst prominent statesmen, publicists and otherwise honored citizens: Adlai E. Stevenson, Vice-President, James S. Ewing,[72] Major James A. Connolly,[73]

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[61] For genealogy of U. S. Grant and Jefferson Davis see work of Mrs. John B. White of Kansas City, Missouri, recently published. Mrs. White shows that Grant and Davis were cousins. Their common ancestor was Samuel Simpson of Abington township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, born in 1706, died 1791. His father was Thomas Simpson, who emigrated from Ireland to America. Hanna Simpson Grant, mother of Ulysses S. Grant, was the third child of the John Simpson of Montgomery, Pennsylvania, above noted as the common ancestor of Grant and Davis.

[62] George H. Smyth, in *The Scotch and Scotch-Irish in America*, Magazine of American History, Vol. IV, p. 165. Douglas was a convert to Catholicism and died with the rights of the Church. See personal testimony of William J. Onahan in October, 1918, number of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, p. 178.

[63] The McLeans, Stevensons and Ewings were all of the same family. Dr. John W. Cooke of De Kalb University in a eulogistic address after the death of Adlai E. Stevenson said Stevenson was "lowland Scotch by descent and Irish by territorial location". See Publication No. 21, Illinois Historical Library, p. 25.

[64] I have no authority for asserting that Doyle was Irish, but I never knew a person by that name but was Irish.

[65] Mears was born in Ireland. Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 361.

[66] Born in Eniskillin, Ireland. Palmer, *Bench and Bar*, II, p. 1030.

[67] I knew Maloney and knew he was Irish and a Catholic. Born in County Kerry, Ireland, *Ibid.*, II, p. 823.

[68] Am relying on the name.

[69] Ralston was Irish. Snyder in Pub. No. 13, Illinois Historical Library, p. 215.

[70] Joseph Gillespie. Judge was Irish.

[71] See as to Judge Caton, note 59.

[72] See as to Stevenson and Ewing, note 63.

William W. O'Brien,[74] Robert K. McLaughlin,[75] an early State Treasurer, and the uncle of Governor Duncan, Joseph E. Medill[76] of the Chicago *Tribune*, Joseph Conway,[77] the earliest court clerk; amongst very early transients, Richard Taylor, the father of Zachary Taylor, and Zachary Taylor himself in the War of 1812, Robert Breckenridge, an ancestor of John C. Breckenridge, Jefferson Davis, and Mad Anthony Wayne, the fighting Irishman of the Revolution and subsequent Indian wars. Amongst first settlers there was the Byrd family of Cairo, Andy Donnegan, the first settler of Alton, Robert Forsyth, a half-brother of John Kinzie, the founder of Peoria, the Kellies, the first settlers of Springfield, James Piggot of East St. Louis, and Patrick Hanniberry, the first settler of Madison County. Amongst great Indian fighters were the Whitesides, the Hardings, Hulls, Reetors, James Curry, Thomas Higgins and John Dempsey.

It is not alone in civil life that men and women of Irish birth or ancestry have shed luster on their race in Illinois. Indeed they are particularly distinguished in the field of religion. What names stand out more prominently in the State's progress than those of Bishop Quarter, Bishop O'Regan, Bishop Duggan, Bishop Foley and Archbishop Feehan, and Father Tom Burke in the early days of Chicago, and Archbishops Spalding and Quigley of a later day.

It would be interesting, too, to trace the development of the State in its natural resources and follow the men of Irish blood into the factories, upon the railroads and waterways, in all of which they were important factors, both in the actual making and in the planning, and in the spirit of Thomas DeArcy McGee, the gifted Irish poet who took such keen interest in the colonization of Illinois, to look in upon the prosperous early day Irish farmers where—

> Sweet waves the sea of summer flowers
> Around the wayside cot so coy,
> Where Eileen sings away the hours
> That light my task in Illinois.

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[73] Was Irish and died a Catholic of my personal knowledge. See sketch, *Encyclopaedia of Biography of Illinois*, Vol. III, pp. 236-7-8.

[74] Well known as Irishman in Peoria and throughout the State.

[75] I rely upon the name.

[76] Son of Irish parents. Andrea, *History of Chicago*, Vol. II, p. 51.

[77] I rely upon the name. See sketch, Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 362.

The Irish homes of Illinois,
The happy homes of Illinois,
No landlord there can cause despair,
Nor blight our fields in Illinois.

But I cannot here enter into details with reference to all of these.

I have not forgotten that many of the men of whom I have spoken have been called Scotch-Irish, and that some of their descendants may wish them to be known as such. I have only ignored it. The same reasoning that would make them Scotch-Irish would prevent any one from becoming American, and I am opposed to that. A learned professor, the executive head of one of our state institutions of learning, in a laudatory address of one of our prominent Illinois statesmen said: "He belonged to the Scotch-Irish race * * * lowland Scotch by descent and Irish by territorial location. * * * There was never a drop of Irish blood in their veins."[78] Then the speaker lauds his subject as a great American as he really was, but the professor has said either too much or too little. By his declaration he has expatriated a good American. To be consistent, he should have averred that though he was territorially located in America, he didn't have a drop of American blood in his veins.[79]

Irish Warriors in Illinois

It would be but natural at any time to speak feelingly and endearingly of the men who in time of danger and necessity espoused the public cause and risked their all for their fellow countrymen, but with the sound of the war trumpet just dying away and the sight of our brave boys returning from the front in our eyes, we are the more prone to so speak.

Illinois has a proud record in the manner in which she has

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[78] See Pub. No. 21, Illinois Historical Library, p. 25.

[79] George H. Smyth, writing as a Scotch Irishman and defending the hyphenated title, gives the origin of the Scotch-Irish as the Celtic tribes of Ireland, says: "The Scots are of this race, and our earliest knowledge of them is in Ireland, from which they migrated to Scotland." See Magazine of American History, Vol. IV, p. 161. Presumably these are the people who came back from Scotland to Ireland and because of their short visit to Scotland some are inclined to attach the Scotch appellation.

Michael J. O'Brien, in his excellent work, *A Hidden Phase of American History—Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty*, has exploded the "Scotch-Irish" invention. See Chapter XVI, p. 286 *et seq.*, and other references in the same work.

responded to the nation's call in time of war, and the men of Irish blood within her borders have proven themselves worthy to share the glory she has attained. I have taken so much time with others I can scarcely more than call some of the names of some of Illinois' heroes of Irish birth or extraction, and do that, regretting that the list is necessarily incomplete.

Amongst the more conspicuous figures upon our military roll of honor set down as Irish or of Irish extraction may be named, General Ulysses S. Grant, General James Shields, General James A. Mulligan, General John A. Logan, General John A. McClernand, General Richard J. Oglesby, General Michael Kelly Lawler, General James McPherson, General John M. Palmer and General William P. Carlin, Colonel M. F. Lynch, Colonel Arthur Ducat and Colonel Timothy O'Meara.

Among the higher officers of the Civil War from Illinois the following numbers are known to have been Irish: General in Command, 1, (General Grant, the only General from Illinois); Major Generals, 4; Brevet Major Generals, 6; Brigadier Generals, 11; Brevet Brigadier Generals, 12. Of the original commanding officers of the volunteer organizations, 23 are known to have been Irish, Eighty-three soldiers with unmistakable Irish names died in Andersonville Prison.

Many of these are so well known as to need no mention here. Some have, however, received less notice than they deserve, and I feel constrained to direct attention to the life of a few of these men and urge a study of their records to the end that they may be appropriately honored and commemorated.

General Michael Kelly Lawler

All Illinois, and Southern Illinois especially, has reason for great pride in the war record of General Michael Kelly Lawler,[80] although, if I mistake not, his name is unfamiliar to many. Lawler was born in the county of Kildare, Ireland, and came with his parents to Gallatin county, Illinois, when about five years old. When he grew up he was a good soldier in the Mexican War and at once plunged into the Civil War. His regiment, the eighteenth Illinois, was amongst the very first mustered into the service, preceding that of Turchin's, the nineteenth, the first regiment from Chicago. It is said

[80] See tribute to Lawler in *Southern Illinois in the Civil War*, by Bluford Wilson, published in Publication No. 16, Illinois Historical Library, pp. 101, 102.

of Lawler's regiment that "No regiment fought harder or rendered prompter or better service. At Donaldson, wheer he was wounded, they held fast and firm the gate through which the rebels sought to escape." For his gallant services Lawler was made a Brigadier-General and afterwards highly distinguished himself and won the lasting ogod will of General Grant and his staff by his smashing victory over the rebels at Big Black and by his fine behavior in pressing the seige and capture of Vicksburg. On one occasion, when sitting with his officers around the camp fire discussing subjects of interest in connection with the war, and amongst other topics the Generals, Grant said: "When it comes to just plain, hard fighting, I would rather trust old Mike Lawler than any of them." Mike Lawler was so plain and unassuming and so were his friends that he has been forgotten.

Major General James Shields

Another of the great men of Illinois, Irish by birth, and distinguished by his own efforts, perhaps above all others, was General James Shields,[81] the hero of the battles of Padierna, Cherubusco and Chepultepec in the Mexican War and justly renowned as the only commander in the Civil War who had the distinction of routing the almost invincible Irish general, Stonewall Jackson. In addition, he was a faithful and diligent public servant in time of peace, the honest judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois and the renowned statesman who had the unique distinction of having served his country in the United States Senate as a representative from three different states.

General Shields rendered a signal service in a most peculiar way and by an incident but vaguely remembered. Almost at the beginning of his career, he was appointed Auditor of State for the State of Illinois. On account of a ruling made by him that the revenues of the State could not be paid in the depreciated State Bank currency of the time but must be paid in coin, he was made the subject of attack from many quarters. Amongst others, Abraham Lincoln, then at the threshold of his career, attacked Shields, but anonymously

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[81] A very satisfactory *Life of Shields* by William H. Condon is available. For an admirable address on Shields see Francis J. O'Shaughnessey in Pub. No. 21 of Illinois State Historical Library, p. 113, also cut of General Shields. For Archbishop Ireland's address on the occasion of unveiling the statue of Shields in Minnesota, October 20, 1914, see *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, October, 1914, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 271.

through the Illinois State Journal. For the effect of it, Lincoln assumed the manner of a rustic woman, "Rebecca of the Lost Township". Although the letter contained some very ugly statements, it is possible that Shields would have ignored it, but there were at that time in the Springfield "Smart Set" two young society women who afterwards married conspicuous husbands, who were, thoughtlessly, perhaps, taken into Lincoln's confidence in respect to the ananymous letter and they on their own account pursued the subject, writing more letters over the same pseudonym and also writing verses which were published in the Journal. Their letters and verses contained matters which reflected upon Shield's nationality. They were written in a vein of ridicule and Shields was referred to as "The pride of the North from Emerald Isle." Shields, being a man of strict honor, at once demanded of the Journal the name of the anonymous contributor that he might settle the score with him in a manly way. The editor of the Journal consulted with Mr. Lincoln, and frank, honest man that he was, Lincoln authorized the editor to disclose his name but did not implicate the society women. Shields, immediately upon learning the author's name, challenged Lincoln to fight a duel, as was the custom of the day, for vindication of character. Lincoln could do nothing but accept, and as he was the challenged party, he had the choice of weapons and chose swords. Of course the arrangements for the duel created much interest and mutual friends sought to prevent it, and after much neighborhood talk, Shields learned that only the first letter had been written by Lincoln, and since that fact had been divulged by others, Lincoln felt released from any obligation of confidence and wrote Shields as follows:

> I did write the "Lost Township" letter of the second instant, but had no participation in any form in any other article. I had no intention of injuring your personal or private character or offending you as a man or a gentleman, and I did not think and do not now think, that that article could produce or has produced that effect against you. And had I anticipated such an effect I would have refrained from writing it. And I will add that your conduct toward me so far as I know, has always been gentlemanly and I had no personal grudge against you and no cause for one.[52]

Shields graciously accepted this frank apology and the incident

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[52] For a detailed account of this affair see Condon, *Life of General James Shields*, pp. 43 to 50. This affair is detailed fully in Herndon's *Life of Lincoln*, the work of Lincoln's former partner, which it was sought to suppress. The ladies who stirred up the trouble were Miss Todd, who became Lincoln's wife, and Miss Jayne, who became the wife of Lyman Trumbull.

itself was closed, but as is apparent from allusions made at intervals during Lincoln's lifetime, it made a profound impression upon him, helping to make him broad and tolerant and inculcating a wholesome respect for the feelings and convictions of others.

General James A. Mulligan

One of the dearest memories of the Civil War is the life and record of services of the gallant and charming General James A. Mulligan, Chicago's own favorite. Readers are more or less familiar with his Irish Brigade, his heroism and his sad fate. The world cannot know too much of his beautiful character, and his patriotic spirit lives on in the young men of Illinois of today, inspiring them to pour out their all, if need be, upon the altar of their country. Somewhat is known of Mulligan's Iriish Brigade, but I think less is known of the real man. A passage in one of his letters indicates his character. In writing a friend, also an officer, who had apparently with good reason complained that all who performed valuable services were not always suitably recognized, and such was admittedly the case with Mulligan, he said:

> Bide your time * * * and if our country never remembers us, yet our consciences will applaud. So, full of faith in our cause, full of hope for our country, full of animation to cheer our comrades, full of courage to strike the foe, full of charity to forgive him, fallen, let us go forward to victory, unity, happiness.

While encamped near Petersburg, Virginia, he was invited, as he was an able orator, to deliver an address on the topic of the day at a large meeting about to be held, and said:

> In reply to your letter of the 6th instant, inviting me to address the citizens of your district on the war and its issues, permit me to say that I am now under an engagement which I am unwilling to disregard—to address the enemy of this district on the same subject.
>
> The real rostrum of the day is the rifle pit, and therein we are pleading for the inviolability of the Union with Enfield rifles; we are arguing for the continued honor and nationality of our government with six-pounders. Argument by mere words has failed and been refused by our adversaries, who are active and resolute men, despising rhetoric, but yielding due respect to the argument of ball and sabre.

Mulligan was an ardent patriot and a great recruiting power. He urged the Irish especially to join the colors and show their patriotism by their acts. It was he that coined the very apt phrase for characterizing the hypocrits amongst us who, he said, "are invincible in peace but invisible in war." He gave up his young

life to his country as willingly as the tree yields it's fruit or the vine it's bloom.[83]

The Irish Legion

There was another gallant Irish regiment in the Civil War which, though one of the most aggressive and successful units of the entire war, has almost passed from the memory of men. I refer to the "Irish Legion", the Ninetieth Illinois Infantry, organized under the very shadow of the pro-cathedral, "Old St. Mary's" and under the auspices and inspiration of Rt. Rev. Bishop James Duggan and Very Rev. Dennis Dunne, the Vivar-General of the Chicago diocese. The colonel of the regiment was Timothy O'Meara, who was killed at the front in one of the earliest engagements of the regiment, and every officer and every man was Irish. The regiment acquitted itself nobly in the battles of Coldwater, Jackson, Vicksburg, Collierville, Mission Ridge Resaca, Dallas, Atlanta, Jonesboro, Lovejoy Station, Fort McAllister and with Sherman in his memorable march to the sea.[84]

Amongst the relics of the Civil War, those cherished mementoes drenched in blood and consecrated with tears preserved by the State in Memorial Hall in the State House at Springfield is a green flag, the banner of the Ninetieth Illinois, with the record of its engagements and the badge of Logan's army inscribed upon it. During the march to Chattanooga and while the men of the regiment were lying by the roadside on the 5th day of December, 1863, the twentieth corps was passing to the lead for the day's march and one of its stragglers with a full "haversack" asked a man of the Ninetieth his corps number. "The Fifteenth," was the reply. "What is your badge?" "Badge?" says the man of the Ninetieth, as he slapped his cartridge box, "we have no badge but forty rounds." General Logan heard the story and adopted a cartridge box inscribed "forty rounds" set diagonally on a square as the badge of the Fifteenth Corps.

I shall account it a proud and happy day if by the help and approval of those interested I shall be able to publish in some detail the story of the Irish in early Illinois and the names and records of the officers and men of those great war organizations, the "Irish

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[83] The best account of General Mulligan in print is that given by T. M. Eddy, D. D., editor of the *Northwest Christian Advocate*, in his *The Patriotism of Illinois*.

[84] The history of the Ninetieth Infantry will be found in the Adjutant-General's Report, Illinois, 1861 to 1866, Vol. V, pp. 209-10-11, and the roll of officers and men on pp. 289 to 308 *ibid.*

Brigade" and the "Irish Legion". In that list will be found Kelly, and Burke and Shea and on that great day alluded to by our gifted poet, J. I. C. Clarke:

> When Michael, the Irish Archangel, stands,
> The angel with the sword,
> And the battle-dead from a hundred lands,
> Are ranged in one big horde,
> Our line that Gabriel's trumpet wakes,
> Will stretch three deep that day
> From Jehosephat to the Golden Gates,
> Kelly and Burke and Shea,

I pray that the brave fellows who fought to win and maintain for us the richest heritage amongst God's earthly gifts will take their places with the good and faithful servants to enter upon the perfect kingdom.

Citizens of Illinois of Irish birth or ancestry are proud of their State and the State is proud of the great body of such citizens who have here made their homes. And right well may she be. They tamed her wilderness; they guarded her frontiers; they developed her prairies; they built her railroads and dug her waterways; they fought her battles and they made her laws.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

THE CHICAGO CATHOLIC INSTITUTE AND CHICAGO LYCEUM

The first Catholic literary society organized in Chicago was The Chicago Catholic Institute. The date of organization was January 8th, 1854.

Chicago's population in 1854 was 65,000, a mere handful in comparison with the nearly 3,000,000 of the present day.

The pioneers even then displayed that determination to "get ahead" that has made Chicago grow. They were resolved to advance intellectually as well as materially.

A few other organizations of a somewhat similar character were in existence before the Catholic Institute. The Mechanics' Institute, which was educational in its nature, and not a form of labor union as the name might indicate, was twenty years old. The Young Men's Association, a library society, had been in existence for four years when the Chicago Catholic Institute was organized.

Education was also advancing. The University of St. Mary of the Lake was ten years old; parochial schools were flourishing; ten public schools had a combined enrollment of 3,500.

I.

In the winter of 1853 a proclamation was published in the "Western Tablet" the first Catholic newspaper published in Chicago, asking all men interested in Catholic affairs to assemble in the law offices of John E. McGirr. An account of the first meeting held in pursuance of the call was entered on the minutes of the Society by the temporary secretary, James A. Mulligan. These minutes are to be found in a book bearing conclusive evidence of age and usage, endorsed "The Minutes of the Chicago Catholic Institute Organized January 8th, 1854." A report of this first meeting reads as follows:

In consequence of a Call published in the "Western Tablet" many of the Catholicks of the City assembled at the Law Rooms of J. E. McGirr and proceeded to a temporary organization.

Mr. Francis H. Taylor was called to the Chair and Wm. Linton made Secretary. The purpose and advantages of the Society were then explained by the Chairman, after which a Constitution draughted by the Committee of a preparatory meeting was submitted and adopted for one month and subscribed by twenty-eight members. The same

Committee with the addition of Dr. McGirr were appointed to revise the Constitution and By-Laws and report a month hence.

A motion to elect officers for the time of the present Constitution carried and the voting resulted in the unanimous election of the following gentlemen:

JOHN E. MCGIRR, President
F. H. TAYLOR, Vice-President
JAMES A. MULLIGAN, Secretary
WILLIAM A. LINTON, Cor. Secretary
JOHN DAVLIN, Treasurer
A. TAYLOR, Librarian

A Committee composed of Messrs. Dunn, Young, Meagher, Taylor, Davlin, Tally and Mulligan were appointed by the Chairman to collect books and secure subscriptions for a Library.

The following question to be debated at the next regular meeting was proposed by Wm. Linton and adopted:

Resolved, That the War of the U. S. with Mexico was justifiable. The President appointed as disputants A. M. Tally and James A. Mulligan on the Affirmative, and Wm. Linton and Perry on the Negative.

A motion to adjourn and meet at the same place at 7:00 P. M. of the 15th inst. was carried.

JAMES A. MULLIGAN, Secretary.[1]

The aims of the organizers are indicated in the following provisions of the Constitution."

CONSTITUTION OF CHICAGO CATHOLIC INSTITUTE

Whereas, A variety of organizations are now in existence whose sole purpose and object are to misrepresent us in our motives, civil and religious, we deem it proper to associate peaceably and legally in order to protect ourselves and promote the prosperity of the Catholic Body.

Resolved, Therefore that we organize into an association to be called The Chicago Catholic Institute.

The objects of the Association are to establish a Catholic Library and Reading Rooms, to provide for the delivery of Lectures explanatory of the principles of the Catholic Church as to her History, Philosophy and Politicks. To present to the Catholicks of Chicago opportunities and incentive for improvement. To multiply the sources of information and to promote a friendly intercourse and exchange of thought among the members of the Catholic Body and to excite and maintain a laudable zeal for the honor and character of Catholicity. Any Catholic of good moral character may become a member of the Institute.

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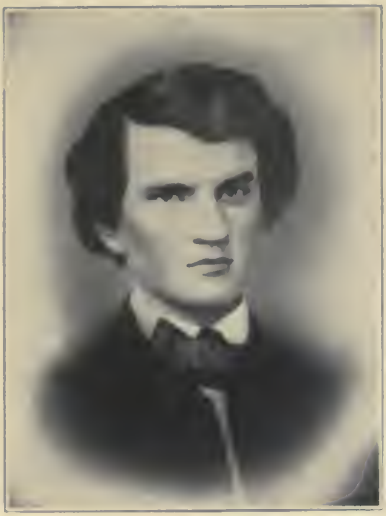
[1] We quote liberally from the Minute Books and from the Journals of a member because it is impossible to improve on the quaintness and charm of the originals.



WILLIAM J. ONAHAN

JAMES A. MULLIGAN

"The Chicago Catholic Institute"

The Objects of the Association are to establish a Catholic Library and Reading Room - to provide for the delivery of Lectures explanatory of the principles of the Catholic Church as to her History, Philosophy and Politicks. To present to the Catholics of Chicago, opportunities to cultivate Improvement To multiply the sources of information and to promote a friendly intercourse and Exchange of Thought among the Members of the Catholic Body and to excite and maintain a laudable zeal for the honor and Character of Catholicism —

(Handwriting of James A. Mulligan)

OBJECT OF THE CHICAGO CATHOLIC INSTITUTE AND TWO OF THE BOYS WHO WERE ACTIVE IN ITS ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT

Then follows the usual routine concerning the duties of officers all written in the firm and characteristic hand of the gallant hero of Lexington, James A. Mulligan.

Episcopal Approval

Bishop O'Regan wrote a letter of approval to the members of the Institute which is in part as follows:

Chicago, September 29, 1854.

To the Members of the Catholic Institute,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear and Respected Friends:

I have examined with much satisfaction the Constitution and Laws of your Institute. Not only has it my approval, but also I justly feel in its prosperity, an interest fully commensurate with the benefits which such societies when carefully directed are calculated to confer on religion and society.

Your cordial and unanimous acceptance of the few but important additions to your rules which I deemed it expedient to suggest, demands the expression of my respect and pleasure. Continue steadfast and combined mindful that religion is your object and your mission becomes effectually accomplished. With zeal and perseverance and the spirit of union and charity which your duties are so well suited to inspire your Institute will not only live but even prosper, not unlike the growth of your fine and fortunate city.

Have the goodness to accept as my first contribution to your library some few books which as soon as I can open the cases that contain them, I will place in the hands of your librarian. They are a copy of the Bible. *The Lives of the Saints* by Rev. Alban Butler, *The Evidences of the Catholic Church* by Archbishop McHale, *Primacy of the Holy See* by the Archbishop of Baltimore, *Napier's History of the Peninsular War, Lingard's England, Mitford's History of Greece.* Accept the assurance of my best wishes, of my esteem and friendship.

Anthony, Bishop of Chicago.

Thus with full episcopal sanction the gallant little ship of Lay Catholic Literary Activities in the Diocese of Chicago set sail, the meagre sum of seven dollars and seventy-five cents having been already collected as initiation fees.

By-Laws

One of the first By-Laws was that every member should be a practical Catholic and the words "practical Catholic" are underlined twice by these pioneer Knights of Columbus.

Another By-Law reads that every clergyman in the diocese shall

be *ipso facto* a member of the Institute. By-Law VIII reads "Boys between the ages of 14 and 18 years can be admitted as members at half the fixed rates, provided they are orphans or that their parents are non-residents of the City or are Members of the Institute."

By-Law IX is even more interesting: "Women shall be permitted to take books from the Library as the regular members of the Institute are permitted upon the payment of one dollar *in advance* to the Librarian and they will be subject to all the Rules and By-Laws which govern the members concerning the Library." Women, it will be seen were taken into consideration even in those early days, but the exception is a significant one, payment *in advance* was strictly enjoined.

Lecture Courses

Arrangements were made for lectures and Mr. Bakewell, the first lecturer was presented with $50, was given a complimentary supper and was made an honorary member. It must not be supposed that every lecturer was so generously rewarded for the finances of the Institute would not stand the strain.

Among the other lecturers invited were Messrs. Kenny[2] and Garesché[3] of St. Louis, Thomas d'Arcy McGee[4] and James A. McMaster, the fiery editor of the *New York Freeman's Journal.* The following is a list of the lecturers before the Institute:

Course I. (1854) Mr. Bakewell. (2) Mr. Jones of the Vindicator. (3) John E. McGirr (Temperance). (4) William Lantry. (5) John E. McGirr, Influence of the Catholic Church on Society. (6) James A. Mulligan.

Course II. J. V. Huntington, Kenny, Garesché, McGee, McMaster, Orestes A. Brownson.

Course III. Names not preserved.

Course IV. 1856-7.

Rev. Chandler, "Affection," "Influence of Trade on the Nation," "Refutation of the Charge That 'Catholicity is an Impediment to Progress' "; John Mitchell; John B. Gough; Bishop John Lancaster Spaulding "The Crescent and the Cross"; Rev. P. Donlan "The Massacre of St. Bartholemew's"; Geo. C. Leach "Spiritualism"; Jas. A. Mulligan; Edward Everett; Thomas Francis Meagher "Royalty and Republicanism."

Course V. 1858-9. Dr. Butler, Father Dillon and F. L. Nicholas.

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[2] Kenny has not been identified.

[3] Garesche has not been identified.

[4] The great poet and writer.

Troubled Waters

The Institute had a disagreement with the officers of the University of St. Mary of the Lake which seems to have been taken more or less seriously. James A. Mulligan, Recording Secretary makes a note of the quarrel in the minutes of the Society in which, with the effervescence of youth he displays rather prodigally his classics:

"Based on a good cause, animated with an honest purpose, knit by truth and adversity, our Institute has sustained a nine months conflict and come out crowned with the Episcopal Sanction.

Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum.

Yet much irritation have the members endured, much suffered in their good name, much lost in temporal advantage.

Vi Superum saevae memorem Collegii ob iram."

The past is secure and honorable, the future awaits our telling and adorning. We enter upon the work with the earnest wish *Divinum auvilium maneat semper.*"

Chit Chat of the Institute

There are of course many incidents recorded in the minutes of these meetings held sixty-five years ago, when society was still quite primitive, that not alone interest but provoke a smile.

The first meeting of every year was given over to the election of officers. In 1855 the officers were James A. Mulligan, President; A. D. Taylor, Vice-President; Patrick Roche, Recording Secretary; Wm. Linton, Corresponding Secretary; Mike Lantry, Treasurer, and Mr. John Murphy, Librarian.

The first soirée was given at Metropolitan Hall, but its success is not known. The Bishop asked for a Committee to "inquire into the cost of repairing the Cathedral Fence." It is not stated in the minutes whether the committee turned in and repaired the fence but it is not at all improbable. Mr. J. Dolan acted as secretary for a time. His ingenious spelling is a real joy, serving as an illumination to various dun-colored pages. It is related that he made a proposal that a committee of five be appointed to fit up the basement of the Cathedral as a meeting hall. In recognition of his zeal he was the first appointed to go upon the committee. The zeal of Mr. Dolan was again manifested when he proposed, a short time later, to fine absentee members; doubtless, this motion was greeted with storms of applause. The same gentleman called for volunteers to teach Sunday School. To quote the minutes "Mr. Dolan complains of a scarcity of teachers for the Sunday School. Chairman called for

volunteers whereupon the meeting adjourned." A rather abrupt method of dodging the draft.

Another motion was that seats other than the steps of the altar be provided for the Sunday School scholars and teachers but this problem was found too weighty for the Institute to solve and after long and weary discussion was laid upon the table.

The officers for 1856 were B. G. Caulfield, President; James A. Mulligan, Vice-President; B. J. Dolan, Secretary.

Father Dillon wrote a letter to the Institute which was spread upon the minutes.

On May 4, 1856, a proposal was made by some of the priests to organize branch societies but the matter was dropped for the time being.

The society again moved,—this time from the basement of the Cathedral to a school room attached to Holy Name Church.

The officers for 1857 were B. M. Thomas, President; Phil. Conley, Vice President; W. J. Onahan, Recording Secretary; James A. Mulligan, Corresponding Secretary; B. G. Caulfield, Treasurer; John Murphy, Librarian.

The Institute moved to the Metropolitan Building in March, 1857; on motion of Mr. B. G. Dolan, Mr. John Murphy was made furniture mover to convey the belongings of the Institute to the new building. A Reading Room was established bu a rather primitive method of protecting it from theft was adopted. The key was to be left under the mat at the door!

James A. Mulligan was recognized by all as one of the most eloquent members; he was invited therefore to give the last lecture of the season. The subject of the lecture was "The Chivalry of the Republic."

A Change in Character

The panic of 1857 had a decidedly injurious effect upon the Institute, but the same cause turned the attention of the members to the need for charitable work and on motion of one of the members the Institute dropped in large measure its literary character and became one of the early branches of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

The Institute was thus changed not because the members had grown tired or lost interest, but because its benevolent purposes could be better served when the members belonged to a conference of the St. Vincent de Paul than as an Institute with other aims in view. The literary feature of the society was maintained by a Debating Club

which was organized in the Institute and is deserving of separate treatment.

Benefits Derived From the Institute

From the worthy achievements if the Institute it is easy to believe that the Divine help did always remain with it. The intellectual benefits of such an institution are many and great lectures by the great scholars and journalists of the country such as Orestes A. Brownson, James A. McMaster and many others were rare opportunities for culture. It may be said in passing that this kind of work has been attempted by succeeding societies, but perhaps with less success. Then there was the broadening effect of an exchange of ideas in the Debating Club, training the members to clear and accurate habits of thought and laying the foundation for accomplished orators of later times. The library of the Institute was another admirable feature, predecessor to the Catholic and the Public Libraries. The members also taught Christian Doctrine, furnishing valuable and very necessary information to both teachers and pupils.

In the social world the benefits were equally important: the Institute brought together the prominent Catholics of the city, thus producing a mutual betterment. Most of the Catholic social gatherings such as card-parties, soirées, fairs, dances, etc., of the time were brought about by the Catholic Institute. The St. Vincent de Paul Society had not yet established a conference in the city, and so the Institute performed the work of aiding the poor. The hard times brought about by the money panic of '57 impoverished many families and brought not a few to the brink of starvation; the Institute is eminently worthy of praise for its great work in alleviating the sufferings of the poor and in providing them with food, shelter and clothing.

Nor must we forget the moral benefit of the Institute to its members: it was the practice to receive Holy Communion at regular and frequent intervals. The Catholic Institute constituted an efficient body of laymen to represent and defend the Church before the public.

It is said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." We have then only to consider the great men whose characters were in some part formed in the Catholic Institute to realize its value; men who, subsequently were found in the van of all progressive movements, whether Catholic or civic in the City of Chicago.

II.

The Debating Club

A debating society known as the Chicago Lyceum had gone out of existence just a few years before. Many of its members were also members of the Chicago Catholic Institute. Debates seemed to draw a larger attendance than anything else and so at one of the meetings of the Institute a Debating Club was brought into existence by the following resolution:

Whereas, One of the objects of the Chicago Catholic Institute, in addition to its religious and benevolent purposes—being the moral and intellectual improvement of its members, therefore, Resolved, That upon the application of twelve members of the Chicago Catholic Institute, permission be given to organize a Debating Club to be composed of members of the body. They shall make such rules for their guidance as they deem essential, providing none of them conflict with the established law of the Institute,—in which case it will be null and void. March 21, 1858.

It is not stated how many made application but the total enrollment of the Debating Club was thirty-eight, more than three times the necessary number. There may have been many more members, but the Roll gives only the following: Tom Brady, Stephen Barrett, Tom Brenan, J. M. Brann, Philip Conley, W. S. Clowrey, M. L. Donnelly, Jas. Daly, M. A. Donohue, B. J. Dolan, Duffy, C. F. Frazer, Ravel, John L. Walsh, Andy Fogarty, Jas. Finerty, Gallivan, Hanlon, Edward Hayden, Mike Hall, Kinsella, Wm. Keogh, H. McQuimby, Mike Keeley, Jos. J. Kearney, Thos. J. Kelly, Jas. E. Kelly, M. Kinny, Roche, Jno. L. Moloney, Terrence Maguire, Perry McAlpine, Jno. E. McGirr, Chas. McCarthy, Ed. McGillen, Thos. McQueeney, McQuimby, McMillan, Thos. Neilson, W. J. Onahan, M. W. O'Brien, Jas. J. O'Sullivan, John R. Walsh.

James A. Mulligan was also a member but his name is not on the roll. The project seems to have been planned by M. W. O'Brien[5] and William J. Onahan for the journal of the latter gives the following account:

My Pet Project

Perservance will accomplish wonders; and assiduous effort will overcome every obstacle. The long talked of project of forming a Debating Club in connexion with the Institute has now taken a definite form, and promises well for the future. To-night we had the preliminary meeting and made some arrangements towards drafting

[5] Michael W. O'Brien removed to Detroit and there became a prominent banker.

rules for our guidance. Clowrey, O'Brien, Brenan, Donnelly, Brann and others, were active and zealous in the undertaking.

Our purpose was not permitted to pass without opposition; there was a clique among us endeavoring to organize a Singing School in place of a Debating Club. Clancey was at the head of the opposition and stoutly contended against our design, followed by two impetuous gabblers whose ears should be as long as their tongues, to harmonize.

Logic was of no avail, arguments were lost upon them, they could not be convinced that a Debating Club was a wholesome institution. But we beat them on all points, on the floor and in the ballot box, and a Debating Club was ordered.

I cannot conceal the gratification with which this result is hailed by me, nor the pleasure to be derived from its continued success for a long time. O'Brien and myself have planned this design, and only waited the favorable moment to accomplish it. If it succeeds I predict that it will be the life and soul of the Institute, and be of vast benefit to all concerned. *Long may it wave.*

March 12.[6]

This same journal also describes the organization of the club as follows:

Adopting a Constitution

The Club Committee have fixed upon the rules for the guidance of our embryo Debating Club, and it now only remains to present them to the August body—by whom we were appointed and received our commission.

Friday evening came and with the voluminous document in hand down I went after the usual formula, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Chicago Catholic Institute Debating Club were duly read, and then came a warm discussion on their adoption or rejection. There was a stout opposition from a clique who favored the organization of a Singing School—among the most prominent of whom were, Brann, Clancey, and a young O'Connell (who was in no way a possessor of the attributes of a scion of that worthy house) they opened the whole thing bitterly—didn't want a Debating Club, 'twould be a failure—a complete fizzle—what element of support could it rely on? And then a Singing School was such a pressing necessity. Our church music and services would be greatly aided by the cultivation of this talent among our people, etc.

Our most potent argument against them was—Ridicule, and the Constitution, with the one we deprived them of their patience and with the other, they were completely overthrown.

The Constitution was finally adopted although we had to vote it through clause by clause, which we did without having added a single

[6] Mr. Onahan was a prolific writer and kept much memoranda. These entries in his journal and other contemporary writings noted, will illustrate the buoyancy of youth in comparison with many profound utterances of the same writer in his later, mature life. (Ed.)

amendment, and now the Chicago Catholic Institute Debating Club from this forth dates its existence. May it grow and prosper!

Chicago, March 19, 1858.

The description of the opening night is an interesting entry:

THE OPENING NIGHT!

In the history of nations—as in the career of individuals—there seem periods in which are centered the destiny of one or the other, and in looking closely at the train of incidents that direct either result, we find that upon the fortunes of the day—aye perhaps an hour depend the important results.

There are some days in the history of a nation that posses a more fitting subject for the pen of a historian, than whole centuries perhaps that have preceded it.

Look for a moment at the history of any of the ancient empires, and is not all their glory or degradation explained in the chronicles of a day? And even in our own time, how much has been dependent on the events of a day! And we actually mark the passage, or recollection of incidents of by-gone times. This however, by way of prelude or preface.

To-night marks an era in the history of our humble Debating Club, for it is the inauguration of the first debate under its auspices and there is much anxiety to know in what manner of way it will be disposed of. We met in the school room of St. ary—with its rows of uncouth, rough hewn benches upon which many a school boy tired of multiplication has exercised the Yankee faculty of whittling in a manner that evidences palpably, a lack of proficiency in the science or art.

Here and there the dim light of a tallow candle gleamed duskily through the room. The President sits at his dilapidated desk, by him the clerk or secretary of the house. Roll is called—minutes are read, and presently Finerty[7] opens on the question to be discussed (relating to Utah!) F. is an original character certainly. He possesses a voice of great power and has besides much vigor of action, although but little of its graces.

* * * * * * * * * *

I led off against him on the other side having technically if not really the best side of the question, it was not of course very difficult to obtain a decision for the negative.

Throwing aside the question of the discussion itself; there is something in the fact of having the club an established fact that seems worthy of passing notice.

It has long been a pet project of mine to have one established in connection with the Institute: and by this that design is successfully realized. Without doubt it will be an efficient auxiliary to the Institute.

Officers Elected

The first officers were: W. G. Clowrey, President; Stephen Barrett, Vice-President; M. L. Donnelly, Recording Secretary; J. M. Brann, Reader. The first debate was on the question, "Resolved, That the United States government as a government has the right to abolish the institution of bigamy as a religious institution of the Mormons." The debate was staged thus: Messrs. Finerty and Kelly on the affirmative, Onahan and Sullivan, negative.

A declaimer and essayist were appointed for each meeting, and, as often as not, were conspicuous by their absence. The officers were elected monthly but the office of president was monopolized by four gentlemen, Messrs. Clowrey and Donnelly, two terms each; M. W. O'Brien, four terms; James A. Mulligan presided during the last three months of the club's existence.

The minutes of May 21, 1858, are typical of the proceedings of the club and are here quoted in full:

Catholic Institute Hall, May 21, 1858

Pursuant to adjournment the Chicago Catholic Institute Debating Club held their regular weekly meeting, in the Chicago Catholic Institute Hall.

The President called the meeting to order at about 8 o'clock, during the absence of the secretary the president delivered his promised address. The secretary then entered. Minutes of last meeting were then read and affirmed. Mr. Murphy then read his essay, there being no declaimer, the debate was next in order which was opened in the affirmative by Mr. Onahan. Mr. Finerty followed in the negative. Mr. Barrett opposed Mr. Finerty in support of the affirmative. Mr. O'Brien sustained his point in favor of the negative. Mr. Onahan closed in the affirmative, and Mr. Finerty in support off the negative.

The subject by request of the President was *not* given over to the house for general debate. The President, after reviewing the arguments on both sides gave his decision in favor of the affirmative.

Questions were then submitted for approval when on motion of Mr. Onahan duly seconded the following question was submitted for debate this night two weeks:

Resolved, That the Mechanical Arts were carried to a higher state of perfection in Ancient, than in Modern Times.

The following disputants were appointed: Messrs. Keeley and Hanlon, affirmative; Messrs. Donnelly and McGirr, negative.

Mr. Duffy appointed Essayist; Tom Brenan, Declaimer.

Mr. Sullivan delivered the Critic's report.

On motion of Mr. Finerty duly seconded the meeting adjourned.

Tom Brenan, Secretary.

A most interesting sidelight is thrown by the journal of a member revealing much that is left unnoticed by the minutes.

Inauguration Debate

There has been somewhat of an indefinable awe, a quasi feeling of dread in view of the eireumstanees under whieh the exereises of the evening are eondueted.

A speeial oeeasion has been made of the one in question, indeed, 'tis whispered that the Club puts its best foot forward to-night. Whether this latter may have been the ease or not, 'tis nevertheless a faet that we felt mueh anxiety in its advent. The public and the ladies have been invited, and with the prospeet of a gathering of the fair ones and of many strangers in addition is it to be wondered at that our sensations on going down should be of the undeseribable kind. The question seleeted for diseussion was an interesting one being, "whether Prussia or the Allies had the more elaims to sympathy from the American people, for their part in the late Eastern war." As a matter of historieal referenee it must be reeorded that Messrs. Onahan and Barrett advoeated the affirmative, and Messrs. O'Brien and Finerty the negative. Sueh is in brief the plan of the battle ground and of the forees entered for the contest. On proeeeding to the Hall we find to our satisfaetion (although slightly tinged with disappointment) that not a spee of ealieo ean be seen among the audience, whieh was eomposed ehiefly of elub members with many strangers. Our President Clowrey, opens with the address whieh may be briefly eharaeterized as a spread eagle, high faluten composition, high sounding and deelamatory—it passed away leaving a wrinkled memory of it behind—the deelamation and eessay followed, and at last the debate was deelared in order, and the writer was ealled upon to open. Assuming a confidenee that had but shallow foundations we entered upon the debate and filled the allotted period of time as well as our poor abilities would permit.

Finerty followed. Then followed B—, leisurely, wearisome B—, leisurely unfolding a eopy of Brownson's Quarterly Review, for 1855, he proeeeds to eull the larger share of this speeeh therefrom. Indeed the President in summing up might have mentioned the very able arguments of Brownson, who, unfortunately for the affirmative was not appointed by the Club, and his arguments eould not therefore be entertained in the summing up and deeision.

It happened also, mueh to our ehagrin, that the quotations used were not of a nature that in any way added to the strength of the position taken by the affirmative. Sage O'Brien as eoadjutor of Finerty, speedily disposed of the quotations used by our "experienced friend" and then followed in a strain of deep and high sounding logie—too abstruse to be effective. He was only under good headway and just about—it is to be supposed—deduein his eonelusions, when the President elosed on him.

Having again taken position and disposed of fifteen minutes—we were followed in the elosing effort by our spread eagle friend F—, who was both profuse and diffuse.

The President deeided for the affirmative.

Friday evening, May 21, 1858.

Subjects of Debate

One of the subjects for debate was, "Resolved, That the recent outrages in the Gulf of Mexico by British cruisers would justify the United States in declaring war against England," a debate in which the affirmative probably won by a large and enthusiastic majority. Another was, "Resolved, That the United States should enforce the Monroe doctrine," as timely a subject at the present as it was 70 years ago.

Among other interesting debates were the following: "Resolved, That Henry Grattan had more claims to the gratitude of the Irish people than Daniel O'Connell." "Resolved, That the course pursued by the United States in declaring and carrying on War with Mexico was unjustifiable and not demanded by the honor of the country," showing that Mexico was then as now a troublesome thorn in the side. The newspaper press of those early days demanded some attention also as the following question for debate shows: "Resolved, That the newspaper press of these United States as at present conducted has a pernicious influence and that some restriction should be placed on its liberty."

Imagine the following subjects for debate between hot blooded Irishmen: "Resolved, That there is more to admire than to condemn in the public life of Oliver Cromwell"; Also, "That citizens of Irish birth have materially retarded their welfare and progress by acting in unison with the Democratic party."

The question whether a union of England and Ireland was of benefit to the latter was warmly discussed. Another subject of debate was "Resolved, That more real happiness and felicity are to be enjoyed in the married than in the single state." Whether ladies were allowed at this meeting or not we are not informed. Probably not, else the position of the gentlemen who took the negative side of this question would have been a precarious one.

We are fortunate in having the journal of a member at hand, for this gives more real information about the Debating Club and the Institute than the official record.

An Evening at the Club

Of late Club has lost much of the spirit and interest that marked its earlier days, the debates have become mere listless wearying dialogues without pith or point or argument, the members have gradually diminished in numbers until now it is with difficulty we can secure the attendance of a quorum, while the auditors have dwindled away into one or two struggling do-nothings.

This of course, is much to be regretted, and has occasioned those who clung by it since the organization a feeling of sore mortification at the result; hope, however, has not yet failed us—on the contrary, we still cling to the belief that the lapse of a few months will show a different state of things—that the Club will yet become a decidedly successful and worthy institution.

The exercises of the evening were somewhat of an exception to what we have been obliged to endure of late. Donnelly read an essay on "The Catholic Institute Fifty Years Hence," which is after the fashion of a dialogue between a member of the aforesaid time honored body and a stranger coming to our midst.

The spirit of the essay is a general puff of everybody and everything connected with the Institute—at the period looked to in the dialogue we have the finest hall in the West, the most complete appointments, the best scientific and chemical apparatus, in fact the Institute is all that is grand and comprehensive—the members that were identified with its earlier fortunes are then filling the highest stations in the land. (One might think indeed that they were privileged with a monoply). Some are Senators, others governors of states and territories while members are admitted into state legislatures or placed upon the judiciary bench. The writer was accorded the position of "Senator from Superior;" O'Brien the author of the Chicago Catholic Institute in four octavo volumes! Tom becomes Governor of the State of Arizona—and so on to the end of the chapter.

The debate next followed and as usual some of the debaters were numbered among the absentees, there was no alternative but to call for volunteers, no response being offered I ventured into the field to open on behalf of the affirmative—Tom and Walsh were the appointed disputants for the negative. The question was, "Resolved, That there is more to admire than to condemn in the public life of Oliver Cromwell."

Tom's position on the question made me perhaps somewhat eager to enter the lists against him, although the material weakness of my side and the odds preponderating so largely on the other were of a character in no way calculated to encourage, but rather to depress. Having opened the debate by a no doubt confused disgression upon the period of English history immediately preceding the Cromwellianera, Tom followed in a prepared discussion which was devoted to Ireland from beginning to end. The atrocities committed by the Pariamentary armies under the guidance of their general formed his whole sole and only theme.

There was a lamentable lack of knowledge of the history of this era displayed by the redoubtable leader of the Negative. This was evident in the fact that he confined himself carefully to Cromwell's career in Ireland and that alone.

This gave ample scope for the exercise of ridicule which I, although feebly, used against him, there were few present for whose judgment I was concerned and it was therefore an easy matter to rattle away against the opposition. I had the sole and undivided satisfaction of

sustaining the affirmative. Of course 'twas a pretty difficult matter to succeed in exalting the character of the stern and intolerant fanatic to the standard demanded by the Affirmative, so I need only record that the decision was given in favor of the negative.[7]

Wednesday evening, August 18, 1858.

The following passage is a testimony to the modesty of Mr. Mulligan and of his friend's high regard for him:

Election for officers took place and the following was the result: James A. Mulligan, President. . . . . The President then most emphatically resigned and his resignation was most reluctantly accepted. January 1, 1859.

This is the last recorded meeting of the Debating Club, as a page is here torn out of the minute book, which probably told of the Club's last meeting. The next page tells of the organization of a Chicago Lyceum, but we know little of the subsequent history of this body. Our information is confined to its character and its first meeting, which we here give:

Constitution and By-Laws of the Chicago Lyceum

Whereas, it is desirable to cultivate a friendly intercourse and exchange of sentiment amongst the Roman Catholics of Chicago; and to aid in the advancement of education and literary knowledge; and whereas the accomplishment of these ends can be speedily and effectually promoted by forming ourselves into an association for that purpose: Now, therefore be it resolved that we form ourselves into a Literary Society, to be known as the "Chicago Lyceum," and that we adopt the following Constitution and By-Laws.

As there was only one recorded meeting of the Chicago Lyceum, its minutes merit a verbatim reproduction. (This Chicago Lyceum that we are now writing of must not be confused with the former

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[7] There is a species of delight to everyone who in earlier life interested himself in mutual organizations in the wholeheartedness of this early Chicago "joiner." Mr. Onahan joined every Catholic society or movement of his time that held any promise of benefit or advancement for his Church, his country or his contemporaries, and almost always became the most enthusiastic and most persistent member. When an organization failed as some of them did, like Charles and Ben who upon the sea shore sailed their toy boats, exclaimed as each one sank beneath the waves—"Hurrah! we'll build another," so this richly endowed citizen built one hope of advancement and development upon the ruins of another.

Needless to say that the rather sharp thrusts aimed at some of his erstwhile antagonists were but born of the part they all were playing. Throughout his long life the men referred to were his warm and intimate friends. (Ed.)

one of that name, which lasted from 1852 to 1856, and was purely sceular in eharacter).

A meeting of the "Chieago Lyeeum" was held in their hall on the evening of Mareh 24, 1859. President McDonald in the chair, J. J. Kearney was appointed Seeretary, pro tem. The Roll being ealled, and a quorum being present, the following business was transacted:

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and on motion adopted.

M. L. Donnelly, appointed deelaimer for the evening, reited with much force and effeet the "Burial of Sir John Moore," also "Riehmond's Address to His Soldiers."

The Debate next followed in order, the subjeet being, "Resolved, That the acquisition of Cuba would be benefieial to the people of this country." The President gave his deeision for the negative.

On motion of Mr. Donnelly, duly seconded the rules suspended, to allow Mr. McIlroy, critie of the evening to make his report.

The question for future diseussion were then submitted, and on motion the following was adopted for April 7, "Resolved, That the union between England and Ireland is injurious to the latter." The President appointed the following disputants—Messrs. Donnelly, O'Brien and Barr, the fourth being left unamed.

Essayist, J. J. Kearney, Declaimer, Thos. Brenan.

On motion adjourned to meet Mareh 31, 1859.

The reeords eontain nothing more of the Chieago Lyeeum, and it is possible that the meeting just referred to was its last.

A Worthy Movement

To prove the benefits resulting to its members and to the people in general from the Institute and its Debating Society there ean hardly be better evidence than Mr. Donnelly's essay, "The Catholic Institute Fifty Years Henee." The essayist prophesies that the members will be great writers, governors, and statesmen, and we have the faets to show that he was not far wrong.

Among the members who subsequently beeame distinguished were Barney Caulfield, a prominent Chieago lawyer; M. W. O'Brien, a banker of Detroit; James A. Mulligan, Colonel of the famous 23rd Illinois Regiment in the Civil War; Major General James Shields, hero of three wars and senator from three states; John R. Walsh, a powerful figure in the financial history of Chieago; and William J. Onahan, whose death on January 12, 1919 left a gap in the ranks of sterling American Catholic laymen which it will be hard indeed to fill.

Yet the Institute did not stop here. There were its benevolent features. On all sides, in newspapers, by other societies, and by private persons, the Chicago Catholic Institute was praised for its aid to the poor, especially in the panic and hard times of 1857. Its charitable work was so great that the Institute was converted into a conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, that it might better carry on such work.

The greatest of the Institute's benefits, perhaps, was the moral improvement in everything connected with it: a quarterly Communion day was established for all the members, at a time when frequent Communion was rarer than now; the members taught Catechism,—a means of moral instruction to the teacher as well as to the pupil. More than that, the Institute must have brought many converts to the Church by dispelling popular prejudice about Catholic superstition and ignorance, for it advocated at the same time Catholicity and secular learning.

Such is a sketch of the first Catholic literary organization in Chicago. We have only to conclude by saying that it was an excellent beginning for the Catholic men and Catholic movements that have continued until the present. In the Institute, Catholics came into touch with each other, and with Catholic movements. The friendships made here lasted throughout life, and the leaders of the Institute later proved to be the organizers of practically every Catholic movement. The noble work done by the members of the Chicago Catholic Institute is well worthy of their time and of the great city of Chicago.

Roster of the Chicago Catholic Institute

Adams, John
Ahearn, John
Allen, John
Ames, Michael
Banks, Henry
Barry, James
Barr, John C.
Barr, Hugh
Barrett, A. L.
Barrett, S.
Bennett, Thomas
Boggs, George
Boland, James
Bohan, John
Boyle, Patrick
Brann, J. M.
Brady, Thomas M.
Brennan, Martin
Brennan, M. J.
Brennan, Thomas
Brennan, Thomas
Brennan, M. J.
Brigien, Martin
Broderffiick
Brumpsen, Thomas
Brown, Charles
Butler, Rev. Thadeus J.
Burke, Michael
Burn, John
Burke, Patrick
Byrne, Michael
Byrne, John
Byrnes, Owen
Cademore, A.
Caulfield, B. G.
Cashel, Michael
Carlin, Philip
Carroll, J. W.
Cumiskey, Hugh
Clifford, Maurice
Conley, Philip
Conahan, John
Considine, Thomas
Corrigan, M.
Condon, W.
Conley, Mat.
Connor, Henry
Connor, Pat.

Clancey, Thomas
Clourney, Thos.
Carlin, Philip
Conners, Jeremiah
Conners, Pat.
Curtin, Pat.
Carney, T.
Connell, Pat.
Coleman, Dan.
Curry, Jas.
Campbell, I.
Crogher, B.
Choate, Chas.
Crow, M.
Cunlisk, Jas.
Clifford, Pat.
Clarke, J. V.
Comiskey, John
Connolly, Denis
Curran, Pat.
Consedine, Thos.
Crowley, Michael
Creed, Wm.
Clark, Rich.
Cunlisk, Thos.
Dolan, B. J.
Dayer, Thos.
Dargan, John
Davlin, John
Daley, Jas.
Dempsey, Jas.
Dalton, Jas.
Damen, Rev. A.
Deering, Christopher
Donnelly, Chas.
Dempsey, Jno.
Dunn, Thos.
Duffy, John A.
Duffy, David G.
Dorney, John
Downey, Thos.
Donnelly, H.
Donnelly, V. Chas.
Donovan, Dennis
Delaney, R.
Donlan, John
Driscoll, T.
Daley, Jas.
Daily, John
Daley, Dennis

Dillon, B.
Dillon, Rev. M.
Dwine, John
Dunn, Rich.
Donohoe, John..
Donohue, Mat.
Donohue, Michael
Dunne, C.
Dunne, Rev. D.
Dunne, Rev. J. B.
Dewy, C.
Donnelly, M. L.
Donnelly, Wm.
Dooley, Pat.
Dougherty, Jas.
Doyle, Jas.
Dowling, Thos.
Ennis, G. E.
Ennis, G. I.
Ennis, Jas.
Fagan, Pat.
Flynn, Wm.
Furlong, P.
Fitzpatrick, Jno.
Fitzpatrick, M.
Fargew, Wm.
Fogarty, Dan.
Fogarty, Andrew
Fogarty, Jno.
Foley, Jno.
Fox, Jno.
Fox, Thos.
Finnerty, Jas.
Finnerty, M.
Fleming, Thos.
Foley, Thos.
Frazer, Christopher
Fleming, Dennis
Farrell, J.
Farrell, Pat.
Farrell, Andy
Fanning, Pat.
Flanigan, John
Flanigan, Pat.
Fitzgibbon, Wm.
Garahan, Gilbert
Garretty, P. O.
Gorman, Jas.
Gearey, Owen
Garretty, M. L.

Ghent, Jno.
Guilfoyle, Timothy
Guilford, Thos.
Gleason, Michael
Gibney, Pat.
Gannon, Pat.
Gannon, Peter
Geighan, Gilbert
Gorman, John M.
Greenen, P.
Green, H. R.
Griffin, Thos.
Hall, Mich.
Higgins, Jas.
Hamil, David
Harrold, Geo.
Htaley, Thos.
Hull, Chas.
Hannell, J.
Hagerty, Pat.
Hackett, Owen
Hanlon, Jno.
Henshaw, W. H.
Harrington, Sam.
Hayes, Dan.
Hays, Pat.
Howard, Andrew
Hagerty, J.
Hutchins
Hayden, Edward
Horan, David
Hollan, E.
Hopkins, Pat.
Jennings, Thos.
Jordan, E.
Jordan, D.
Johnson, J. W.
Kane, Solomon
Kane, M.
Kearney, Jas. J.
Kelly, J. W.
Kelly, J. E.
Kelly, Thos.
Keefe, Thos.
Kelly, Pat.
Keeley, Jno.
Keeley, J. W.
Keeley, Michael
Kennedy, S.
Kennedy, J.

King, Jas.
Kinsella, T. J.
Keogh, W. H.
Knott, J. E.
Kelly, T. J.
Lawless, Jas. W.
Lawler, D. D.
Lantry, Wm.
Lantry, Michael
Lee, Peter
Little, J. V.
Lynch, Patrick
Linton, W. M.
Leahy, Pat.
Lawler, Jas. I.
Loorden, Dan.
Long, John
Lynch, P.
Lonergan, Jos.
Lynam, Pat.
Lyons, Jno.
Lappin, R.
Lyons, Rev. M.
Mahon, Thos.
Meighan, M.
McCune, Wmm.
McGirr, Jno. E.
Meighan, Jas.
Minehan, Jno.
Mulligan, Jas. A.
McDonnell, Jas.
McDonnell, Jas.
McDonnell, Charles
McAlpin, Pierce
Meehan, Jno.
Murphy, John
Moloney, Jno. L.
Moore, Chas. E.
McGuire, R. H.
McGuire, Michael
McGuire, Terence
McGlinn, Thos.
McMullen, J.
McNamara, Jno.
McDonald, Jas.
McDonald, A.
McDonald, Chas.
MhLaw, Michael
McCabe, Michael
Mulligan, N. W.
McNally, John
McGovern, John
McKenna, L. D.
McKane, M. C.
McQueeney, Thos.
Moodey, Alfred
Moroney, F. J.
Montell, E.
McGillan, Edward
Markey, Pat.
Mooney, Michael
McIntry, Wm.
McIntyre, Chas.
Madden, Pat.
McDonough, Pat. H.
Moran, D.
Murray, M.
Moran, J. M.
Mulvey, Wm. E.
McNulty, J.
McGunnell, E.
Mangan, Pat.
McCarthy, J.
McCarthy, C. V. M.
McGee, Peter
Murphy, J. M.
Murphy, Pat.
Murphy, John
McCowan, J.
McIlroy, Dan.
Moore, Jno. A.
Moore, C. E.
McDonnell, Peter
Moran, Lawrence
Mullin, Henry
Meagher, W. F.
Meagher, M.
McGrath, M. J.
McGrath, C. M.
McMillan, Wm.
Meagher, W. Jas.
Maddock, A. P.
Newell, Stephen
Nelson, Thos.
Nott, L. E.
Neagle, J. J.
Nugent, Jas.
O'Grady, Anthony
O'Sullivan, J. J.
Onahan, W. J.
Olinger, P.
O'Brien, Michael W.
O'Reilley, John J.
O'Connell, Dan.
O'Brien, M. S.
O'Shannessy, Jno. J.
O'Rafferty, Pat.
O'Neill, John
O'Connor, J.
O'Neill, M.
O'Donnell, B.
O'Dwyer, John
O'Mealy, Rich.
O'Mealy, John
O'Connor, Dan.
Perry, S.
Powers, P.
Powers, Ed.
Pelley, Pat.
Quinn, Bernard
Quirk, Dan.
Quirk, Jas.
Quirk, John
Quirk, Bartholomew
Roche, Pat.
Roche, Jas.
Roach, Pat.
Roach, Wm.
Roach, Rich.
Resse, John
Riley, John
Rorke, M. A.
Reynolds, J.
Reynolds, Bernard
Reynolds, Pat.
Ryan, John
Retty, Nicholas
Reilly, Andrew
Reilly, John
Ravel, John
Rogers, John
Robinson, Thos.
Reed, Rich. P.
Redison, Jas.
Rigney, Michael
Ruse, John
Scanlan, Michael
Scanlan, John
Sullivan, Wm.
Speed, J. L.

Speed, Wm. K.
Smith, W. C.
Sweeney, John
Shields, John O. D.
Shields, John
Sullivan, Jas.
Shields, Jas.
Savage, R.
Sexton, Pat.
Savage, Thos.
Savage, Wm.
Shannon, Michael
Sullivan, Dan.
Sullivan, Philip
Shinner, Geo. Wm.
Sherlock, P. J.
Shanesy, John
Tally, A.
Taylor, A. H.
Taylor, A. H.
Taylor, A. D.
Thomas, B. M.
Tehan, John
Tierney, T. G.
Toohey, Dennis J.
Ward, W. P.
Waldron, Rev. John
Walsh, Chas.
Walsh, Jas.
Walsh, Pat
Walsh, John L.
Walsh, Pat.
Walsh, John R.
West, Chas.
Wagner, Peter
Wallace, Mat.
Walsh, P.
Young, J.
Young, F. W.

JOHN IRELAND GALLERY.[8]

Chicago.

[8] This young author is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel V. Gallery. Mrs. Gallery is the daughter of the late William J. Onahan and herself a writer of merit. Young Gallery is a student at the Quigley Preparatory Seminary and the editor of *Le Petit Seminaire*, the sprightly monthly magazine of the school. (Ed.)

FATHER SAINT CYR, MISSIONARY AND PROTO-PRIEST OF MODERN CHICAGO

An appreciated gift from Most Reverend Archbishop John J. Glennon of St. Louis to His Grace, Most Reverend George W. Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, of a series of original letters and documents relating to Reverend John Mary Irenaeus Saint Cyr enables us to present an authentic statement of certain events and incidents in the life of the devoted French missionary who organized the Church in modern Chicago and evangelized a large part of western Illinois.

The documents and letters, yellowed with age, and so fragile as to induce anxiety for their preservation even from viewing them, to say nothing of subjecting them to touch, have reposed in the archives of the Cathedral of St. Louis for more than eighty-seven years.

With two exceptions the documents are in the Latin of the Church. The baptismal registry and certificates are in French. For better understanding we have had translations made, and in this exposition the documents are reproduced in English.

Several of the documents are presumably credentials which Father Saint Cyr produced to the Right Reverend Bishop of St. Louis, when seeking ordination as a priest. In their order the documents are:

1. Baptismal records.
2. Certified copy of birth record in City of Quincie.
3. Certificate of conferring the first clerical tonsure by order of J. P. Gaston, Archbishop of Amasia, Apostolic Administrator of Lyons.
4. Certificate of advancement to the four minor orders by order of J. P. Gaston, Archbishop of Amasia, Apostolic Administrator of Lyons.
5. Certificate of ordination as sub-deacon by order of J. P. Gaston, Archbishop of Amasia, Apostolic Administrator of Lyons.
6. Certificate of advancement to the sacred rank of deaconship by order of Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis.
7. Certificate of advancement to the sacred rank of priesthood by order of Right Reverend Bishop Joseph Rosati of St. Louis.

8. Commission to establish a parish in Chicago signed and sealed by Right Reverend Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis.

Documents

1.

EXTRACT OF THE RECORDS OF CATHOLIC ACTIVITIES OF THE PARISH OF QUINCIE

In the year 1803, the 4th, of November, I have baptized John Marie, born day before yesterday, (November 2) legitimate son of John Saint Cire, land owner (householder), residing at Quincie and of Claudia Bonnefond: Godfather, John Saint Cire, brother of the child, Godmother, Claudia Bonnefond de poule, who have signed with the father of the child; John Saint Cire, Bonnefond, Saint Cire, Chrestin pastor.

Copied verbatim and certified to be a true copy of the original at Quincie, the 28th, of November, 1824.[1]

J. DAUVE,
Assistant Pastor.

2.

EXTRACT OF THE RECORDS OF THE VITAL STATISTICS OF THE VILLAGE OF QUINCIE, CANTON OF BEAUJEU, DEPARTMENT OF THE RHÔNE

November 2, 1803.

Borough Hall of Quincie, Arrondissement Communal of Villefranche, Department of the Rhône.

On the tenth day of the month of Brumaire, (the month of Brumaire began on October 25th) twelfth year of the French republic.

Birth certificate of John Marie St. Cyre, born on the tenth day of the present month, at about ten o'clock in the evening; son of citizen John St. Cyr, landowner, residing at Quincie, at the place called Hamavand, and of citizeness Claudia Bonnefont, his legal wife, the sex of the child has been recognized to be a boy; first witness, the citizen Claude Duchampt, landowner, residing at the same place, 56 years of age. Second witness, the citizen John St. Cyr, landowner, living with his father, brother of the child, 19 years old.

Upon the request made of us by the citizen John St. Cyr, father of the child who has signed with us, as did his son, not the named Duchampt who has declared not to be able to do so.

Given in accordance with the law by us Charles Guillot, jr., mayor of Quincie.

Signed in the register St. Cyre, John St. Cyre and Guillot, Sr.

A true copy of the original delivered at Quincie, October 13th, 1829.

DURIEN DE VITRY, FILS,[2]
Assistant.

3.

RECORD OF TONSURE

John Paul Gaston De Pins, by the grace of God and the favor of the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of Amasia, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Lyons and Vienne, Peer of France, Etc.

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[1] Translated from the French by Miss Josephin Doniat.

[2] Translated from the French by Miss Josephin Doniat.

JOSEPH ROSATI

Congregationis Missionis

Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia,

EPISCOPUS S. LUDOVICI,

Universis et Singulis præsentes inspecturis fidem facimus atque testamur Nos die sexta Mensis Aprilis Anni MDCCCXXXIII= Sabbato Sancto ——— Missam in Pontificalibus solemniter —— celebrantes in nostra Ecclesia Cathedrali Ordinationem intra —— tempora a jure constituta —— —— —— —— habuisse, atque dilectum Nobis in Christo Joannem Mariam St. Cyr Diœcesis nostræ absolutum ad Sacrum Presbyteratus Ordinem —— —— —— —— —— prævio examine idoneum repertum, atque dotibus a S. Conc. Trid. requisitis præditum, adhibitis consuetis solemnitatibus ac cæremoniis juxta S. R. E. Ritum in Domino promovisse —— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— præsentibus R.R. D.D. Philippo Borgna, Benedicto Roux et Ludovico de Cure, aliisque de Clero —— —— —— —— ——

In quorum testimonium præsentes manu nostra subscriptas, nostroque sigillo, atque Secretarii nostri subscriptione communitas fieri jussimus.

Datum St. Ludovici ex Ædibus Episcopalibus die 6 mensis Aprilis MDCCCXXXIII=

+ Joseph Epus St. Ludovici

De Mandato Illmi. ac Rmi. Epi.

Joseph A. Lutz
Secretarius

CERTIFICATE OF ORDINATION

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JOSEPH ROSATI

Congregationis Missionis

Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia,

EPISCOPUS LUDOVICI,

Rev^do D. Joanni Mazzuchelli S^ti Cyr nostræ dioecesis Sacerdoti Salutem.

Quum Catholici hominis non pauci Oppidum vulgo Chicago vocatum in Statu Illinoensi incolentes nobis exposuerint se ardenti Spirituali Solatio destitutos ardenter desiderare, ut Sacerdotem illic mitteremus, qui pastoralia munera exercens media ad christianæ religionis officia discenda adeundaque Salutis vacandum ipsis suppeditet, Nos pio Laudabilique hujusmodi desiderio quantum in nobis est satisfacere volentes, de facultatum Vicarii Generalis Nobis ab Illmo et Rmo Bardeana Epo concessis, Te ad missionem Chicago finitimarumque regionum intra Illinoensis Status limites, quas omnes hactenus ab eodem Illmo ac Rmo Bardeana Epo spiritualiter administrandas, destinamus, facultates omnes, prout in aliis Sacris descriptantur ad recreationem usque concedimus, ea tamen conditione, ut Status ac quid de novæ Sedis Epalis erectione atque de aliarum jam existentium certis limitibus a Sa Sede Apostolica Statutum fuit, innotuerit, Episcopo illi intra cujus Dioecesis limites prædicta Chicago missio includitur, rationem reddas sortis omnium quæ a te gerenda fuerint atque locum cedas Sacerdoti qui ab eo ad dictam missionem deputabitur, et tu, Deo favente, ad nostram Dioecesim, a qua hac præsenti missione te minime segregatum declaramus, revertaris.

Datum S^ti Ludovici ex Aedibus Epalibus die 17^ma Aprilis. 1833.

+ Joseph Epus St Ludovici

Jos. A. Lutz
Secretarius

APPOINTMENT TO CHICAGO

To each and all who shall see these presents, we make known that in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty, on the fifth day of the month of June, we have conferred in the Lord the first Clerical Tonsure on our Beloved Son in Christ, present and humbly asking that this be done, John Marie Saint Cyr, the son of John and Claudia Bonnefont, husband and wife of the parish commonly known as Quincie, he being of lawful age with corresponding record of legitimate birth, and we have joined him to the Clerical Army. In testimony whereof, we have ordered these presents signed by our hand and secured by our seal, to be signed by our Secretary as Witness.

Done and given at Lyons in our.....Church in the year and on the day mentioned above.

J. P. GASTON,
Archbishop of Amasia, Apostolic Administrator of Lyons.

By order of the most illustrious and most reverend Archbishop.[3]

LAFAY, V. G.

4.

RECORD OF ORDERS

Paul Gaston De Pins, by the grace of God and the favor of the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of Amasia, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Lyons and Vienne, Peer of France, Etc.

To each and all who shall see these presents, we make known that, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty, on the eighteenth day of the month of December, during the celebrating Mass and conferring Holy Orders *in Pontificalibus,* we determined that John Marie Saint Cyr, a cleric of Our Diocese, dear to us in Christ, should be advanced to the four Minor Orders by rite and canon, since he was found to be chosen, capable and suitable, and we have advanced him in the Lord. In testimony whereof we have ordered these presents, signed by our hand and sealed with our seal, to be signed by our Secretary as Witness.

Done and given at Lyons in the Chapel of our Seminary on Ember Saturday before the feast of the Nativity, in the year and on the day mentioned above.

J. P. GASTON,
Archbishop of Amasia, Apostolic Administrator of Lyons.

By order of the most illustrious and most reverend Archbishop.[4]

LAFAY, V. G.

5.

RECORD OF ORDERS

John Paul Gaston De Pins, by the grace of God and the favor of the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of Amasia, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Lyons and Vienne, Peer of France, Etc.

To each and all who shall see these presents we make known that in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of February, during the celebration of Mass and conferring Holy Orders *in Pontificalibus* we determined that John Marie Saint Cyr, an Acolyte of our Diocese, dear to us in Christ, should be advanced to the Sacred

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[3] [4] Translated from the Latin by Miss Julia Doyle.

Rank of Subdeaconship by rite and canon, since he was found to be chosen, capable and suitable, and we have advanced him in the Lord. In testimony whereof, we have ordered these parents, signed by our hand and sealed with our seal, to be signed by our Secretary as witness.

Done and given at Lyons in the Chapel of our Seminary, on Ember Saturday of Lent, in the year and on the day mentioned above.

J. P. Gaston,
Archbishop of Amasia, Apostolic Administrator of Lyons.

By Order of the most illustrious and most reverend D. D. Archbishop, Etc.[5]
Lafay, V. G.

6.

Joseph Rosati, of the Congregation of the Mission, by the Grace of God and the Favor of the Apostolic See, Bishop of St. Louis

To each and all who shall see these presents we certify and attest that on the 20th day of the month of November, in the year 1831, solemnly celebrating Mass *in Pontificalibus* in the Church of St. Mary's of the Burned Woods,* by apostolic dispensation, we had Ordination out of the times prescribed by law, and using the accustomed solemnities and ceremonies according to the Rite of the Holy Roman Church, we advanced in the Lord to the Sacred Rank of Deaconship, Our Beloved in Christ, John Marie St. Cyr of our Diocese, who by a previous examination was found suitable and possessed of the qualities required by the Holy Council of Trent.

Witnesses: The Reverend Fathers Peter Kenny, John Odin and John Timon.

In testimony whereof we have ordered these presents to be prepared, signed by our hand and secured by our seal and also by the signature of our Secretary.

Given from St. Mary's Seminary on the 20th day of the month of November, 1831.

Joseph,
Bishop of St. Louis.

By Order of the Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Bishop.
J. M. Odin, S. C. M.
Secretary.

7.

Joseph Rosati, of the Congregation of the Mission, by the Grace of God and the Favor of the Apostolic See, Bishop of St. Louis

To each and all who shall see these presents we certify and attest that on the sixth day of the month of April of the year 1833, on Holy Saturday, during the celebration of Pontifical Mass in our Church of the Cathedral, we had Ordination within the times prescribed by law, and, using the accustomed solemnities and ceremonies according to the Rite of the Holy Roman Church, we advanced in the Lord to the Sacred Rank of Priesthood our beloved in Christ, John Marie St. Cyr, incardinated in our Diocese, who by a previous examination was found suitable and possessed of the qualities required by the Holy Council of Trent.

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*The Barrens.

Witness: The Reverend Fathers Philip Borgna, Benedict Roux and Louis La Clere and others of the Clergy.

In testimony whereof we have ordered these presents to be prepared, signed by our hand and secured by our seal and also by the signature of our Secretary. Given at St. Louis from the Episcopal Residence on the 6th day of the month of April, 1833.

JOSEPH ROSATI,
Bishop of St. Louis.

JOS. A. LUTZ, *Secretary.*

By order of the Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Bishop Joseph Rosati.[1]

8.

JOSEPH ROSATI, OF THE CONGREGATION OF MISSIONS, BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND THE FAVOR OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE, BISHOP OF ST. LOUIS, TO THE REV. MR. JOHN IRENAEAUS ST. CYR, PRIEST OF OUR DIOCESE, HEALTH IN THE LORD:

Rev. Sir:—Whereas not a few Catholic men inhabiting the town commonly called Chicago, and its neighborhood in the State of Illinois, have laid before me that they, deprived of all spiritual consolation, vehemently desire that I shall send them a priest, who, by the exercise of his pastorial gifts, should supply to them the means of performing the offices of the Christian religion and providing for their eternal salvation. Wishing, as far as in me lies, to satisfy such a desire, at once pious and praiseworthy, by virtue of the powers of Vicar-General to me granted by the most illustrious and most reverend Bishop of Bardstown (Ky.), I depute you to the Mission of Chicago and the adjoining regions within the State of Illinois, all of which have hitherto been under the spiritual administration of the said most illustrious and most reverend Bishop of Bardstown, grant you, until revoked, all the powers as described in the next page, with the condition, however, that as soon soever as it shall become known to you that a new Episcopal See shall have been erected and established by the Holy Apostolic See from the territory of other sees now existing, to that Bishop within the limits of whose diocese the aforesaid Chicago mission is included, you shall render an account of all those things which shall have been transacted by you, and surrender the place to such priest as shall be by him deputed to the same mission, and you, with God's favor, shall return to our diocese from which we declare you to be by no means separated by this present mission.

Given at St. Louis from the Episcopal building, the 17th day of April, 1833.

JOSEPH,
Bishop of St. Louis.

JOS. A. LUTZ, *Secretary.*[1]

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[1] Translation in Andreas, *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 290.

THE FRANCISCANS IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

(Continued from October, 1919)

Though the Fathers were taxing their strength to the utmost, they could not satisfy the many appeals for their services; hence the Reverend Provincials,[1] in answer to their urgent requests, frequently sent reinforcements, though the needs of the Province in Germany were many and the founding of the missions in the United States met with opposition. Already in 1859, two Fathers arrived with three clerics and one lay brother.[2] Father Provincial Gregory came to the United States in 1860, to acquaint himself, by personal inspection, of the needs of the new foundations and to provide for their development and stability. He brought with him Father Kilian Schloesser and the lay brother Robert Michel.[3] One of the results

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[1] Father Gregory Janknecht (Privincial, with several interruptions, for twenty-one years, beginning with 1855), and Father Othmar Massmann (1861-1867).

[2] The Fathers were Herbert Hoffmanns and Ferdinand Bergmeyer. The latter was placed in charge of the parish at Effingham. He later distinguished himself in various positions, and held the position of Provincial of the Province of the Sacred Heart from 1888-1891. Father Herbert and the three clerics, Bernardine Hermann, Maurice Klostermann, and Raynerius Diekneite were sent to Quincy, where Father Servatius Altmicks had just begun a new foundation. Here the clerics (they were subdeacons) continued their studies under the direction of Father Herbert. They were ordained priests in St. Boniface Church, on July 2, 1860. Father Herbert was the first Rector of St. Joseph's Seminary and College at Teutopolis. Father Maurice Klostermann, after laboring with great success at Quincy, was appointed in 1864 to succeed Father Herbert as Rector of the Seminary and held this office until 1882. He was Commissary Provincial from 1869 to 1879, and Provincial from 1885-1888. For sketch of Father Maurice, see Zurbonsen: *Clerical Bead Roll of the Diocese of Alton*, p. 70, sq.

[3] See *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, October, 1919, p. 171, note 27. Father Kilian was born at Cologne, Germany, on May 9, 1826. He was clothed with the habit of the Order at Warendorf, on October 23, 1847, and he made his solemn vows on October 31, 1848. While pursuing the study of theology in the convent at Paderborn, he was taken ill with an ailment which obliged him to discontinue his studies, and it was only in March, 1857 that he was ordained a priest. After acting for six months as chaplain at the hospital of the Alexian Brothers at Aachen, and for one year as chaplain of the family of the Count of Loe-Fuerstenberg, he was appointed secretary to the Provincial. In this capacity, he accompanied the Provincial Father Gregory Janknecht to the United States, in 1860, in the hope that the ocean voyage might benefit his

of this visit was the appointment of a Commissary Provincial in the person of Father Matthias Hiltermann, who arrived at Teutopolis, in June, 1862, with three clerics and two students.[4] Other reinforcements were sent in November of the same year, in 1865, 1867, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, and in February, 1875. Besides, an increasing number of young men applied for admission into the Order, either as clerics or as lay brothers. These received the habit and made their novitiate in the convent at Teutopolis. Thus, when the victims of the *Kulturkampf* arrived in July, 1875, the Commissariat numbered

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delicate health. In a short time, his health was so much improved, and he showed so great an enthusiasm for the work in the missions, that Father Provincial, when about to return to Germany asked him to remain and share in the labors of the pioneers. From 1862-1869, during which time he was superior of the convent at Teutopolis and Commissary Provincial, Father Kilian displayed the greatest zeal in visiting the Catholic settlements in the neighboring counties. From 1870-1871, he was superior at Memphis, Tennessee. His next field of labor was Cleveland, Ohio, where he held the office of superior from 1871-1879, and from 1882-1885. Here he finished the first church connected with the friary, and in 1871-1873, built the present parish church, dedicated to St. Joseph. He was also instrumental in founding St. Alexis Hospital and the convent of the Poor Clares, which has since been transferred to West Park, Ohio. In 1885, he was appointed superior at St. Peter's Church, Chicago, Illinois. Here he also induced the Poor Clares to build a convent. By his energetic assistance and prudent counsel, he contributed much to the development of St. Augustine parish. From 1888-1891, he was guardian of the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California. After holding the office of Commissary Provincial for the houses in California from 1897-1900, he was forced by the infirmities of old age to retire to Santa Barbara, where he died on August 31, 1904. Cf. *Die Franziskaner Provinz von Heiligsten Herzen Jesu*, St. Louis, Missouri, p. 191, sq.

[4] The clerics were Nazarius Kommerscheid, Anselm Mueller, and Aloysius Wiewer. The first named was ordained at Teutopolis on September 14, 1862. After laboring at Teutopolis and vicinity until 1869, he was appointed superior of the friary and pastor of the parish at Quincy, Illinois, which position he held until 1882. Father Anselm and Father Aloysius were raised to the priesthood at Teutopolis, on December 19, 1862. The former was President of St. Francis Solano College, at Quincy, from 1863-1893, and from 1902-1909, and he is looked upon as the real founder of that institution. He is now living in retirement at Joliet, Illinois. Father Aloysius is remarkable especially for his self-sacrificing labors during the yellow fever epidemics in 1873, 1878, and 1879. He died at Santa Barbara, California, in 1901. Cf. *St. Francis Solanus Parish and the Quincy Franciscans*, p. 73, sqq.; *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of St. Francis Solono College*, 1912, p. 33, sqq.; *Die Franziskaner Provinz, etc.*, p. 178, 187. The two students, Francis Droessler and Albert Becher, received the habit of the Order on December 18, 1862, and were known as Fathers Dominic and Gerard, respectively. They were the first clerics to be invested at Teutopolis.

30 Fathers, 31 clerics, and 48 Brothers (of whom 28 belonged to the Third Order Regular), in six houses.[5]

The increasing number of religious necessitated the building of a larger convent at Teutopolis. In 1860-1861, a two-story addition of frame, containing thirteen rooms, was built by Father Damian, but the enlarged building soon proved too small. In 1867, Father Kilian, guardian of the convent since December 1862, erected the eastern wing of the present brick building, 84x24 feet, and in the following year, the northern wing, 70x24 feet. A number of parishes and missions in the diocese, among them Germantown, Waterloo, Madonnaville, Paderborn, St. Libory, Neoga, Quincy, and St. Antonius, near Quincy, contributed liberally toward defraying the building expenses. Another wing was built in 1889.

Since 1859, as was already indicated, the convent at Teutopolis served as the novitiate of the Commissariat and later of the Province. Owing to various circumstances, it was also used as a house of studies for the courses of philosophy and theology; the former course was transferred to Quincy in 1875, the latter to St. Louis in 1872. Humanities were taught at the convent from 1875-1893; after the year 1893, they were taught in Cleveland, Indianapolis, Chicago, and Quincy, until 1914, when they were again transferred to Teutopolis.

Labors at Teutopolis and Vicinity

In the meantime, the Fathers were busy attending to the wants of the Catholics who had settled in these parts, and who otherwise would have been without the ministrations of a priest. In 1860, the parishes with resident priests (and these also had charge of one or more missions) nearest to Teutopolis, were: to the north, Assumption, Christian County; to the east, Paris, Edgar County; to the south, St. Marie, Jasper County; and to the west, Highland, Madison County.[6] From the very first years after their coming into the diocese of Alton, the Fathers, especially Father Kilian, visited a number of Catholic settlements in Effingham County and in the neighboring counties. Not counting St. Elmo and the missions in southeastern Illinois,[7] these settlements numbered thirty-two, in fifteen counties.

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[5] These houses, with the year of their founding, are: Teutopolis (Convent), 1858; Teutopolis (College), 1862; Quincy, 1859; St. Louis, 1863; Cleveland, 1868; Memphis, 1870.

[6] Cf. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for the United States*, 1860.

[7] See *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, October, 1919, p. 169, sqq.

Some were visited occasionally, others regularly for many years. In about fifteen, the Fathers built the first church.

We shall now briefly outline their labors in these missions. We do not doubt that the account, though a mere sketch, will be of interest to the readers of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, as it deals with the early history of Catholic parishes, and also shows how much the zealous friars contributed to the upbuilding of the Church in this section of the state. It will not be amiss to begin with the parishes of which they had regular charge.

TEUTOPOLIS.—The parish under the guidance of Father Damian and his successors prospered in every way. The quarrels and dissensions that had disturbed the peace of the community ceased, and the people began to frequent the Sacraments in greater numbers, so that Father Damian, about the year 1860, wrote to Father Provincial that Teutopolis would soon be a model parish. Much was done to beautify the church, which was in an incomplete condition when the Fathers took charge, and also to improve the school.[8] In 1861 the Sisters of Notre Dame were secured as teachers. In 1866 the parish erected a large building of brick, which served as a school for the girls of the higher grades and as an academy. The academy was closed in 1883. A school for the boys of the higher grades was built in 1878. This building, which also contained a hall for meetings and entertainments, was used until 1908, when a more commodious structure, known as "Society Hall," was erected by Father Casimir Hueppe. The rooms of the high school department are in this building.

When the Franciscans took charge of the parish, it numbered about 150 families; at present, there are nearly 300 families, in spite of the fact that many young men and women have, in the course of time, left for the cities or have settled in Kansas, Idaho, Oklahoma, and Texas.

The pastors since 1858 are: Father Damian Hennewig (1858-1862; 1864-1865); Father Matthias Hiltermann (1862-1864; 1865-1873);

[8] The first school, a log house, was built in 1840. For a time, Rev. Kuenster taught the children in Mr. Waschefort's house, and during the year 1845, in the parochial residence. In 1847, the school as transferred to the second story of a house belonging to Mr. Joseph Horn. This house was ruined by a storm in 1849, and the parish erected a school building in the northern part of the town. A larger building was erected in 1855. Mr. Henry Eversmann, who later became a prominent physician and banker, was teacher until 1859. Cf. *Beitraege zur Geschichte von Teutopolis und Umgegend*, 1901, p. 52; *History of Effingham County*, Part I, p. 253.

Father Gerard Becher (1873-1876); Father Damasus Ruesing (1877-1879); Father Dominic Florian (1879-1881); Father Paul Teroerde (1881-1887; 1888-1894); Father Polycarp Rhode (1894-1899); Father Casimir Hueppe (1899-1912); Father Theodosius Plassmeyer (1912—).[9]

Green Creek.—This mission, as we have seen, was entrusted to the Franciscans soon after their arrival in the diocese. Father Capistran held services there for the first time on October 30, 1858. He at once set to work to carry out the plan of his predecessor, Rev. Thomas Frauenhofer, of building a new church of brick. The cornerstone of the church was laid by Bishop Juncker, on June 5, 1860; the solemn dedication took place on November 13, 1864. A brick school building was erected in 1870-1871 by Father Francis Albers. Green Creek was attended from Teutopolis by the Franciscans until August 1893, when it was returned to the bishop. Rev. John W. Merscher was then placed in charge. He was succeeded after a few weeks by Rev. John Storp.[10]

Effingham.—The Franciscans took charge of St. Antony's parish in December, 1858. The new church of brick which was building at the time, was dedicated by Bishop Juncker in June 1860. Father Alardus Andrescheck, who attended the mission from 1868 to 1869, called upon the Franciscan Sisters, of Joliet, Illinois, to assume the management of the school; the Sisters of Notre Dame took charge about the year 1872. The Fathers established a friary, or residence, at Effingham in 1869. It was given up in 1870, partly because of trouble regarding a school, partly because Bishop Baltes refused to grant the *beneplacitum apostolicum*. In August 1871, the parish was returned to the bishop. Rev. Michael Weiss was the first secular priest in charge.[11]

Besides these places, which were entrusted to the Franciscans in 1858, the Fathers attended the following missions.

Altamont.—This parish was organized in 1874 by Father Francis Albers and placed under the patronage of St. Clare. He also built the church, a frame structure, 68x33 feet. In 1882, Father Jerome Hellhake erected a two-story school building of frame; about fifty children were taught by Sisters of the Precious Blood. In 1889, the

[9] *Beitraege*, p. 42, sqq.
[10] *Beitraege*, p. 90, sqq.; *History of Effigham County*, Part I, p. 149.
[11] *Beitraege*, p. 94; *History of Effingham County*, Part I, p. 161, sq.

Franciscans relinquished the parish. The Rev. J. Gratza was the first secular priest in charge.[12]

SHUMWAY.—Church of the Annunciation. Father Boniface Depmann in May, 1879, organized this parish, with a membership of twenty-six families, at a place called Blue Point, one mile west of the village. A committee was appointed to select a place for building a church. After much discussion, it was decided to build at Shumway. The church, a frame structure 60x30 feet, was dedicated on August 22, 1880. Since 1888, the parish is in charge of the secular clergy. At present, the mission is attended from Ramsey, Fayette County.[13]

MONTROSE.—This town was laid out in 1870. The Catholic settlers at first fulfilled their religious duties at Teutopolis, about six miles distant. In 1879 the people built their own church, which was dedicated to St. Rose of Lima, in 1880, by Father Maurice Klostermann. Father Francis Haase was the first pastor. This parish is still attended by the Franciscans from Teutopolis.[14]

BISHOP.—The Catholics of Bishop Township, who at first attended divine service at Teutopolis (many of them walked the six or seven miles), early desired to have their own church. Rev. Joseph Zoegel and Rev. Charles Raphael often held services in the log school. In 1852, forty acres were purchased for church and school purposes; but it was only in 1865 that the building of a church was undertaken. On April 20 of that year, Father Kilian laid the cornerstone of a large brick church, which was placed under the patronage of St. Aloysius. The solemn dedication took place in the spring of 1866. The first to attend the mission regularly was Father Nazarius Kommerscheid. A schoolhouse of brick was erected in 1877. The first church building was found to be unsafe, and a larger and more beautiful one was erected in 1893-1894. The parish, consisting of about seventy families, is still attended by the Franciscans from Teutopolis.[15]

Up to the year 1905, the Catholics of *Dieterich* had to go to Bishop or Island Grove to comply with their religious duties. In that year a parish was organized in the town, and after two years it was placed in charge of the secular clergy.

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[12] *Beitraege*, p. 103; *History of Effingham County*, Part I, p. 187.

[13] *Beitraege*, p. 106; *History of Effingham County*, Part 1, 270.

[14] *Beitraege*, p. 106; *History of Effingham County*, Part I, p. 237.

[15] *Beitraege*, p. 98, sq.; *History of Effingham County*, Part I, p. 281; *Souvenir*

Edgewood.—Edgewood and Watson, south of Effingham, were attended by the Franciscans from 1864 to 1879. Father Kilian writes: "I attended these missions once a month on the same Sunday. Reaching Watson on Saturday by the evening train from Effingham, I said Mass (in a private house) the next morning at 8 o'clock. About 10 o'clock the Irish section men took me on a hand car to the next station, Edgewood, where I began services at about 11 o'clock. At Edgewood I built a church, in which services were held for the first time on December 1, 1867.'"[16] The plans for the church were made probably by Brother Adrian Wewer.[17] The patron saint of the church is St. Anne. Rev. L. Diesen was appointed pastor in 1880.[18]

Services were also frequently held in private houses at *Mason,* the first town south of Watson.

The places mentioned thus far are all in Effingham County. Those in other counties, which were attended by the Franciscans, are the following:

Island Grove.—This mission is situated in Jasper County and is about ten miles distant from Teutopolis. Before the arrival of the Franciscans, the spiritual needs of the settlers, all Alsatians and Low-Germans, were attended to a few times a year by the pastor of St. Marie, in the same county. Some of the early settlers were known to have walked regularly to Teutopolis to attend services there on Sundays and holydays. The parish was organized in 1870. The first church, a small frame building, was dedicated by Father Maurice Klostermann, in March 1874. In September of the same year, Father Meinolph Schmitz, the first Franciscan in charge, opened a school with fifteen pupils in a room adjoining the church. Brother Onesimus Ehrhardt, a Tertiary-Regular, was the first teacher. A brick church was built in 1901-1902. This structure was destroyed by fire in December, 1917, but has been rebuilt. The Franciscans of Teutopolis still have charge of the mission, which now consists of thirty-eight families.[19]

Lillyville.—Lillyville, a settlement of Catholic farmers, all of German descent, is situated in Cumberland County, about five miles

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of the Golden Jubilee of St. Aloysius Parish, Bishop Creek, Illinois, 1915.

[16] Father Kilian to Father Ludger.

[17] Brother Adrian was for forty years the architect of the Province. He drew the plans of a large number of churches, schools, convents, and asylums in many parts of the country.

[18] *Beitraege,* p. 98; *History of Effingham County,* Part I, p. 199, sq.

[19] *Beitraege,* p. 103.

northeast of Teutopolis. The first church, a frame structure, was erected in 1877; its dedication took place on November 1 of that year. Father Joseph Sievers was the first to attend the mission regularly. The parish continued to grow, and in 1889 Father Alardus Andrescheck proposed the building of a larger church of brick. The cornerstone was laid on May 24, 1890; the dedication took place on September 18, 1892. The old church was henceforth used for school purposes. In 1893 the parish was returned to the bishop. Rev. John Merscher was the first secular priest in charge.[20]

Sigel.—Sigel, Shelby County, about seven miles north of Teutopolis, was laid out in 1863. The Catholics of the settlement at first attended divine services at Green Creek or at Trowbridge. Their increasing numbers, however, made them desirous of having a church of their own. A non-Catholic, Mr. F. A. Hoffmann, donated a piece of land, and on it a frame church was erected in 1866. It was dedicated in honor of St. Michael by Father Kilian, on September 29, 1867. Father Nazarius Kommerscheid, who had charge of Green Creek, held services at Sigel every second Sunday until 1869, when Father Ambrose Jansen was appointed to attend the mission. Services were thenceforth held on every Sunday and holyday of obligation. Father Dominic Florian built a two-story school of frame. It was opened in September, 1877, with the Franciscan Sisters of Joliet in charge. The church was destroyed by fire in December, 1879, and a larger structure of brick was erected. This building was dedicated by Bishop Baltes on October 27, 1881. On the same occasion, he blessed a new school building, the first one having burned to the ground on October 30, 1880. The Franciscans attended Sigel from Teutopolis until October, 1887. Rev. L. Riesen was then appointed its first resident pastor.[21]

Trowbridge.—This mission is also situated in Shelby County.[22] Already in December, 1861, Father Capistran Zwinge, in referring to it, wrote to Father Provincial Gregory "Beyond Green Creek an English-speaking parish will be organized in the near future. The people hope that Teutopolis will give them services at least once a month, and they intend to build a frame church this winter. The permission of the Ordinary has already been granted." The hopes

[20] *Ibid.*, p.104, sqq.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 100, sqq.

[22] The Fathers in their letters and reports generally refer to this settlement as Neoga; sometimes also as Big Springs, St. Patrick, and Trowbridge.

of the people were not in vain, as we learn from a letter of Father Kilian.[23] He visited them twice a month, holding services in a private house. The frame church, dedicated to St. Patrick, was blessed by Bishop Juncker, on November 6, 1864. The plan for the church was made by Brother Adrian; he also superintended the building operations. The parish, together with the mission Neoga, was transferred to the diocese in 1888. One Franciscan, Father Augustin McClory, and six Sisters have gone forth from Trowbridge.[24]

KINMUNDY.—Father Kilian, since about the year 1865, visited this mission in Marion County once a month. In 1870, he built a church there, which was placed under the patronage of St. Philomena. He collected most of the money necessary for the building of this church (and for the churches at Edgewood and other missions) among the Irish laborers along the Illinois Central and Vandalia railroads. Kinmundy was attended by the Franciscans until 1878. At present, it is a mission of Sandoval, in the diocese of Belleville.[25]

ODIN.—The mission at Odin was organized by Father Kilian, probably at the same time as that at Kinmundy. "Besides a number of Irish railroad laborers," he writes, "there were at that place a few German families. I generally visited them twice a month on week days. I built a small church there (about the year 1865). To obtain money to pay for the building, I took up a collection in Cincinnati in 1866, while on my way to Baltimore to attend (as Commissary Provincial) the Second Plenary Council."[26] The Franciscans attended Odin until 1870. At the time of Father Kilian, the mission numbered about thirty-five families; later many of the railroad employees moved away and the number of Catholics dwindled to a few. The church fell into decay and was torn down.[27]

Little can be said of the missions south of Effingham that were visited only occasionally, as the records at hand give us no particulars. Such missions were: Tonti, Coloma, Alma, Salem, and Centralia, in Marion County; Olney, Richland County; Flora, Clay County; and Farina, Fayette County. Father Kilian writes: "I regularly visited Odin, at the intersection of the Illinois Central and Baltimore and Ohio railroads, twice a month. Owing to the convenient location of

[23] Father Kilian to Father Ludger.
[24] *Beitraege*, p. 97, sq.
[25] Father Kilian to Father Ludger.
[26] Beitraege, p. 96.
[27] Father Kilian to Father Eugene.

this town, Catholics of neighboring settlements usually attended the services, and they invited me to pay them a visit. Accordingly I often went to Flora and more often to Solem and Coloma, where they had churches; also to Centralia, as the pastor of that parish invited me to minister to the Germans living there. Olney was visited by me on a number of Sundays, until Rev. Meckel was appointed resident pastor.''[28]

Pocahontas, Bond County, mentioned in the Catholic Directory already in 1860 as a mission attended from Highland, was placed in charge of the Franciscans in 1871; likewise *Greenville*, in the same county. Both places were given up in 1878. Father Theodore Arentz was the last Franciscan in charge. *Vandalia*, Fayette County, was attended, with several interruptions, from 1870-1875. In 1860, the Fathers held services at *Marshall*, Clark County, during Easter time. They did so again from the summer of 1861 to the fall of 1862, and from the fall of 1872 until May 1874.[29]

Preaching Misssions

While organizing and administering the parishes mentioned, visiting many smaller missions on week days, once a month or as often as circumstances permitted, and besides this assisting the secular clergy in the pulpit and the confessional, the Franciscans did not neglect what had been one of their main occupations in Germany: the preaching of missions in parishes in charge of the secular clergy. From the very first year of their coming into the diocese of Alton, they engaged in this arduous, but meritorious work. In the course of time, as their numbers increased, calls for their services multiplied, and several Fathers were appointed to devote themselves specially to the preaching of missions. The principal missioners in the early days were Fathers Capistran Zwinge, Matthias Hiltermann, Ferdinand Bergmeyer, and Servatius Altmicks; and after the year 1875, Father Vincent Halbfass, Felix Hosbach, Pancratius Schulte, Raymerius Dickneite, Servatius Rasche, and Symphorian Forstmann. How many missions were preached, the writer is unable to state; but an idea of their number may be formed from the records of only a few years. During the years 1864, 1865, 1866, and a part of 1867, two of the Fathers, Capistran and Matthias, gave sixty missions, lasting a week each, in the dioceses of Alton (which then comprised also the southern

[28] Beitraege, p. 102, 97.

[29] Report of Father Capistran. Copy in the St. Joseph Seminary archives.

part of the state), St. Louis, Vincennes, Dubuque, St. Paul, and New York. From the beginning of September till the middle of December, 1865, they and Fathers Ferdinand and Servatius preached missions at Springfield, Alton, Edwardsville, Highland, and in eleven parishes in what is now the diocese of Belleville, so that, as Father Kilian writes, they were continually traveling.

Besides preaching missions, the Fathers were called on to give retreats to the secular clergy and to religious communities, a work which they are performing with great success to the present day.

(To be continued.)

Teutopolis, Illinois SILAS BARTH, O. F. M.

A LINK BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

Some Interesting Details Concerning Several Early Illinois Clergymen

Writing in 1894 about the pioneer Catholics of Brooklyn, New York, it was necessary for me to obtain some details of the last years of the Rev. John Farnan who was the first pastor of the first church built in Brooklyn and who died in Detroit in 1849. A request for this information made to the late Richard R. Elliott of Detroit brought the answer that is given herewith. Mr. Elliott, as can be seen, was not over friendly to Father Farnan, a pioneer cleric whose rather erratic and stormy career can be found at greater length in Mgr. Lynch's "A Page of Church History in New York."[1]

Father Farnan was born in Ireland, and ordained in Dublin in 1812. He was brought to New York by Bishop Connolly in 1818 and sent to Utica the following year. He remained in charge of that section of the State until 1823, when he got into trouble with his trustees and was removed under a cloud. A local history pictures him as a "young and agreeable man with pleasing manners." He spoke French, was an attractive public speaker, and had qualities of personal magnetism and good-fellowship that made him very popular with his impulsive fellow countrymen. The Catholics of Brooklyn began to build their first church, the present St. James' Pro-Cathedral, in 1822, but it was not ready to be occupied for several years. Finally Father Farnan was sent there as the first resident pastor in April, 1825. He finished the church, built the first orphan asylum in 1827, and started a school with the Sisters of Charity the following year. In the civic activities of the then village he also took a leading part. His convivial temperament, however, again got him into trouble with Bishop Dubois and he was removed from his pastorate and suspended in September, 1829.

He refused to submit, and having considerable local influence as a leader, a faction of his good-natured countrymen backed him up in a move to start an "Independent Catholic Church." For several months in 1831 the *Truth Teller*, the local Catholic weekly,

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[1] The *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, June, 1891; and the United States Catholic Historical Society's *Records and Studies*, Vol. II, October, 1900.

published a "eaution" from Viear-General Power to "the Irish laborers working on eanals and railroads and Roman Catholics in general . . . that the Rev. John Farnan, late of Brooklyn, Long Island, is a suspended priest. . . . They are also informed that this notice is given to put a stop to saerilege and lawless plundering under pretense of raising a Catholic church, school house, etc." This did not deter the rebellious elerie, however. He went ahead and, on October 27, 1831, laid the corner stone of his "independent" edifice at York and Jay Streets, Brooklyn, a short distance from his former eharge. The attempt to build this structure was kept up for some time. In 1835 he was in Philadelphia, collecting for it, and a warning against him was published by Bishop Kenrick. Farnan retorted that the deposed Bishop Conwell, and not "the person styling himself Francis Patriek Kenrick, Bishop," was the canonical ruler of the see, and that his Brooklyn ehureh "was and should be independent of the Roman Catholic Bishop of New York and of the See of Rome . . . that he awards to the bishop, called the Bishop of Rome, no higher eeclesiastical powers than belong to every other bishop under the great head of the Chureh."[2]

The Brooklyn schism did not last much longer and the unfinished walls of the "independent" ehurch were used as a carpenter's shop until 1840, when Bishop Hughes bought the property, and, completing the original design, dedieated it as the Chureh of the Assumption on June 10, 1842. This building was razed and the Church transferred to another location in the parish in 1909 to make way for the approaches of the Canal Street Bridge across the East River. Father Farnan's faculties were not restored until Bishop Hughes took eharge of the diocese and then, as Mr. Elliott relates, the bishop, satisfied as to his repentance, gave him an *exeat* and he went to Detroit in 1847.

Riehard Elliott, in the sixties and seventies, was a well-known merehant of Detroit who zealously devoted his leisure moments to the preservation of the details of Catholic history. He was a eonstant eontributor to the publications of that period. His family were among the English-speaking Catholie pioneers of the dioeese. Mount Elliott, the Catholie cemetery of Detroit, was originally the property of his father. His brother is the Rev. Walter Elliott, rector emeritus of the Paulist Apostolie Mission House, Washington, D. C. Another brother, Major John Elliott, was killed in the Civil War, and a third,

[2] This controversy can be found in the files of the *United States Gazette* of that city for June 5 and 6, 1835.

James, was for years a public official in Detroit. During a long and useful life Richard Elliott was ever in the forefront of every Catholic activity.

THOMAS F. MEEHAN.

New York.

AVANT PROPOS

REV. JOHN FARNAN

IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN, 1847-1849

From Richard R. Elliott, April 2, 1894

The subject of this inquiry came to Detroit in the autumn of 1847. His credentials were from Rt. Rev. John Hughes, Bishop of New York.

He was accepted by Rt. Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre, at the time Bishop Administrator of the Diocese of Detroit, the titular, Rt. Rev. Frederic Rese, being indisposed in Europe.

Rev. Mr. Farnan was assigned to pastoral duty in Holy Trinity Parish, exclusively Irish, an assistant to Rev. St. Michael Edgar Evelyn Shawe, pastor. His first *act* as such was a baptism in 1847.

On June 29, 1848, the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul was consecrated, and soon after this event Holy Trinity was closed, its congregation, its records from 1835, and its pastor and assistant, became merged into the cathedral, virtually an Irish Catholic parish.

(Bishop Foley assumed control of St. Patrick's Church and named in his cathedral, Sts. Peter and Paul, three (3) years since.)

Father Shawe became pastor and Rev. Mr. Farnan one of the assisting priests.

Rev. Father Coppens, S. J., now attached to the Jesuits' Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, whose letter is annexed, gives the status of Rev. Mr. Farnan; the date of the first of his official entries in the Cathedral parish register as January 2, 1849, and his last September 26, of the same year.

The official entries of his death and burial place the former event, or rather that of his burial, as November 21, 1849.

So much of this history is of record in Detroit, and fully authenticated by the letters of Father Coppens, S. J., and Father Savage, pastor of Holy Trinity Church.

Other particulars connected with the career of Rev. Mr. Farnan are given by me from memory in the following notes.

RICHARD R. ELLIOT.

The See of Detroit, created in 1833, had for its first bishop the accomplished Frederic Rese, D. D. For reasons never disclosed by his own contempories in the purple, Dr. Rese resigned in the spring of 1837, and leaving his diocese in charge of his vicars, Very Rev. Francis Vincent Badin, and the disciple of St. Philip Neri, Father de Bruyn, he went to Rome. The influence of his patroness, the Archduchess Leopoldine of Austria, prevented the acceptance of his resignation, and he remained in Rome, the titular Bishop of Detroit and the recipient of a salary conformable to the usuages of the Church, paid by his diocese. *Rese obit.* 1871. Father de Bruyn died in the winter of 1837-38. The control of the diocese devolved upon the venerable Father Badin.[3]

He had been the friend and associate of Father Richard.[4] He was one of the School of Ascetic Holy French Ecclesiastics, whose devotional lives unfitted them for temporal cares of a diocese, and he repeatedly invoked Baltimore for relief, as he wanted to finish his career in his native town in France. The situation of the diocese of Detroit was peculiar. The interregnum had lasted nearly five (5) years. A bishop was wanting, but when a priest was found suitable to be elevated to the hierarchy and the administration of a diocese offered him, whose titular was alive, but abroad, and who might return to his see unexpectedly; most of the gentlemen selected for the honor declined to occupy the episcopal chair of Detroit under such circumstances.

Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, however, found Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre,[5] a zealous missionary in the border regions of Missouri and Southern Illinois, a candidate, who did not, when approached, suggest any decided feeling of disgust in taking Dr. Rese's mitre and placing it upon his own head.

He was accordingly consecrated at Philadelphia in November, 1841, Bishop of Zela, "in infidel parts," and administrator of Detroit, and soon after came to Detroit and assumed spiritual control. Fathers Badin and Kundig soon after this event retired, the former to France, the latter to Milwaukee, where he became Vicar-General. Next to St. Anne's, which included all the indigenous French race up and down

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[3] Rev. Vincent Badin was a brother of Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin, the proto-priest of America, the Apostle of Kentucky and Indiana and a frequent visitor to Chicago and Illinois. Father Vincent Badin also came to Illinois and was regularly assigned to Galena for a time.

[4] Father Gabriel Richard, Sulpitian, was for four years pastor of Holy Family parish at Cahokia, Illinois.

[5] Father Lefevre was also assigned to Quincy and other points in Illinois.

the river for several miles, the largest congregation in Detroit was that of Holy Trinity, exclusively composed of Irish and English-speaking Catholic families. This church had been dedicated on Trinity Sunday, 1835. At the advent of Bishop Lefevre, Father Martin Kundig, above mentioned, was pastor, but left in 1842, as stated. He was succeeded from time to time by Irish priests, on their travels, until in 1845, when, by invitation, the Rev. St. Michael E. E. Shawe came from the University of Notre Dame, where he held the chair of English literature, (in January) and was installed pastor of Trinity.

It had happened during the episcopate of Bishop Du Bois that several Irish priests, along the line of the Erie Canal during and after its completion, served as missionaries; some of these were zealous, pious and self-sacrificing.

I recall the memory of one in particular, the Rev. Michael McNamara, who built the first St. Patrick's Church in Rochester, and whose death occurred there during my childhood, hounded to a premature grave by recalcitrant trustees.

Among these missionaries of canal-building time was the subject of your inquiry, the Rev. John Farnan. I doubt if there is any authentic history of this missionary period in the State of New York.

At all events, I ascertained such reliable particulars as enabled me to dictate the inscription cut on the uniform tombstone, which is to be seen at the head of the graves of deceased priests, in the spacious reservation assigned by me for their burial in Mount Elliott Cemetery twenty years or more ago, and to which I had the remains of Rev. Mr. Farnan removed and designated.

To the information contained in this inscription, which reads as follows:

REV. JOHN FARNAN
A Native of Ireland
First Pastor of Utica and Western New York.
First Pastor of St. James' Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Associate Pastor of Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, Detroit.
Died at the Episcopal Residence, Detroit, November 19, 1849.
May his soul rest in peace. Amen.

I will add that Rev. Mr. Farnan was connected with St. James, Brooklyn, until 1832. This, I believe, is authentic.

(I heard it stated that after his suspension he opened an independent church; how long this schismatic and rebellious concern existed, I do not know.)

His restoration in 1846-7, by Bishop Hughes, was undoubtedly

influenced through personal friends, and was probably their return for political services rendered. As Bishop Lefevre provided only Belgian and Dutch priests for Detroit, and as Father Shawe needed assistance, the Bishop thought himself fortunate in obtaining the services of such a distinguished appearing ecclesiastic as the Rev. John Farnan was, when he came to Detroit bearing a letter from Bishop Hughes.

There he was, ready made, no expenses for preparation, no expense for seminary. He suited Bishop Lefevre and was appointed to assist Father Shawe; but at what precise date I cannot state, probably in the autumn, as stated, of 1847. After Father Richard, no Catholic priest was more loved and respected than Father Shawe, whose history is a romance, and who, like Galitzin, was of noble blood; he had been commander of a squadron of British cavalry at Waterloo, and, before that battle was ended, he lay upon the bloody field all cut to pieces, with the dead and wounded piled upon him three deep. Rescued, with a faint spark of life, he was removed to a temporary hospital, where he was soon after joined by his mother, who came from London to seek his remains, as she had read his name among the British officers who had been reported to headquarters as killed in this battle. She was soon able to take her young soldier to the South of France, where, after three years' nursing, the boy was saved; then the mother's turn came.

She had not spared herself; and when her son had been fully restored to life and vigor, she had exhausted her own physical status and had become an invalid. The son nursed the mother most tenderly, but she gradually faded, and finally arrived at that stage of weakness when it became a question of a few months when the term of her life would end.

Mother and son were of a noble Catholic race. When the filial duties of young Shawe had ended with the transportation of his mother's remains to the ancestral vault of his family in Devonshire, England, he retired from the military career, which had nearly cost him his own life, and had brought his mother to a premature grave.

He went to Vienna, where he remained a few years, and while in that city he became a postulant for admission to the noble and military order of Teutonic Knights of Germany, the grandmaster of which had been, and still continues to be, under the statutes of the order, a prince of the imperial family of Austria. To be elected a Teutonic Knight, the postulant has to show his right to sixteen

distinct quarterings of nobility in the heraldry of his country, and official proof of this right must accompany his presentation.

Young Shawe became a Teutonic Knight; and had his stall assigned him in the Chapter House of the order in Vienna. But his mother's self sacrifice and death clouded his life and he determined to leave the world and become a priest. He accordingly entered a seminary in Paris, where he remained until he received minor orders.

About this time the saintly Bishop Bruté[6] had come to France to recruit missionaries for his wild see of Vincennes and to collect funds for carrying on his apostolic work in Indiana. It was while receiving a donation from young Shawe that Bruté noticed a bright cicatrice which traversed obliquely the prominent nose of the young man, and he inquired its origin. Early in the afternoon of Waterloo, Shawe's regiment had met the onset of a French regiment of cuirassers, one of whose officers rode direct against young Shawe, and with a powerful sweep of his sabre sought to decapitate the young Englishman; the blow was parried and with but little force it encountered the young man's nose, but, rising in his stirrups, he swung his sabre in a circle and cut the Frenchman through his helmet down to his neck and the upper edge of his breastplate. It was while relating this incident that the fascinating eyes of Bruté became fixed upon the young student and he resolved to win him for his missionary work. Few who had encountered such an effort had escaped.

Young Shawe, De St. Palais,[7] and some other young French nobleman accompanied Bishop Bruté to Indiana at the time, the most God-forsaken State in the Western Country.

Shawe, with other young volunteers, was ordained, and soon put on his missionary harness. Then he became Father Shawe, the only English-speaking priest on the mission, but French and German were as familiar to his tongue and no less eloquently preached.

With his own personal fortune he built a stone church at Madison, which he dedicated to his patron, Saint Michael.

The Bishop's death was succeeded by intrigue among his French associates, and in disgust Father Shawe, at the invitation of Father Edward Sorin,[8] left the sacerdotal family of Vincennes and became professor of English literature in the University of Notre Dame.

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[6] Rt. Rev. Simon William Gabriel Bruté, first Bishop of Vincennes with jurisdiction over Chicago and eastern Illinois.

[7] Rev. Maurice de St. Palais who succeeded Rev. John Mary Iranaeus St. Cyr at Chicago and later became Bishop of Vincennes.

[8] Rev. Edward Sorin was the founder of Notre Dame.

He was intensely English, anti-American to some extent: while at that time Notre Dame's faculty was to a great extent as intensely French, as Father Shawe was English, in their tendencies. Some of these gentlemen were ex-militarists, and quite sensitive about the misfortunes under which the military glory of their country had succumbed. The majority were too strong for Father Shawe in this sentimental battle, and after establishing the English chair in such a manner that the present staff of Notre Dame accord the highest tribute to his wonderful ability and method, he, with the blessing of Father Sorin and the love and esteem of his associates, left the university and came to Detroit, to resume the active functions of his sacerdotal state and to enjoy life in a city so Catholic as was and is Detroit, and in society which his aristocratic attributes so well fitted him to adorn.

His advent was a God-send to Bishop Lefevre. His learning, his eloquence, his experience and his personal fortune and sincere piety, soon became effective aids in the pastorate of the Irish congregation of Holy Trinity Church, to which he was assigned upon his arrival in 1845.

Father Shawe was thrown from his carriage in April, 1853, and died May 10, following. R. I. P.

He organized guilds, charitable societies and other works requisite, and these aids to his pastoral work were in matured operation when Farnan came upon the scene. He posed as a D. D. and called at my office soon after his arrival in Detroit.

His physical appearance I remember quite well. He was over six feet, quite corpulent, and dressed in a new suit of black broadcloth.

During his interview he stated that, prior to his departure, he was invited to a reception of his friends, who presented him with a purse, well filled, and a massive gold watch, which he showed me, on the inner case of which was inscribed the names of the donors.

His manner was pompous, and well calculated to impose upon the susceptible people of the Irish race. He was at the time, I should judge, about sixty years of age, but gouty and infirm.

The popularity of Father Shawe made him wildly jealous, and, with the low instincts of a demagogue, he began to undo the beneficent work of his superior (Father Shawe), and the means he employed were to create a national antipathy on the part of a certain element against the English*man,* as he called his superior. Discord was fostered and some of the good and useful societies of the time were disrupted. So susceptible was he of flattery that he became the laughing stock of the household of the Bishop. All the priests of the city were at the time domiciled in the episcopal residence.

Fortunately, his physical status prevented active parochial work on his part. As an evidence of his ignorance and pretension, he claimed to be related to Lord Farnham, and the family of the Earl of Carrick (Sommerset Richard Maxwell), County Cavan, Ireland. Farnan and Farnham were wide apart. The climate of Detroit did not agree with Rev. John Farnan; there are but few entries made by him in the registers of Trinity or Sts. Peter and Paul.

After his death in 1849 there was litigation over the little of value he had left, by those claiming to be his heirs. The records of the Probate Court might furnish particulars, but I do not care to waste time in such a scrutiny. This unfortunate career, which commenced in America during the "twenties," ended in Detroit toward the end of the "forties".

RICHARD R. ELLIOT.

Detroit, April 4, 1894.

THE BEAUBIENS OF CHICAGO

(Continued from July, 1919)

LETTER OF FATHER ST. CYR TO MAYOR WENTWORTH

CARONDELET, MO., January 30, 1880.

Mr. John Wentworth.

DEAR SIR—Permit me two remarks before we come to the answer of your inquiry. In the first place, you must be aware that I have lost my eyesight, and can, therefore, neither write nor read for myself. I am necessitated to have recourse to an amanuensis. Secondly, in the printed copy of my first letter you make me say Arch Division instead of Arch Diocese of Lyons. Please correct it.

Now in your kind letter, which came to hand on the 27th instant, you ask me where was the first church of Chicago located. What was its dimension, and why and how was it removed to Madison Street. At first the church was to be located on a lot promised to me for the nominal sum of $200 by Colonel (Jean Baptiste) Beaubien, which was on the second street that is south of Water Street with which it runs parallel towards the lake. I cannot recollect the name (Lake). To explain it more clearly, it was on the street starting from Colonel (Mark) B's hotel towards the lake until it reached the Military reservation. But being unable to obtain this nominal sum of $200 from my friends abroad, I had to look for another location. Colonel (Jean Baptiste) B. sold that lot a year after to Dr. (William B) Egan for the sum of $300, who again sold the same lot in 1836 to speculators from the East for the fabulous sum of $60,000. According to the advice of Colonel (Jean Baptiste) B. and Colonel (Thomas J. V.) Owen, I then concluded to build the church on a canal lot which was next to the military reservation on the same street with the privilege that no one should bid on the lot on which the church was above the valuation of the lot made by the canal commissioners. But the valuation was too high for the Catholics to buy it.

Mr. (Dexter) Graves therefore, who had put up his house on the same lot with the same privilege, resolved to take it at the commissioner's valuation for $10,000, and in consequence thereof the Catholics had to remove their church from that lot. Meanwhile, Rev. Father O'Meara had bought a lot for his own use on Madison street, to which place he removed the church. As to more particulars apply to Augustine Dodat Taylor, who built the church himself, being a carpenter, and Anson, his brother, who hauled the timber with his team. The dimension of the church was 35x25 feet. But Very Rev. Maurice de St. Palais, late Bishop of Vincennes, enlarged it considerably and thus the church remained until Bishop Duggan had it demolished to build on the same spot the convent of the Sisters of Mercy.

Dear sir, I would be truly happy and proud to have had for my predecessor the saintly Father Marquette. However, it would be very hard work to prove it, because the great and most excellent works written by Father Marquette and his associates whilst on his way to the discovery of the Mississippi, together with the most accurate maps that he has left us of the lakes, would strongly militate against the supposition that the noble Rev. F. Marquette ever remained or even that he ever was in Chicago. For everything in his narratives and maps drawn

by himself indicates that he directed his course towards Green Bay, which was one of the most beautiful and safest harbors on the lakes. As there was a dense forest of evergreen pine trees and high towering firs on both sides of the bay, giving to the waters a hue or tincture of green color, it was called Green Bay. *Sinus viridis* in Latin; or, as the French Canadians called it, *Baie Verte*. From thence the explorers ascended the river that empties into the bay. It may be interesting to your Historical Club to know who were the first owners of that tract of land that lies north of Chicago River. It first belonged by a concession of the Indians to a man who lived at Grosse Pointe, called Bonhomme (whether it was his real name I do not know). Being in need of money, he one day, long before Chicago was a village, town or city, met Mr. Peter Menard who wished to buy some land in that direction. Mr. Bonhomme told him he could sell to him all that tract of land. Mr. Menard asked for how much. Fifty dollars was the reply of B; and consequence they drew up a contract in due form by which that tract of land extending along the river passed into the hands of P. Menard as second owner. But returning home to Tazewell County, Illinois, and finding land much cheaper near Peoria and of much better quality for cultivation, he repented of his first bargain, went back to Chicago and sold his land to the Kinzies for the same amount for which he had bought it, $50. Consequently the want of foresight in P. Menard was the cause of John and Robert Kinzie's great fortune. I had this from Mr. Menard himself, who came to Chicago in 1835, and while we were walking together in the street he pointed with his right hand to that tract of land and said, "Would you believe, Father St. Cyr, that I was once the owner of that land there, for which I paid $50 and which I sold again to the Kinzies for the same price? How foolish I was," he said with great agitation.

You ask for my full name, it is that of your obedient servant,

REV. JOHN MARY IRENEUS ST. CYR.

THE FIRST CHURCH AND THE TAYLORS

This letter was read to Augustine Deodat Taylor,[4] referred to by Father St. Cyr. He was found serving upon a jury, aged eighty-four years, as well preserved as any ordinary man at sixty and having a splendid memory. He was one of the trustees of the old town of Chicago and also alderman under the administration of Mayor Levi D. Boone. He has been one of the leading house carpenters of the city, having done the woodwork of six Catholic Churches, commencing with Father St. Cyr's. The site originally designed for the church was the site of the present Tremont House, corner of Lake and

[4] James Taylor, a son of Augustin Deodat Taylor, is still living in Chicago and is a worthy representative of this pioneer family. He early became a member of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and is an enthusiastic friend of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. He and his relatives are getting together notes and documents relating to their distinguished pioneer ancestors that will form the basis for interesting sketches to be published in these columns. Needless to say Father St. Cyr was mistaken in his remarks about Father Marquette.

Dearborn Streets, and which was sold by Dr. William B. Egan in 1836 to Tertius Wadsworth of Hartford, Connecticut.

The first Catholic Church was erected upon Canal land at the foot of Lake Street, on the South side of it, being what is now the southwest corner of Lake and State Street. But State Street was not laid out. There was a fence there then inclosing all the land to the lake which was then cultivated. The church was upon the lot next to the Military Reservation. But the price was so high, and the Canal Commissioners having no power to reduce it, the church was removed to the corner of Madison Street and Wabash Avenue and the old lot was bought by Dexter Graves, father-in-law of E. H. Hadduck. After an extension of this church by Father Mauriee de St. Palais, he built St. Mary's brick church, Mr. Taylor doing the woodwork and Peter Page the brickwork. After the great fire the remains of two dead bodies were found under the ruins, supposed to be those of Father Bernard Shaffer and Bishop William Quarter (the first Bishop of the diocese of Chicago, created in 1844) who died April 10, 1848.

Mr. Taylor saw Bishop Rosatti in St. Louis in 1832. His brother, Anson H. Taylor, who died on the 9th of May, 1878, at Lakeside in this county, went to St. Louis and brought Father St. Cyr here. Father St. Cyr boarded at Mark Beaubien's old Sauganash Hotel, corner of Lake and Market Streets, and the first Mass that Mr. Taylor attended in Chicago was in a log building about twelve feet square on the west side of Market Street opposite the Sauganash owned and occupied by one of Mark Beaubien's laborers. Mr. Taylor remembered hearing the Indians sing devotional songs which Father St. Cyr had taught them. He did not think the first church cost over $400. He built it as cheap as he could, only expecting to make his expenses. When he went for his pay Mark Beaubien pulled a half-bushel measure out from under his bed and paid him in new silver half dollars, such as the government had used in paying the Indian annuities. At this time Rev. Jeremiah Porter, Presbyterian, was preaching in the garrison. Mr. Porter wrote to the *Connecticut Observer* at Hartford, Connecticut, that he had arrived in Chicago just in time to counteract the influence of the Romish priests. But notwithstanding one of his strongest supporters, Deacon John Wright, helped handle the timbers when the first Catholic church was raised. It was finished in the autumn of 1833.

Before Father St. Cyr came here, Father Stephen Theodore Baden, a misisonary among the Pottawatomi in the region of South Bend, would occasionally come here and celebrate Mass at the headquarters of Colonel Whistler in the garrison and Mr. Taylor's

brother, Anson H., would try to assist him. Father Baden secured from the Indians the land upon which Notre Dame College near South Bend, Indiana, now stands. The Taylors were a pretty numerous family here in early times. Their mother died here but a few years ago, aged ninety-six. Anson H. Taylor came to Chicago in 1827 and he sold goods here in 1829 at the Forks on the West Side, and afterwards moved to the north part of this county near the lake. The late Charles H. Taylor, alderman from the old Third Ward under Mayor Augustus Garrett in 1843, came here in 1832 and kept a hotel on the West Side near the Forks built by James Kinzie and afterwards kept by Chester Ingersoll. Augustine Deodat came here in June, 1833, and lived here until his death. He saw the first printing press landed in Chicago.

Anecdotes and Reminiscences

The Cuillerier or Beaubien family have no Indian blood except through the marriage of Gen. Jean Baptiste Beaubien. I remember when I was a little boy of five years of age when my father kept the light-house, the Indians would come and camp in our yard. That was the time the Indians used to come once a year to get their pay from the government, they always came to our house. Father used to place me on a table and play his violin and I would dance for the Indians and old Indian Chief Shabbona would give me maple sugar and a pair of moccasins for the dance. I always looked for him. The last time I saw him he came to our house on Pine street on the North side, it was in the year of 1858. He died in 1859. His wife and children used to come to our house after his death, when we moved to Naperville and bring her children and grandchildren with her.

Near the time of my father's death—just before he died he asked for his violin. He played an old Indian tune, the words are, "Let me got to my home on the far distant shore white man, let me go." He played it partly through but he was too weak to finish. He requested me to bring the violin and a picture of Hon. John Wentworth, taken when he was a young man and to hand them to John Wentworth. After his death, I brought them to Hon. John Wentworth who was stopping at the Sherman House. I handed them to him and said that it was father's request. He took my hand, the tears came to his eyes and he could not speak and he left me and I went out deeply impressed. Mr. Wentworth gave the violin to the Calumet Club, where the old pioneers used to meet once a year until they all passed away.

Then when the Calumet Club went out of existence it was given to the Chicago Historical Society, where it now lies honored with the memories of the dear ones who have passed away.

I have often heard my sister, Mrs. Emily LeBeau, who is now living, she is now in her 90th year, (died in November, 1919, since this article was written), speak about the big snow storm on March 8, 1830, the time my brother Napoleon was born. She and her uncle's children were at school at the time it commenced to snow, but her mother was afraid the children would perish in the storm (my father being away at Joliet) when Francois Laframboise, Sr., who was visiting at our house went after the children to take them home. He found them near a fence. It seems on their way home they huddled together to keep warm. However, he brought them home safely. The next morning there was a man found frozen to death between Chicago and Joliet that perished in that terrible storm.

A very interesting interview with Medore B. Beaubien by a *Chicago Times* reporter appeared in that paper May 16, 1882, as follows:

MEDORE BEAUBIEN INTERVIEW

The most interesting fact to Chicagoans concerning Mr. Beaubien is that of all men now living, he is certainly the one who first saw Chicago. The date of his seeing was the spring of 1813, when Mr. Beaubien was four years old, "I remember," said he, "as well as if it were yesterday running about over the ruins of Old Fort Dearborn, and picking up bits of iron and pieces of the furniture that had been in the Fort before it was destroyed. At that time I think the only house was Mr. Kinzie's on the North side of the River, and one morning my father, step-mother, and my brother Charles and myself crossed the river in a canoe to see the ruins. I did not stay here long at that time, but about two years later my father opened a supply store in Chicago and was appointed agent for the American Fur Company. I lived in Chicago from that time until 1840 when I went to Kansas with the Pottawatomie nation and settled with them on their reservation near Topeka."

"When I came to Chicago to live there was a government field which extended North to the river from what is now Washington street, and from the South branch to the lake. The field was sometimes sowed to wheat and I remember that I often used to shoot pigeons there. The ground was low and wet, and had to be ditched. Where the Tremont house now stands was a good place to shoot ducks and muskrats."

"The only house on the South side of the river at that time was my father's. There was an old horse-power mill, which stood a little South of where the old light-house used to be and there were the government stables. An old Frenchman named Wilmot owned some building on the North side and afterward Walcott built there and Daniel McKee, who was the government blacksmith. You can say that when I came here Chicago was a mighty lonesome, wet place."

"After the old town was laid out I built the first house on lot No. 1 at

the corner of South Water and Dearborn Streets. It was a double log-house, and in one end of it I opened a store with a stock of goods which I bought in Detroit. Anson Taylor occupied the other end of it for a Tailor-shop. That was about 1826 or 1827. My uncle, Mark Beaubien, came here about this time from Monroe and after a few years he built the Sauganash Hotel. About two years afterward Peter Cohen built a house on the other side of the slough. He was a Frenchman and said he had been one of Napoleon Bonaparte's body-guard. He used to show the scars of the wounds which he said he got in the wars."

"George W. Dole built the next house on the corner of Dearborn and South Water Street.

"Then the Sac war broke out in '32," and as the old man said he grew excited, rose from his chair and began to pace the room. "Then the Sac war broke out and what did Beaubien do? Beaubien had to join. Beaubien had to furnish guns. Beaubien had to furnish ammunition. He never got a cent for it. Beaubien had to go on all the scouting expeditions mind you. Young man! the people of Chicago have forgotten old Beaubien. They don't remember that old Beaubien ever did anything for them. I know I've got some pride, but it isn't for myself so much as for my children and he pointed to his youngest son who was in the room. I want my children to know that their father did, and I want their friends and mine to give their father what honor is due him."

The old man sat down and began to tell stories. "One morning," said he, "We had an invitation to go over to Hickory Creek to a ball given for the benefit of old Nicholas Baldwin who kept a trading establishment over there. Goldson Kercheval, Robert Kinzie, Thomas Owen, John Whistler, myself and one or two others started about noon on horse back and got to Hickory Creek just before dark. We put our horses in the stable, got supper and went to dancing. We danced until midnight had a lunch; danced till daylight; got breakfast, danced till noon; ate our dinner, danced the rest of that day, all the next night and sometime after that. All together I think we danced three nights and two days, while that lasted we forgot all about the horses, and when we went after them to go home we didn't know them. The Chicago boys had rather got the best of the country boys with the girls out there and the country boys got mad about it, so while we were dancing they went to the barn and clean shaved the mane and tail of every Chicago horse. Kercheval was the maddest man in the world. His horse was a fast pacer, with a splendid long flowing mane and tail and when he found him, that horse's tail was as bare of hair as my arm."

Frontier Tragedy

Beaubien was a Second Lieutenant of the Naperville company of Militia during the Sac War and was with a company of men under command of Gen. Brown, who were on their way from Chicago to Ottawa at the time of the Indian Creek Massacre. They were met on the way by a messenger from Ottawa, who brought the news. It was just at sunrise the morning after the massacre that they came in sight of the settlement on the other side of the creek.

"I was riding ahead," said Beaubien, "and the first thing I saw on the other side was something shiny that lay on the ground and glistened in the

sunlight. We wondered what it was, but found out soon enough when we crossed the creek. There lay Mr. White man flat on his face, stone dead with his scalp gone, and it was the bare place from which his scalp had been taken that glistened and shone in the sun. And there they lay all around, fifteen of them, I think, all dead. There were seven women and children in the house and they were all killed, and right in front of the open door of the log cabin lay a little baby not more than so long,'' the old man measured off about two feet on his arm. ''There was a big stump by the door, and it looked as if some red brute had taken the little thing by the feet and smashed it's head against this stump and afterward ran an arrow through its body on the floor of the cabin. The blood was so thick that it splashed as we walked in. We went to Ottawa that night and went into camp. I was officer of the guard, and placed sentry around the camp. Pretty soon after it was dark we began to expect the Indians and about that time the guards came in all doubled up, with their hands on their stomachs and complaining of a dreadful colic. Most all of 'em either had the colic very bad, or all got so thirsty that they had to come into the camp that night, but the Indians didn't come and we went back to Chicago without seeing them.''

Pioneering

It was a poor day for wolves, according to Mr. Beaubien, when the Chicago hunter could not kill a dozen within a few miles of the town, and on one day they started out by killing a bear in the strip of woods just north of the river and before night had added forty wolves to the bag. Mr. Beaubien's few days visit with his old acquaintance in Chicago had revived his memory and he told stories of the old times with the keenest relish.

He is now a resident of Silver Lake, Kansas and came to Chicago to attend the reception of the old Settlers at the Calumet Club. He is the son of an Indian mother (a sister of Chief Shabbona) and son of Gen. Jean Baptiste Beaubien, a Frenchman, brother of the famous Mark Beaubien. He is, notwithstanding his 73 years, active and strong and fond of society. His face is plainly marked with his Indian ancestry, but he speaks with a slight French accent. He is well educated and there are few men who do less violence to the English language than he. For many years he was the Interpreter of the Pottawatomie nation and was one of the six commissioners whom that nation employed to transact all their business with the United States government. In 1861, Beaubien with about fourteen hundred others, separated from the nation and became citizens of the United States, but by virtue of his commission he is still one of the Chiefs of the Pottawatomies.

Wentworth on the Beaubiens

I also insert here an address made by Hon. John Wentworth at the Calumet Club, May 20, 1881:

Now my fellow citizens the history of Chicago has been very much mystified by various writings. You know it is said that when we get old we get garrulous, we like to talk. Well many of us cannot get an audience, so we write a letter and publish it, and put our names to it. Now, I don't care how accurate a man is, how retentive his memory, he will make mistakes. He will get his events right, but he will mix up the parties to those events, and he will get the dates all scattered along from one to twenty years. When I write anything of that kind I jump up every little while to find some of the old documents to refer to, and I am perfectly astonished to find how little I know about Chicago until I get at the actual facts of the case, and so men have written and will continue to write; but there are facts, and these facts exist in the hands of these old soldiers. Yes, you are old soldiers, gentlemen, for you have fought many a good fight and by comparing what one man says with what another man says you get at the whole story, and that is the only way you will ever get at the correct history of Chicago, and this Club is entitled to the whole credit of it.

Now I do not thank the Club for entertaining me, but I do thank this Club for planting the foundation for the restoration of our history, without which it never could have been written.

Now, my fellow-citizens, I have a duty to discharge to you. You miss one man here to-night that has always been with us. He has always been with Chicago. When you came here all of you, old Mark Beaubien was here. (Applause). But he has passed away as we shall all have to pass away and on his death-bed he willed this old violin to me, and as here was his home, I deemed it my duty to bring it down here and present it to the Calumet Club. (Applause). I labored somewhat to find some of the old settlers, some of the descendants of the French families here that had a taste for this, but I could not find one that would come here and play to you to-night. So we will have to forego this music and listen to the music of modern times, but I would say also, in behalf of his brother, old Jean B. Beaubien, whom you all remember and who came here before Mark did, that he also has a son here. The old gentleman was a little higher-toned than Mark, he thought it better becoming his dignity to have a piano in his house and he brought the first piano here that was ever brought to Chicago, and that piano has been well preserved, but has marched along with his grandchildren, and is now doing service to the young people on the frontier of Kansas.

It is out at Silver Lake, where our old friend Medore Beaubien, also one of the first trustees of the City of Chicago is now living, who at last accounts, was the Mayor of the City of Silver Lake. With that piano and with this fiddle Col. Taylor, you know we had many a good time. (Laughter). We were young then, and you remember old Capt. James Allen, who was then at the fort. We named our first steamboat after him and how we young people used to assemble night after night there on the deck of the Jim Allen, and if we got there before Mark came, you know what the song was, "Come Uncle Mark with your old violin and give us a dance upon the Jim Allen." (Laughter).

Mark Beaubien's Career

The greater portion of Mark Beaubien's life was closely interwoven with the early history of this city. He came here in 1826 from Monroe, Michigan, when the future metropolis of the West was struggling for existence. He bought a log hut near the corner of Lake and Market Streets, then the property of John Kinzie and converted it into a tavern. In 1830 he enlarged this by the addition of a second story frame building and then dignified it with the name of a hotel, which he called the Sauganash Hotel, in honor of an Indian Chief of that name, who was a very prominent character in those days. Sauganash was with Tecumseh, an ally of the British in the war of 1812. For his services he was created a Captain in the army. Subsequently in 1826, he was appointed a Justice of the peace in Chicago. At this time Sauganash was burdened with the duties of Chief of the Pottawatomie Indians. In civilized life he was known as Billy Caldwell. There were two other distinguished Indians who used to frequent Beaubien's tavern. They were Shabonee and Checkepinque or Robinson. It was at this place the settlers congregated and passed away a good deal of time in the relation of the incidents of the day, and Sauganash had taken an active part with Tecumseh, and was present at the battle of the Thames. Beaubien was in Detroit at the time of the surrender of the place by General Hull to the British in 1812. Beaubien was of a social jolly disposition and easily found many congenial companions in those early days. He was besides very much attached to a violin, which it is said he brought with him from Monroe, and was an excellent player. Music at that time was very scarce, and Beaubien and his fiddle were very often called into requisition. He furnished the music for all occasions, and his audiences were generally of a very mixed character comprising the white or American settlers, Indians, half-breeds, and French Canadians. It is related by the Hon. John Wentworth, who was very intimately acquainted with him, that he never failed to produce music, if one string was broken, or gone, he made two answer the occasion. The fiddle was his inseparable companion and he possessed it until his death.

His history was full of amusing incidents as one will illustrate. At his hotel he was frequently crowded for room and comfortable lodging for his guests. On one occasion he said, "I had no bed but when a traveler came for lodging I gave him a blanket to cover himself in on the floor ,and told him to look out, for Indians may steal it. Then when he gets asleep I take the blanket away carefully

and give it to another man and tell him the same so I always have beds for all that want them."

In 1836 the digging of the canal was begun and to celebrate the event the leading citizens went on an excursion down the river to Bridgeport. Two schooners towed by a small steamer, (the George W. Dole) were chartered for the occasion. On returning home some ruffians made a malicious attack on the excursionists, throwing stones and breaking the cabin windows of the vessels. A halt was made and those on board, who included the Kinzies, Stephen F. Cole, John and Richard L. Wilson, Henry C. and Gurdon S. Hubbard, Sr., James B. Campbell, Ashael Steale, S. S. Cobb and Mark Beaubien, jumped ashore and went for their assailants. They pummeled them with their fists and retired victorious. This was on the glorious Fourth of July and no doubt the early settlers felt proud of their achievements in commerce and war for the day.

Chicago's Debt to the Friendly Indians

Alexander Robinson once did the village of Chicago a great service and it is a pleasure to record the fact even eighty years after. Robinson was a chief of the united Pottawatomies, Chippewas and Ottawas, his father was a Scotchman. He was born in 1762 or thereabouts. At the time of the Fort Dearborn massacre he was living at St. Joseph, Mich., and his home was for a time the refuge of the Kinzie family. Through all his life he was friendly to the Whites. Soon after the massacre he came to the struggling settlement around Fort Dearborn and built himself a home on the south branch of the Chicago river. In 1829 he was granted two sections of land on the reservation along the Desplaines river, the Pottawatomies at that time being scattered along the river from Waukegan to Morris. He was living on the Desplaines in 1831 when Black Hawk made his treaty with the government and withdrew to his Iowa reservation, promising to remain there.

It is a matter of history that in the fall of 1831, Black Hawk began organizing the Iowa Indians for an invasion of Illinois and the recovery of their old homes and hunting grounds along Rock river. Black Hawk sent a runner all the way from his Iowa reservation to Chief Robinson's on the Desplaines. The runner came to Robinson's cabin one evening and delivered his message. It was not verbal, he handed the Chief a string of wampum to which was attached a pouch of vermilion and a small bag of Indian tobacco made of tobacco leaves, red willow bark and sumac leaves, the mixture

being known in those early days as "Kinnikinnick." Robinson gave the runner food and shelter and next morning started him back to his distant home.

Robinson knew too well the meaning of this message. The tobacco meant "a council and the smoking of the pipe." The wampum was a peace offering or a tender of friendship. The vermillion was an invitation to put on the war paint. Therefore Black Hawk's message to Chief Robinson was, "Will you be our friends and allies? Call a council of your Chiefs, put on the war paint and join us in a war against our enemies, the white people."

Chief Robinson was in sore doubt. He knew that any continued fight against the whites would be hopeless and ill-advised. Yet he knew that if he, as War Chief, called a council the young and hot-blooded chiefs would favor war and might overcome the restraining influence of Billy Caldwell, Shabbona (or Shawbonee) and the other friendly Chief and favor an alliance with Black Hawk. If he returned the peace offering to Black Hawk without a council that would be a virtual declaration of war against Black Hawk. He decided to take no action whatsoever. He told no one of the message from the Iowa Indians. Black Hawk, after waiting many weeks and getting no reply from Robinson must have concluded that the Pottawatomies had accepted his peace offering and were ready to join him in a war. Robinson's conduct was in violation of Indian ethics, but time proved his wisdom. In the summer of 1832 when Black Hawk and his tribe were advancing toward Chicago, Big Foot and many of the younger chiefs caught the war sentiment and it was only by the utmost efforts of Robinson, Billy Caldwell (or Sauganash), Shabbone and the military officers that they were prevented from organizing an outbreak.

All the history of these times would indicate that Black Hawk expected the Indians in Illinois to readily join with the Saes, Foxes and Iowas in a war of extermination.

In the early summer of 1832 with 500 braves and all the women and children of the tribe, he crossed the Mississippi and began his devastation through Illinois. The fact that he brought the women and children along showed that he expected refuge and shelter for them in the Indian towns in Illinois. He had proceeded as far as Sugar Grove or Big Rock in Kane County when he sent runners ahead to have a further understanding with the Pottawaatomies. When these runners came to the Pottawatomies camps along the Desplaines river they found that the Indians had made no preparations for war and were in ignorance of any intended uprising. These

runners attacked two settlers near Naperville. One man escaped and the other was killed and scalped. At Plainfield in Will county they killed an old man and not only took his scalp but tore the skin from his face to make a gory ornament of his long whiskers. It was about this time also that one of Black Hawk's bands killed a missionary in LaSalle county and put his head with its long floating black hair on a high pole so as to frighten the settlers.

By this time, however, the Illinois volunteers were organizing against hostiles, the government had dispatched troops from Buffalo and Gen. Scott was on his way from Fortress Monroe to assist in driving the Indians back to their reservation. It is believed that Black Hawk recognized the hopelessness of his campaign as soon as he learned that the Indians to the east would not assist him. At any rate, he began his memorable retreat, with the militia and regulars brushing close behind him and having an occasional engagement. The Indians had reached the mouth of Bad Axe river, now in Vernon County, Wisconsin, when the troops overtook them. Some boats carrying artillery had come up the river and the Indians were fairly trapped between the two forces, only a few escaping to the Iowa side. Black Hawk was made a prisoner and the last stand of the Indians in the Northwest Territory ended in dismal failure. Suppose that the Pottawatomies had received the message from Black Hawk? They would have allied themselves with the Saes, Foxes and Iowas. The first massacre might have been repeated on a larger scale. The Village of Chicago could not have withstood any determined Indian attack, it was perhaps saved by the shrewdness and conservatism of Alexander Robinson.

One day in 1865 George J. Tucker of Naperville and Mark Beaubien, drove from Naperville to Alexander Robinson's cabin on the Desplaines river. Mr. Tucker was the step-father of Samuel E. Chase, the prominent democratic politician and at present the recorder of Cook county. Both Mr. Tucker and Mr. Beaubien had known the old chief for years and had been on friendly terms with him.

They took with them a large bottle of whisky as a present to the chief. During most of that day they sat in the shade of the cabin and talked over old times with Robinson, who was a man or remarkable memory even at his advanced age. According to his calculation he was then 103 years old. He died in the same cabin in 1872.

Under the warming influences of whisky and old associations Robinson became confidential. The talk turned to the Black Hawk War and finally Robinson, entering his cabin went to a hollow log

in the wall and withdrew the wampum, (bits of shell strung on a sinew) the little pouch of dried war-paint and the bag of "Kinnikinnick." Showing them to his white friends, he told the story of the Black Hawk runner practically as it is told above. His children and grandchildren who gathered around him were no less surprised than Mark Beaubien and Mr. Tucker. They said he had never before told them the story and none of them had ever before seen the curious relics.

Mark Beaubien, who thought that he knew all about that period in Chicago's history, when the settlers were flocking into the fort for protection and the boats were bringing in cholera-stricken soldiers from the east, was deeply interested in the narrative.

Many questions were asked of Robinson, who went over the story in detail. Mr. Tucker entreated Robinson to give him the wampum, paint and tobacco, and after a few more drinks the chief consented.

The articles were for several years in the possession of Mr. Tucker, and when he died they passed into the hands of his widow, Mr. Chase's mother. After the fire of 1871, and shortly before her death, Mrs. Tucker suggested to her son that the articles be placed in the custody of the Chicago Historical Society. Mr. Chase delivered them to Secretary Hager of the society, with a statement of their great historic value. The secretary requested him to write at length the story, but Mr. Chase neglected doing so, and when he was solicited to repeat the story for this publication he remarked, "This will be the first time it has appeared in print."

Mr. Chase is positive, from his investigation of the Robinson story, from the written history of that time and from his many conversations with old settlers, that the caution of the war chief and the friendly influence of Shabbona and Billy Caldwell saved Chicago from a frightful massacre. Mr. Chase remembers Shabbona (the towns of Shabbona and Shabbona Grove in DeKalb county were named after him) and often saw him fording the DuPage river. At that time Mr. Chase lived in Naperville.

"Every year Shabbona would go on a friendly visit to the Ottawas and would travel from Shabbona Grove down to Wilmington and back," said he. "He would cut through the woods to avoid a straight road and would never use the bridges. After he died, along in the 50's, his squaw continued the annual visit to the Ottawas, also to Mark Beaubien at Naperville. She became so fat that she could not ride a horse or walk and she traveled in one of the old-fashioned 'democrat' wagons, an Indian boy named Smoke driving and the

Squaw sitting on some hay in the back of the wagon. Like Shabbona, she would never use one of the white man's bridges, but always forded the streams. One day when crossing the AuSable the wagon upset, throwing her into the water. The stream was hardly two feet deep, but she was so ponderous that she could not get up and before help came she was drowned."

The cabin in which Robinson lived for so many years and at which he told the long-concealed story of Black Hawk times was on the banks of the Desplaines river, about six miles north of Riverside Township of Leyden.

Death and Memorials—Mark Beaubien

Mark Beaubien died at Kankakee, Illinois, April 11, 1881. Elizabeth (Mathieu) Beaubien, his wife, had seven children from his marriage. She died at Kankakee July 28, 1904, aged ninety-eight. His grandson, W. Lester Bodine, who had his named changed from Beaubien, is now Superintendent of Compulsory Education of Schools of Chicago. Also his great grandson, Alexander F. Beaubien, is a promising young lawyer at Waukegon, Illinois.

The Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, one of the oldest citizens of Chicago, and one who delights in the early history of Chicago, was interviewed on the subject of the early life of Mark Beaubien. His reminiscences and recollections of him were as follows: "Mark Beaubien, when I came to Chicago in 1833, was a large, well-built man, more than ordinarily good-looking, in fact a handsome man. Mark was a jolly good fellow, sharp, witty, full of fun and frolic and a skillful player on the violin, which he played for the benefit of the earlier settlers' balls and dancing gatherings. When I came here he kept a tavern or hotel called the Sauganash, near the forks of the river, where the Wigwam was afterwards located. He was very liberal, even to an improvident extent, and whatever he made he managed to spend. He was one of the very earliest settlers at Fort Dearborn, now Chicago, having come here, I believe, in 1826. At that time between where he lived and the North Side there was a canoe ferry that carried over the early settlers. Colonel Beaubien used to have balls, of which he himself would be the fiddler for his guests."

Charles Fenno Hoffman describes one of these in a very lively way in his book, "A Winter in Chicago." This was in 1834. This ball, I believe, was at Colonel Beaubien's house.

Redmond Prindiville tells a story right in point, the circumstances happened shortly after Mark had moved from the Sauganash

and started the Illinois Exchange on the northwest corner of Wells and Lake Streets. Said he one day to Thomas C. James: "What you say you not buy some lots? There is money to be in these lots." "But I have no money to invest, that's just the point," replied Mr. James, "I lend you some," said Mark, "here, how much do you want?" The loan was made for $300. "And now you give me a little paper—what you call him—note, you know." Well, a few days later Mr. James brought around his note signed. "What is this?" inquired Mark. "My note to secure the loan you made me." "Oh, well, you keep him," said Mark, "then you know what time to pay." This was illustrative of that generosity of which a similar anecdote is equally characteristic.

When the school section property was sold at auction, Philo Carpenter kept a small drug-store. "Why you not buy?" asked Mark, anxious that his friend should profit by the speculation. Mr. Carpenter had an excuse similar to that of Mr. James, and Mark being equally ready to lend, loaned Mr. Carpenter $600, agreeing to take it out in drugs. With that $600 Mr. Carpenter purchased a block out of which he said that fifteen years ago he had realized $75,000, and the greater part of it remains. Carpenter left a very large estate at the time of his death. At one time Mark sold to a man four lots of fifty feet each, where the Sherman house stands, for $15.00 each, and the next day after the sale his conscience troubled him for fear he had cheated the second party to the contract. He went to the man and offered to give him back his money, receiving for an answer, "Well, I suppose it's so, but a bargain is a bargain, and I wont back out now if I have lost by the trade."

Once within the memory of man, Phil. Conley was a collector of customs and Mark was keeper of the lighthouse. The boys made a presentation, a silver pitcher, or something of the kind, to the esteemed Phil., and Mark being in at the wake, remarked jocosely: "Why you don't make me a present gentlemen?" "Very well, make it a gold-headed cane. What d'ye say?" "Good," said Mark very much elated, "you get the cane and I will pay for him." But there is no end to these stories; they are fresh on the lips of every old inhabitant, and here is another of them: One day Mark was holding forth to a party of eastern land speculators, and dilating on his early trapping and trading adventures "Oh them was fine times: never will come any more," said he. "Do you do anything now, Mr. Beaubien?" asked one of the gentlemen, deploring the trader's lost occupation. "Do I do anything!" exclaimed the Frenchman with animation, "well, I should say so! I plays de fiddle like de debble

an' I keeps hotel like hell; I eat fifty people for dinner every day. By gor, don't you call zat business?" This is where the celebrated story about his keeping hotel like hell originated, and as to his playing the fiddle, full many a gay young buck, now hoary headed, could testify thereto, as well as he, for at every huskin and dancing bee over at Fox River and Naperville and all the country round Mark was present with his violin, the sole orchestra of the settlement and the life-inspiring genius of the hour.

But his chief characteristic was ever his devoutness. In all the anecdotes afloat about him it will be observed that a certain vein of piety runs through them. It was in this spirit of piety that he always promoted the interests of the Church.

Some few years ago it came to light as an evidence of the regard the Indians, Old "Sauganash" among them, felt for the good-natured Mark Beaubien that forty years before, in ceding the land in these parts to the government, the sole reservation those first owners of the soil made was of sixty-four acres at the mouth of the little Calumet River near Miller, Indiana, a part of the Dunes of Indiana, which they retained for their old friend Mark Beaubien. Mark Beaubien always carried in his pocket the sheep-skin on which was written the patent signed by Van Buren, ex-President of the United States, for the land (64½ acres) deeded to him by Billy Caldwell, the Sauganash. This tract lay on the Calumet River near Miller, Indiana, and in 1913 a squatter, a Mrs. Drusilla Carr, won a suit in La Porte County. The venue was changed from Lake County by which she claimed the tract. The case of the heirs was conducted by a son of Isaac R. Hitt. An appeal was taken but without effect.

Isaac R. Hitt, rummaging through the archives at Washington, D. C., in 1870, found the yellow patent, and Mark was moved to tears when it was brought to him. He kept it ever in his breast pocket in kindly recollection of his savage friend.

No two men were more unlike than General Jean Baptiste Beaubien and his brother Mark Beaubien. The first had all the supposed dignity of a Roman, or of a United States Senator, while the latter, while always a gentleman, was always jolly and light-hearted, fond of horse racing, a little game of draw, playing the fiddle and having a good time generally.

Mark Beaubien left a numerous progeny. He was the progenitor of twenty-three children and of fifty-three grandchildren. His great grandchildren were so numerous that, as the Hon. John Wentworth once remarked, "the counting of them had been stopped." The memory of no man who has lived here will be more kindly cherished,

and certainly no man deserved more. While perhaps he did not attain the high distinctions that fell to the lot of some other men who are regarded as Chicagoans, he was as honorable and worthy of esteem in his own sphere.

FRANK G. BEAUBIEN.

Chicago.

A NATIONAL CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOUNDED

In the last days of December, 1919, a meeting was held in Cleveland, Ohio, at which a NATIONAL CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY was organized for a comprehensive study of Catholic history. Its first officers, elected for this year, are the following:

President, Dr. Laurence Flick of Philadelphia; First Vice-president, Rev. Richard Tierney, S. J., of New York City, Editor of *America;* Second Vice-President, Rev. Victor O'Daniel, O. P., S. T. M., Associate Editor of the *Catholic Historical Review,* Washington; Secretary, Dr. Carlton J. H. Hays of Columbia University, New York City; Treasurer, Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. C. O'Reilly, D. D., V. G., of Cleveland; Archivist, Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph. D., of the Catholic University, Washington.

Elected to serve with the officers as an executive council were: Rev. Gilbert P. Jennings, LL. D., Pastor of St. Agnes' Church, Cleveland; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph F. Mooney, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of New York; Rev. C. M. Souvay, C. M., of the Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis; Rev. William Busch of St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn., and Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., of Santa Barbara, Calif.

Enough life membership dues—fixed at $50.00—were pledged to assure the new society sufficient financial support for the year. The annual dues are $3.00.

During the week following Christmas, 1920, the next convention will be held, in Washington, D. C.

Dr. Lawrence Flick, of Philadelphia, the new association's first president, helped to found Philadelphia's Catholic Society thirty-five years ago and has since then been at the head of that local organization. He therefore, lacks experience as little as he lacks zeal and ability.

BISHOP DUGGAN AND THE CHICAGO DIOCESE

By George S. Phillips (Non-Catholic) in *Chicago and Her Churches*, (1868)

The Bishop was no sooner inaugurated into his office than he cast about him for the ways and means of extending the usefulness of the Church machinery and appliances. He summond his clergy to his councils, and they cheerfully sustained him in all his schemes and projects. He saw that low down in the substrata of society, there were many helpless poor who needed instruction and aids to their livelihood. These poor outcasts were also human souls, immortal souls, for whom Christ died, and he, as the executor of the testament of Christ, must see to it that they were cared for and sustained by the loving arms of the Church. There were orphans and outcasts, and blind and deaf,—and, alas! poor Magdalens also, innumerable, whom society, in its cold-blooded way, had turned out into the wilds of life to die. These must all have a chance at least of redemption, socially as well as religiously; and the result has been the founding of schools, asylums, hospitals, into which as many as possible have been gathered, and restored to society and honorable labor.

The Order of the Good Shepherd Sisters was one of the means used to effect this reformation. It was established in 1859; and the house of the Order is on the North Side on Market Street,—a large, handsome brick house, surrounded by high conventual walls, so that the inmates are screened from obtrusive observation. The amount of good done by this Order will beknown only at the last day, when the secrets of all hearts and places will be revealed, and the Good Shepherds shall be rewarded by seeing the good seed which they have planted here sprung up and flourishing with immortal vigor in the paradise of God.

There is an order, also, of the Christian Brothers, who unite the offices of religion and learning. They have charge of the great schools belonging to the Church of the Vicar General, the Very Rev. Dr. Dunne, on Desplaines Street. One of the schools is free to all Catholic children, and there is a higher school or academy, where the better class of scholars are taught Latin, German, French, and music, both vocal and instrumental. The number of pupils is five hundred. Beside the Christian Brothers, there is another order, called the Sisters of Loretto, created in 1858 we believe, which is attached to this school as teachers. The female department is made the special charge

of these noble women; and the total number of the pupils amounts to one thousand. The Sisters give instruction both in the free and the select school or academy.

This, however, is not all. There were found hundreds of poor waifs, floating helplessly and hopelessly down the social stream of the city, uncared for by all. Under the sanction of the Bishop, aided by his influence and authority, a Catholic Asylum was established in 1862 where these lost sons of nobody were gathered together, taught, clothed and instructed in some useful handicraft, by which, when they returned to the world, they could sustain themselves with honesty and credit. The workshops are contiguous to the schools, and are all clustered round the church of Dr. Dunne, on Desplaines Street. The number of the inmates is one hundred and six boys. They are instructed in useful learning four hours a day, and in their trades six hours. The Christian Brothers have them all in charge, and very happy must they be to witness the change which education and kind treatment and Christian love have produced in the minds, consciences and appearance of the little flock which they have redeemed from destruction.

There are other orders, of a fine human and Christian character, which have sprung into life under the auspices of the good Bishop Duggan. Among these are the Bendictines and the Redemptionist Fathers, together with two orders of Sisters, who teach the schools of their several parishes. The Sisters of St. Joseph have charge of the Ohphan Asylum of little boys and girls; the larger ones being sent to the Catholic Asylum.

One of the most beneficent institutions in the city is the Hospital of the Sisters of Mercy, which, though professedly a Catholic institution, is liberal enough to admit either Protestant or Catholic, in cases of emergency. It is situated on Indiana Avenue, and is always crowded with patients. Dr. N. S. Davis is the chief physician, and he attends the pospital, without any other fee or reward than the approval of a good conscience, twice every day, morning and evening. The patients thus obtain the best advice that the city affords, and the best possible attendance. The Sisters are unwearied in heir merciful ministrations, and attend the patient day and night.

It is to the honor of this Catholic institution that it exists literally for charity's sake. If he patients cannot afford to pay the very small fee which is charged for board, even this is remitted. There is no mercenariness in this house. It is pervaded by a similar spirit to that under which the sick, the lame, the halt, the blind, were healed

over eighteen hundred years ago in Galilee. The house has been rebuilt and very considerably enlarged to meet the city need.

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It would require a volume to enumerate the different departments of religion, education, and charity, which have been established during the administration of Dr. Duggan. The Sisters of Charity teach the schools of the Cathedral of the Holy Name, which number five hundred pupils; and this also is a new work. Indeed the mind and spirit of this good man is over all his diocese. The new University has sprung up under his rule, and was completed if we remember right, two years ago, in 1863. The great name of Dr. McMullen, who is Principal of the University, is a sufficient guarantee for the soundness of the scholastic course which obtains in the curriculum of the institution.

In looking over the city map, and marking the number of churches, asylums, charities, institutes of various kinds, colleges, and schools, which have come into the life under the guardianship of Bishop Duggan, it almost seems as if a century had passed since he ascended the Bishop's throne, instead of half a decade. It is an exhibition of tropical growth, where things of a rare beauty and excellence are brought to a sudden perfection,—to last, let us hope, for a long time. Many parishes and churches have been formed and built under his episcopate,—St. Peter's, St. Joseph's, the French Church Notre Dame, St. Boniface, the German Church, and the Bohemian Church.

These, however, are but results under him, in the city; the country under his control has been crowded with converts during the same period; at Joliet, Morris, Ottawa, La Salle (at which latter place the Christian Brothers have a flourishing academy), Peoria, and Bloomington, to say nothing of new parishes.

Such a work could only have been accomplished by apostolic zeal and labor. Each one of these institutions is, to a certain extent, the centre of religion and civilization. They are a perpetual rebuke to iniquity and sin; a perpetual invitation to higher aims and a higher life than obtained in the surrounding world.

The private life of the Bishop is excellent in its charity and love, as his public life has been full of benevolence and religious zeal and usefulness. He is a man of exceeding gentleness and urbanity of manner, generous, humane, and hospitable. He turns not away from any, but administers "good words, or meat," as Robert Herrick says, to all who come to him.

He is of a refined taste, and is a lover of the arts and of books.

His presence makes a pleasant sunshine in the place, and his magnetism kindles up in others all the beauties of their character. He is of a large and liberal mind, and is too much of a Christian to be a sectarian. Once there came to him one of the Protestant city missionaries, complaining that the lower Irish in the neighborhood of his church annoyed him so much as to disturb the teaching and the worship. "Let us pray together, brother," said the Bishop, "that it may please God to renew their hearts and amend their ways;" and the high and dignified churchman knelt with the lowly missionary at the same footstool, and he was never after disturbed in his labors. This is a small matter, perhaps, but it is a great inlet into the character of the man, and will remain when more noisy things are forgotten.

During the late rebellion, Bishop Duggan has been a strong Union man, and has thrown all his influence on the side of the government. He is a good patriot and citizen, and is beloved by Protestant and Catholic.

Before entering upon his ministerial duties, after his college career, he travelled to Italy, and spent some time in Rome. On his return he published a book called "Recollections of Rome," which is written in a very vivid and scholarly manner, and gives a lively idea of the life of the venerable mother of empires.

Take him for all in all, we shall not soon look upon his like again, and therefore we wish him long life and joy.

(Phillips, *Chicago and Her Churches,* pp. 260-270).

CATHOLIC CHURCHES AND INSTITUTIONS IN CHICAGO IN 1868

By George S. Phillips, in *Chicago and Her Churches,* (1868)

Cathedral of the Holy Name, North State, corner Superior Street. Erected 1854. Cost $100,000. Capacity to seat 1,400 persons. Congregation about 1,000. Rev. Joseph P. Roles, Rev. Fred. Smyth, and Rev. Max Albrecht, Pastors. There is a Sunday School connected with the church on North Market Street, where about four hundred children receive instruction. The Sisters of Charity have also a Sunday School, attended by about six hundred girls. The Sunday School for boys in the basement of the cathedral is attended by about three hundred and fifty pupils. There is a free library attached to the school on Market Street, under the charge of a society of young ladies and gentlemen, who have associated to teach the catechism. The Conference of St. Vincent de Paul Society attends to the distribution of alms and visitation of the destitute.

Church of the Immaculate Conception, North Franklin, near Schiller Street. Rev. Thaddeus J. Butler, D. D., Pastor.

Notre Dame de Chicago, Halsted, near Harrison Street. Erected 1865. Cost $8,000. Capacity to seat 500. Rev. Jacob Cote, Pastor.

St. Bridget's Church, Bridgeport. Rev. John Grogan, Pastor.

St. Boniface's Church, Connell, Northeast corner Noble Street. Philip Albrecht, Pastor.

St. Columbkille Church, North Paulina, corner West Indiana Street. Rev. Thomas C. Bourke, Pastor.

St. Francis of Assissium (German Congregation), Clinton, Northeast corner Mather Street. Erected 1851. Rev. Ferdinand Kalvelage, Pastor.

St. John's Church, Clark, corner Eighteenth Street. Rev. John Waldron, Pastor.

St. James' Church, East side Prairie Avenue, between Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Streets. Rev. P. Conway, Pastor.

St. Joseph's Church (German Congregation), Chicago Avenue, Northeast corner Cass Street. Erected 1864, at a cost of $60,000. Capacity to seat 2,000. Congregation 1,000. Rev. Lewis Maris Fink, O. S. B., Pastor; Revs. P. Meinard, M. O. S. B., Maris Corbinian, M. O. S. B., Maris Leander, Assistant Pastors. There is a well-selected library for the use of the societies. There are five societies connected with this church: St. Benedictus, young men's; St. Ger-

trude's, young ladies'; St. Joseph's, married men; St. Mary's, married ladies',—all of which are for the promotion of practical religion and morality.

St. Louis Church, Sherman, near Polk Street. Rev. P. Noonan, Pastor.

St. Mary's Church, Wabash Avenue, Southeast corner of Madison Street. Erected 1845. Rev. T. J. Halligan, Pastor. Rev. B. D. Murphy, Assistant Pastor. Rev. P. T. Butler, Chancellor.

St. Michael's Church (German Congregation), North Avenue, corner Church Street. Erected 1853. Capacity to seat 850 persons. Rev. Pet. Zimmer, C. S. S. R., Pastor. An extensive library, under charge of M. S. A. Bauer, Librarian.

St. Patrick's Church, South Desplaines, Northwest corner of West Adams Street. Erected 1857. Very Rev. D. Dunne, V. G., D. D., Pastor.

St. Peter's Church (German Congregation), Clark, corner of Polk Street. Orangized 1846. Present edifice erected 1863, at a cost of $50,000. Capacity to seat 1,500 persons. Congregation about 1,000. Rev. Peter Fisher, Pastor.

St. Wenzeslaus Church (Bohemian Congregation), DeKoven, Northeast corner Desplaines Street. Rev. Joseph Molitor, Pastor.

There are eleven convents with the Roman Catholic Church.

(Phillips, *Chicago and Her Churches,* pp. 565-66).

Illinois Catholic Historical Review
Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society
617 Ashland Block, Chicago

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Rev. Francis J. Epstein.....Chicago
William Stetson Merrill ..... Chicago

COMMENDATION OF MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN

This publication is one we can be proud of. It is gotten up in an attractive form and its contents are interesting and instructive. I have been complimented on it and have heard it praised in many quarters. * * * The Society should receive encouragement from every source, and all who possibly can should enroll in its membership. * * * I need not add that your work has not only my blessing, it has my encouragement. It has every aid I can give it.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Reflections Induced by the New Year.—The best way to make calculations for the New Year is to call up in review the events or incidents of the old.

All of us have many activities and many are obliged to apportion their thoughts and efforts to a wide variety of work. There are not nowadays many single cylinder people as there were some years ago. The old adage "do one thing and do that well" is perhaps just as forceful as ever it was, but it seems now not to be so practical, and while there is an advantage in the mastery of a calling, there is a degree of selfishness in confining oneself in such manner. It is wonderful to be a fine physician or a brilliant lawyer, but there are interests in the world just as important as law or medicine, and the *all* lawyer or *all* physician may perhaps not only miss much of the various interests in life, but may also deny his fellows much good that he is capable of exerting in addition to the successful conduct of his profession.

These remarks seem to be justified by the thought of numerous activities that are pressing themselves upon Catholic men and women today. Consider the work of the Holy Name Society in the Chicago diocese for example: More than 50,000 men from all walks of life are enlisted in this work, which, by no stretch of the imagination, can be called Utopian. It is infinitely practical; it requires a substantial contribution of thought, time and money. The members divert from their regular occupations such of those contributions as are necessary to carry on the work.

Take again the Knights of Columbus and as an outstanding example their war work. No single-thought men can be useful in such work.

Coming closer to home—we are engaged in a historical work that requires a

diversion of mind and means from regular every day channels. Rightly understood, we think it will be conceded, the work ranks amongst the most important works of the Church. Its value to the present and succeeding generations can hardly be overestimated. It too is a most practical work, and has its basis and foundation in facts. Single-minded people may be unable to appreciate its value, but men and women of vision at once recognize its importance.

As proof that such is the case, we need only point to the limited experience of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY. In the short time the SOCIETY has been in existence, nearly a hundred men and women have become life members and nearly a thousand have become annual members; not as the result of a high pressure campaign, but voluntarily and indeed eagerly. In addition a large number of men and women have given freely of their time in attendance of organization meetings and in the discharge of more or less onerous duties as officers and members, and best of all, some of the ripest historical scholars in America have without any sort of compensation given of their best in learned disquisitions that required days and in some cases months of labor and investigation for their preparation. Many of such writers have repeated their efforts and given to the world some of the best historical studies that have yet been published.

One purpose of this editorial therefore, is to urge all to diversify their interests at least to the extent of co-operating in such excellent works as we have here named. It is not pretended that these are the only co-operative endeavors that may rightfully claim some of the thought and effort of able and intelligent Catholics; there are of course many others; our chief interest so far as the ILLINDIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is concerned being, of course, the promotion of the particular work we have in hand.

Looking back over the year just past and noting the gratifying success which has crowned the efforts of those who have the purpose of collecting and putting in condition for preservation the history of the Middle West, and especially those features of such history as are of considerable interest to Catholics, we feel encouraged to begin the New Year with even firmer hopes in the realization of the desired ends.

Our gratitude to all those who have so efficiently aided in the work is unbounded, and we earnestly bespeak a continuation of the generosity and co-operation that has made the success of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY possible.

Valuable Historical Data.—Many Catholics have caught the spirit of the historical propaganda, and are on the lookout for data which is of historical value. Since the last publication we take pleasure in acknowledging receipt from the Franciscan Monastery at Quincy, Illinois of the following books: "Jubilee of the Fiftieth Anniversary of St. Francis Solanus College," Quincy, Illinois, "Souvenir Golden Jubilee St. Francis Solanus Parish," Quincy, Illinois, "Fiftieth Anniversary St. Mary's Hospital," Quincy, Illinois, "Souvenir Sixtieth Anniversary of St. Anthony's Parish," Melrose Township, Adams County, Illinois.

From St. Mary's High School, Chicago, we have received a very interesting relic in the form of the first copy of "The Young Catholic's Guide" published in Chicago in May, 1867.

Through the kindness of Miss Cecelia M. Young we are in receipt of several cuts and clippings collected and preserved by her uncle, Reverend James J. McGovern, D. D., some of which we have already made use of in the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW.

We highly appreciate such gifts, and beg our readers to provide us with everything within their control that has historical value or significance. All such donations will be acknowledged and carefully preserved.

Special Mention.—In the October, 1919, number we published a list of Life Members and heretofore acknowledged some special contributions which we have received, but feel that in order to keep our records up to date we should direct attention to the fact that since the last publication the following have become Life Members, namely:

Right Reverend P. J. Muldoon, D. D., Rockford.
Mrs. Bedelia Kehoe Garraghan, Chicago.
Sisters of St. Francis of Mary Immaculate, Joliet.
Mrs. John C. Thorne, Chicago.

We have before acknowledged in these columns a contribution of $100.00 each from the Illinois State Court Catholic Order of Foresters and the Illinois State Council, Knights of Columbus. Mr. Edward A. Cudahy also gave us a special contribution for the year of $100.00 in addition to his life membership.

It is desired again to mention the fact that the Foresters and Knights of Columbus through their state bodies have unanimously indorsed the Illinois Catholic Historical Society and pledged their earnest and continuous co-operation. They adopted resolutions urging all local branches to take a live interest in the welfare of the Society, and assist it morally and materially.

It is from such sources as those above mentioned that the Society draws its strength. The subscription price of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW of $2.00 would barely cover the cost of publication in normal times. At present, printing in all its phases has increased in cost amazingly. To produce a publication like the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW at the present, costs almost double what a similar publication cost a few years ago. We have not thought it wise to increase the subscription price however, since the chief solicitude of the Society is to have its publications read, and accordingly we are dependent upon our life members and donors for permanent support. All Catholics are earnestly requested to join in this work.

A Broad Historical Movement.—The Chicago Historical Society, The Municipal Art Commission and other Chicago organizations have under consideration a program of site marking that is of the highest interest to Catholics. According to a press dispatch it is planned among other things, to dedicate the new ornamental bridges to the memory of the early explorers—Joliet, La Salle, Pere Marquette and others, who set out on their long voyages of discovery up the Chicago river.

The suggestion has been made that statues of these explorers be erected on the plazas at the approach of the bridges.

There is also talk of marking the site of some building where Theodore Roosevelt spoke.

Historic sites in outlying districts also will be looked after. Plans are

under way for the erection of a balustrade across the front of the old Beaubien burying ground near Naperville, and to mark with a suitable tablet the spot where Mark Beaubien held forth as host of the Sauganash, Chicago's first social club.

The Perboyre Junior Art Society conducted exercises on the river bank on December 8th, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in honor of the stay of Father Marquette on that river from the 4th of December, 1674, to the 30th of March, 1675. A pretty feature of the program was the casting of flowers upon the waters of the river. As conditions are now, this little ceremony has a greater significance than it would have had in the days of Marquette. In his day the flowers would have been swept into the lake in a few minutes. Now since the current has been altered, they were borne in the other direction, past the portage where Father Marquette stopped and on down the course of the Des Plaines, the Illinois and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico and possibly out into the wide Atlantic. It was even so that Marquette's message traveled, and this little ceremony is both beautiful and significant and well deserves repetition from year to year.

Get the History Habit.—To those who have not delved much in history it may appear to be a dry subject. There is so much of wars and dates and uninteresting detail in many of the historical writings that many readers find it tedious, but history rightly written and rightly understood is as interesting as the richest romance, and in addition it is the foundation of true knowledge.

One of the reasons why the study of history is sometimes thought to be a task rather than a pleasure is that it frequently (necessarily of course) deals with far-away peoples and conditions. It is hard to maintain an interest in the study of Ethiopians, Mongolians and even of the people of far-away Europe or Australia; but when we read of the men who made the paths that developed into the very roads and streets which we now travel, and of the conditions that existed in their day, it is like reading of the childhood and youth of your parents. Who dwelt upon the spot where you now stand two hundred years ago? What were the conditions that surrounded the men who cleared the land from whence your subsistence is now drawn? How did those who occupied the place where you now reside conduct themselves one hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago? What effect did their coming and the life they lead have upon your present situation? All these questions are of vital interest, and there is none so dull that has not frequently thought of them. To know just where the first prayer was said, the first cross raised, the first house built, the first Christian ceremony administered, to be able to put your foot upon the spot where notable earliest inhabitants trod is of such romantic interest that none can escape its witchery.

Our interests, of course, are many, and most of our lives are full. There are none of us so stupid, however, that we do not give at least a small part of our time to reflection and even speculation of some kind. This writer firmly believes that there is no subject that will yield a greater amount of pleasure and satisfaction not to say benefit in proportion to the time devoted to it than the study of intimate historical subjects.

This is exactly what we are doing now in the Illinois Catholic Historical Society. No other organization now or heretofore existing in this part of the country has been equipped or has had the inclination to make this sort of study.

There have been and are of course historical societies, but none of them were Catholic. The first century of the history of Illinois is all Catholic. General historians and historical societies naturally have not taken the special interest in that period which Catholics must, but yet it is the basis and foundation of all subsequent history of that state. The general reader never before had an opportunity to learn the intimate history of that first century. Hints and fragments have found their way into general writings heretofore, which have but given intimation of the deep interest connected with that period, but the mines of information and the wealth of interest have never before been uncovered to the general view.

In the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW you will find the key to these reservoirs of interest and information. Join the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY family and get the historical spirit. Once you are inoculated with the germ you will view the work as a scholarly priest, John E. Kealy of St. Joseph's Church in Lewiston, Maine, writes us: "It is indeed walking in the very land of romance when we consider that it is but a hundred years or so since some of the scenes so well described in your REVIEW were enacted, or since the Indian canoes were moored along the water front where proud Chicago now stands."

Make the study of the Catholic History of Illinois one of your New Year's resolutions and put it into execution by becoming a member of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society

Another stage of progress was reached when on December 3, 1919, the Illinois Catholic Historical Society held its annual meeting for the election of officers and the transaction of its business.

The date on which the meeting was held was the anniversary of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Union, which event occurred December 3, 1918. The meeting was called on that date in honor of the State's birthday.

The meeting was called to order by First Vice-President, Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., who has been acting President since the death of the President, William J. Onahan.

Gratifying reports were made by the officers and the business and status of the society reviewed and discussed. It was disclosed that the society from its very organization on February 28, 1918, had been prosperous and successful. The membership has grown steadily and the financial condition of the society was very satisfactory.

The question of increasing the subscription price of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW was discussed, and it was pointed out that under the prevailing high prices for printing and supplies the two dollars annual subscription does not cover the cost of production; but as the chief object of the publication is to disseminate a knowledge of the Catholic history of the state and surrounding territory it was decided to endeavor to make up the losses in other ways and retain the present annual subscription.

Two new classes of membership were proposed, namely: An annual membership for those who do not subscribe for the REVIEW. The proposal was to permit members to join upon payment of one dollar annually. The other proposal was a sustaining membership under which persons able and inclined so to do would pay twenty-five dollars annually to sustain and promote the work of the society. Both propositions were referred for consideration to the Executive Council of the Society.

The Executive Council was instructed to invest the present surplus in the treasury in United States Government bonds. As a surplus accumulates it is transferred to the Endowment Fund provided for by the rules, the purpose of which is to guarantee the permanence of the work of the society.

Under the proper order of business the election of officers took place and resulted as follows:

Honorary Presidents

Most Rev. George William Mundelein, Chicago; Rt. Rev. James Ryan, Alton; Rt. Rev. Peter J. Muldoon, Rockford; Rt. Rev. Edmund M. Dunne, Peoria; Rt. Rev. Henry Althoff, Belleville.

Officers

President, Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., Chicago; First Vice-President, Edward Osgood Brown, Chicago; Second Vice-President, James M. Graham, Springfield; Treasurer, William J. Lawlor, Chicago; Corresponding Secretary, Marie Sheahan, Chicago; First Recording Secretary, Margaret Madden, Chicago; Second Recording Secretary, Helen Troesch, Springfield; Archivist, Rev. A. J. Wolfgarten, Chicago.

Trustees

Rt. Rev. Daniel J. Riordan, Chicago; Very Rev. James Shannon, Peoria; Very Rev. John B. Furay, S. J., Chicago; Rev. John Webster Melody, Chicago; James A. Bray, Joliet; Michael F. Girten, Chicago; Frank J. Seng, Wilmette; Mary Onahan Gallery, Chicago; William N. Brown, Oak Park; William F. Ryan, Chicago.

Editor-in-Chief

Joseph J. Thompson, Chicago.

Associate Editors

Rev. Frederick Beuckman, Belleville; Rev. J. B. Culemans, Moline; Rev. Francis J. Epstein, Wheaton; Kate Meade, Chicago; William Stetson Merrill, Chicago.

BOOK REVIEWS

Quarterly Bulletin of the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae. With No. 1 of Volume 3, the *Bulletin of the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae* assumes a new and very attractive form. With colored cover and artistic cover design the publication at once takes rank with the substantial magazines of the country.

This number of the quarterly contains eighty pages exclusive of cover and is replete with interest. A number of sound articles appear, the most notable perhaps, that of Very Rev. Edward A. Pace, Ph.D. on "American Ideals and Catholic Education."

Mrs. Mary B. Finan, A. B. (Mount St. Joseph College, Dubuque, Iowa), of Chicago, is Editor-in-Chief of this able and artistic publication and is assisted by an able staff amongst whom is Mrs. Daniel V. Gallery (Sacred Heart Alumnae), also of Chicago, head of the Department of Literature.

Mrs. Finan's extensive experience as a social worker, her ability as a writer and critic, and the recognized ability of her assistants are guarantees of success.

The Department of Literature of which Mrs. Gallery is Chairman has three Illinois members in addition to the Chairman, viz.: Press, Miss Margaret O'Connor; Moving Pictures, Miss Loretta Farrell; Secretary of the Department, Miss Elizabeth King.

We predict for the *Bulletin* under such able direction, a career of gratifying success and great usefulness. Now, more than ever, is such a publication as these college women are capable of producing and circulating sorely needed. The *Bulletin* will be welcomed in all homes of culture and to reading circles of discernment.

Conquest of New France. *A Chronicle of the Colonial Wars.* By George M. Wrong, Yale University Press.

The above named book is Volume 10 of the *Chronicles of America* Series being issued by the Yale University Press, and as the title indicates, deals with the contest between France and Great Britain for supremacy on the American Continent.

The chronicle series of historical works is produced in what may be called handy form, small volumes, concise and interesting text and faultless printing. They are for readers—not for students of history. While one is obliged to take the statements of the author on faith, (there being no foot-notes and only scant reference to sources for authorities at the end of the volume) yet it may be confidently asserted that the statements of facts are invariably reliable.

The author of this book falls clearly in the category of pro-English

authors, and also sustains the character of Parkman and others who saw much to admire in the missionaries who were the pioneers in the new country, but distinctly disapproves their cause. It is under the influence of this conviction that Mr. Wrong makes such statements as the following: "But the Jesuit of that age was prone to be half spiritual zealot, half political intriguer." (p. 76).

Mr. Wrong in his very readable book has given us a real novelty in historical suggestion when he attempts to make the British officers and soldiers gentle and humane and the French officiary and soldiery brutal and inhuman. All other writers so far as we are advised have taken exactly the opposite view and have agreed that the British continuously incited the Savages to assassination and brutality. This author actually puts the French and the Acadians in the wrong in connection with the horrible outrages committed by the British in the banishment of the Acadians. Up to this time those villainies have been laid at the door of the British, and we are satisfied that there they belong, Mr. Wrong's assertions to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Mr. Wrong reveals his preference for England frequently, and seems to place the English Government before his own definitely in an aspiration with which he closes a tribute to Sir Horace Walpole. After speaking in the highest terms of that British Minister, the author says:

> While continental nations were wasting men and money Walpole gloried in saving English gold. He found new and fruitful modes of taxation, but when urged to tax the colonies he preferred, as he said, to leave that to a bolder man. *It is a pity that any one was ever found bold enough to do it.* (p. 69). The italics are ours.

It is insistently asserted that Great Britain or some Britishers are conducting a wide-spread British propaganda campaign in this country, which includes amongst its objects that of re-making American opinion with reference to the party at fault in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. We are to be taught, if these assertions are to be relied upon, that England was a benevolent and loving mother, and that our forefathers were grossly in error in resisting the regulations sought to be enforced in this country, and in quarreling with the mother country; that the British system of government is much better than ours, and that instead of cherishing any resentment we should love England, acknowwledge our errors and ally ourselves with her, doing all that she desires and requests us to do. To spread this propaganda it is said that writers and periodicals have been approached, and some of them indeed subsidized.

We do not pretend that the author and publishers of this work could be so influenced, but think it proper to sound a note of warning against all that species of clap-trap which has for its object the reversal of long established historical facts.

Crusaders of New France. *A Chronicle of the Fleur-de-lis in the Wilderness.* By Wm. Bennett Munro, Yale University Press, 1918.

This is another of the Yale University *Chronicles of America* series, being Volume 4, and while written and produced in the same style as *The Conquest of New France*, is a more agreeable and interesting volume, especially to Americans and Catholics.

To tell the story of New France interestingly and understandingly in 227 short pages, set with fine clear type, is a real achievement in book writing, yet this Mr. Munro has done. It has been possible for the author of this work to write interestingly of New France, because he had a genuine sympathy for the French people. Almost at the beginning of his work, Mr. Munro thus states his appreciation:

> At all periods in their history the French have shown an almost inexhaustible stamina, an ability to bear disasters and to rise from them quickly, a courage and resistence that no obstacles seem able to thwart. (p. 3).

Mr. Munro was able also to appreciate the influence of the Catholic religion upon the life of the individual and on the community. He says:

> New France was born and nurtured in an atmosphere of religious devotion. To the habitant the Church was everything—his school, his counselor, his almsgiver, his newspaper, his philosopher of things present and of things to come. To him it was the source of all knowledge, experience, and inspiration, and to it he never faltered in ungrudging loyalty. The Church made the colony a spiritual unit and kept it so, undefiled by any taint of heresy. It furnished the one strong, well-disciplined organization that New France possessed, and its missionaries blazed the way for both yeomen and trader wherever they went. (p. 225).

And the possibility of a civilization without extensive governmental machinery is understood by the author as made plain by him when he says:

> The parish church indeed was the emblem of village solidarity, for it gathered within its walls each Sunday morning all sexes and ages and ranks. The habitant did not separate his religion from his work or his amusements; the outward manifestations of his faith were not to his mind things of another world; the church and its priests were the center and soul of his little community. The whole countryside gathered about the church doors after the service while the *capitaine de la côte*, the local representative of the intendant, read

the decrees that had been sent him from the seats of the mighty at the Chateau de St. Louis. (p. 219).

The story of New France unfolds beautifully under Dr. Munro's treatment, and one can only regret that the work is not more detailed and that foot-notes have not been supplied to indicate the sources of information.

It will strike the western reader especially that so little mention is given Father Marquette and his exploration work. Just why historical figures so great as Marquette and Joliet and the great work they did, should command but the following forty words, is hard to understand:

> Pere Marquette and Louis Joliet had reached the Great River and had found every reason for believing that its course ran south to the Gulf of Mexico and not northwestward to the Gulf of California as had previously been supposed. (p. 103).

The author has supplied us with a sound explanation of the reason why France lost control in the New World:

> Historians of New France have been at pains to explain why the colony ultimately succumbed to the combined attacks of New England by land and of Old England by sea. For a full century New France had as its next-door neighbor a group of English colonies whose combined populations outnumbered her own at a ratio of about fifteen to one. The relative number and resources of the two areas were about the same, proportionately, as those of the United States and Canada at the present day. The marvel is not that French dominion in America finally came to an end but that it managed to endure so long. (p. 14).

History of the United States *for Catholic Schools.* By Charles H. McCarthy, Ph. D., Knights of Columbus Professor of American History, The Catholic University of America. American Book Company, Publishers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta.

The above is a work nearly 500 pages and bears the *Nihil Obstat* of Arthur J. Scanlan, S. T. D., *Censor Librorum* and the *Imprimatur* of John Cardinal Farley. It may be said for this work that it is a very readable presentation in brief of the story of the United States. It is very difficult to present a view of the History of the United States in such a condensed form.

Mr. McCarthy's little book possesses many excellences. For one thing—it does almost completely what no other history of the United States heretofore published by a big general publishing house has done, namely: it eliminates all the untruths and most of the reflections upon Catholics that have been habitually written into general histories of the United States.

Fault can be found with anything, and there are habitual fault-finders. We are not in that class and are only too happy to be able to indorse every effort inspired by good intentions at holding forth the Church in its true light. Mr. McCarthy's history is one of such efforts, and we commend the spirit in which it is written.

There are nevertheless several defects in the work which should be corrected if other editions are to be published. There are a number of changes in the text which should be made and without the slightest purpose of hurtful criticism we feel called upon to draw attention to these defects.

In the first place one reading this book cannot help feeling that the author has moved too much with the current; has taken for granted the statements of former writers in too many cases without stopping to inquire as to their correctness. For example, in speaking of the people of the early colonies, Mr. McCarthy says:

> Of the thirteen colonies ten were settled almost entirely by Englishmen. In New York, Walloons and Dutch made up the first communities, as the Swedes and Finns were the most numerous of the early settlers in Delaware. Like the first settlers of New York, those of New Jersey were Hollanders. In considerable numbers French Calvanists came to the Carolinas, etc.

This of course is what Senator Lodge maintained in his writings, but had Mr. McCarthy consulted Mr. Michael J. O'Brien the author of *A Hidden Phase of American History*, he would have learned that from the very beginning the Irish were numerous in all of those settlements.

Mr. McCarthy has also sinned in the fashion of the Eastern writer who traditionally is unable to see over the top of the Alleghany Mountains. The West is of no consequence to such—hence there is no special necessity of being correctly informed upon Western history. On page 132 the author gives a most inaccurate and unsatisfactory account of the discovery of the Mississippi River and the exploration of the Illinois by Father Marquette. From reading the paragraph dealing with Marquette and Joliet one would never guess that Father Marquette had made two distinct trips into Illinois and had established the Catholic Church in the center of the continent. In note 2 on that page the author says:

> On earlier journeys of exploration in 1669-1671 La Salle had already discovered the Ohio and probably the Illinois also.

There is in existence no authentic record proving that La Salle discovered the Ohio River, and no responsible historian has ever before seriously maintained that La Salle discovered the Illinois River.

Distinguished men of Irish extraction and others are charging specifically that a British propaganda exists in the United States, the purpose of which is to counteract the view that England was at fault in her quarrels with the United States. British writers have been asserting that it was the English King and not the English people that was to blame, and it is said there is an attempt on foot to instill this belief into the minds of Americans. Unwittingly perhaps, Mr. McCarthy coincides with this program, if indeed there is such a program. In speaking of the King's signing the Stamp Act he takes the trouble to explain in a note at the foot of page 151 that "when the act was signed, King George III was suffering from the first of several attacks of insanity." Hence we presume we are not to hold a grudge against England.

This is not really the only passage that looks like an excuse or justification of Great Britain. In speaking of the War of 1812 Mr. McCarthy draws attention to the causes of the War (p. 260) one of which was set out as "(4) urging Indians to make war on the settlers in the West." Mr. McCarthy attempts to explain away this charge by a foot-note as follows:

> That the British had been stirring up the Indians was generally believed but this charge unlike the rest, was without foundation.

Mr. McCarthy has evidently not read the evidence establishing the heinousness of the conduct of Lieutenant-Governor-General Hamilton, otherwise and better known as "the hair buyer general" who set a price not only on the scalps of white men killed by Indians but as well paid for scalps of women and children, and has perhaps overlooked the fact that a better price was paid by the British officers for the scalp of a dead American than for the body of a live one taken prisoner. If further evidence were required of the truth of this charge, it could be found in the letters and correspondence of Territorial Governor Ninian W. Edwards as disclosed in letters sent by Major-General Isaac Brock to his agents in the Illinois country and carried through Chicago.

It is hoped Mr. McCarthy and the publishers of this book will not think it technical if we object to a lamentable indefiniteness throughout the book. To write a history which is to be made the basis of a study of that subject and continually neglect to state the first or given name of the characters spoken of, seems to us unpardonable. Looking at page 92 for instance, we find it stated that Dr. LeFont of the Jesuit Seminary made the journey to Vincennes with Father Gibault. This is the first and last time that Dr. La Font

is mentioned. In every other publication we know anything of he is called La Font, and an elimentary rule would require that his first name be given upon first mention thereof. But that is not all that is wrong with the phrase. There was at that time no Jesuit Seminary nor is there anything to indicate that there ever was such a seminary in Illinois. There was a college which had been suppressed at the time the Jesuits were banished in 1763, and the buildings of which were confiscated by the British in 1765 and at the time of the Clark Conquest were used as a fort, the Fort Gage captured by Clark. Dr. La Font was a physician and not a priest as the reference to the Jesuit Seminary would indicate. One might say—what difference can that make, and why draw attention to it. History is nothing if not accurate.

Speaking of the banishment of the Jesuits, Mr. McCarthy falls into the error of fixing the date of the banishment as 1767 (p. 324) four years too late.

I am sure that Irishmen especially will be greatly surprised to learn that a "History of the United States for Catholic Schools" written by a man of the name of McCarthy does not contain upon any one of its 500 pages the name of General and Senator James Shields or any reference whatever to such a man. In some respects the career of General Shields is not paralleled by any other man in America. Mr. McCarthy discusses the Mexican War and the Civil War and the politics and economics of the country. General Shields was one of the heroes, one of the bright particular stars of the Mexican War, and a distinguished officer of the civil war, so distinguished for his ability as a general that it is demonstrable that he was offered the supreme command by President Lincoln. He is unknown to Mr. McCarthy, at least unmentioned. Neither does he mention Governor Wm. L. Bissel who was another hero of the Mexican War and distinguished statesman. It might be possible on account of space to be obliged to omit mention of our heroic Colonel James A. Mulligan, but it seems to us that if this book was intended largely for use in the Catholic schools, it would be profitable to draw attention if even briefly to such distinguished Catholics as we have named.

If the limitations as to matter have been such as to prevent recognition of this character, it is respectfully suggested that a new edition should provide for more lattitude in this regard.

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Volume II APRIL, 1920 Number 4

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APPROBATION

The Archbishop and Bishops of the Province have indorsed the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and its work, and proffered their assistance.

Following are extracts from their letters:

I give hearty approval of the establishment of a Catholic Historical Society that will not be confined to the limits of this Diocese only, but will embrace the entire province and State of Illinois, and to further encourage this movement, I desire you to enroll me among the life members of the Society.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN, *Archbishop.*

The Bishop desired me to write you that he is pleased to accept the Honorary Presidency, and cordially approves of the good work undertaken by the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Faithfully yours in Christ,

M. A. TARRANT,
Secy. to the Bishop of Alton.

I am glad to have your letter about the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and will gladly serve in the capacity suggested. This will be a depository and will fill a much felt need.

P. J. MULDOON, *Bishop of Rockford.*

The sole aim of the Society, namely, 'To make known the glories of the Church,' should certainly appeal to all our Catholic people. I confidently hope that the Society may meet with the generous encouragement it richly deserves from everyone under my jurisdiction.

EDMUND M. DUNNE, *Bishop of Peoria.*

I wish to assure you that I am willing to give you every possible assistance in the good work you have undertaken, and in compliance with your request, I am likewise willing to be one of your Honorary Presidents.

Wishing God's blessing, I remain,

HENRY ALTHOFF, *Bishop of Belleville.*

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Illinois
Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME II APRIL, 1920 . NUMBER 4

FATHER COPPENS' RECOLLECTIONS OF NOTABLE PIONEERS[1]

I have read with interest the early numbers of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, and I wish to show my appreciation of this excellent publication by complying with your request to contribute to its pages some of my recollections regarding several historical personages with whom I was acquainted about the middle of the last century and who were at times identified with Illinois history.

Of these the one I knew most intimately was the great American missionary, Father Peter J. De Smet, S. J., with whom I came to America as a young novice of the Society of Jesus, in December, 1853. But so much has already been published about his work and his remarkable career that all this is familiar knowledge to your readers. An interesting account of Father De Smet was lately published by P. J. Kenedy and Sons, in an English translation of the French, *Vie du Pére De Smet*,[2] originally in Belgium by Rev. E. Laveille, S. J. When I had the honor of travelling with him, such was his renown both in the United States and in various countries of Europe that few men at the time were more generally known and more admired than he; such too was his venerable aspect and such the charm of his conversation that he was habitually the center of attraction on the deck of the steamer that carried us.

[1] Father Charles Coppens was born in Belgium, May 24, 1835, entered the Society of Jesus, September 21, 1853, and was ordained in 1864. He is still actively engaged in St. Ignatius College, Chicago.

[2] The standard life of Father De Smet is in four volumes written by two non-Catholic Army Officers: Chittenden and Richardson. (N. Y. 1905).

Our ship, the "Humboldt," was wrecked as we were approaching the shores of Nova Scotia. At dawn on December 6, 1853, it struck one of the rocks, called "The Three Sisters," smashing a large hole in its keel, throwing the fire from its furnace upon the surrounding wood, and kindling it at once, so that we were warned by the rising smoke that we were in danger of perishing by fire as well as by water. There was a rush, for the life boats; but the captain maintained strict discipline. Sending one boat to ask for help at Halifax, he directed his vessel to run upon the shelving beach, about ten miles away, where the ship was totally destroyed, but the passengers all got safely into fishermen's boats that soon gathered around us, till a salvage-steamer came to take us to the harbor of Halifax. Fortunately all our baggage was recovered.

We had the honor of having as our travelling companion, the Rt. Rev. Bishop J. B. Miege, who had in 1852 been made Vicar Apostolic with his see at Leavenworth, Kansas, and who was then returning from his visit *ad limina* to Rome. He was a man of majestic appearance, but as unassuming as if he had been a simple priest. He had been raised to the episcopal dignity much against his will. Some years later he petitioned Rome to let him resign his office, and re-enter the Society of Jesus; but as he had contracted a heavy debt by building a cathedral he found it necessary to travel to Latin America, for the purpose of collecting money to defray the debt. As soon as he had succeeded in doing so, he joyously returned to his first vocation. He was the first superior of the Jesuit community at Detroit, Michigan, and died in 1884, while acting as spiritual director of the young Jesuits at Woodstock College, Maryland.

The band of intended missionaries that Father De Smet was bringing to America when we were wrecked near Halifax comprised seven novices, four lay brothers and two scholastics. One of these became in the course of time a distinguished missionary among the Indians; this was Father Grassi, an Italian, who realized in a long career of strenuous labors the high expectations aroused in us all by his piety. One of the novices of our band, Joseph Zealand became in the course of time President of the St. Louis University, and later still, came to Chicago as President of St. Ignatius College. Another was John Schoensetters, later so well known in Chicago as Father Setters. From Halifax we travelled on steamboat to Boston, where we received a hospitable welcome from the Jesuit fathers of St. Mary's Church, who managed to lodge our entire band

in their narrow quarters, and held a solemn service in their church in thanksgiving for our escape from a watery grave. I still feel a warm gratitude for the kindness manifested on that occasion for us by the reverend pastors and their entire parish. From Boston we travelled by rail to Cincinnati where good Father Isidore Boudreaux welcomed us heartily at St. Xavier College. This city, or Louisville, (I have forgotten which) was the farthest limit of railroad travel westward at the time.

A steamboat took us thence down the Ohio river to Cairo, and thence up the Mississippi to St. Louis. That manner of travelling had its own dangers, owing to the snags in the river bed which caused the wreck of many a steamboat. I recall that one night an alarm was raised, and good Father De Smet, ever solicitous for our welfare, gathered us all around him in the cabin to keep us in readiness for a threatened accident, of which I was too ignorant at the time to understand the nature.

We eagerly anticipated our arrival at St. Louis for the eve or the morning of Christmas day; but we were disappointed. We passed that gracious festival on a sandbar, and reached St. Louis only on the following morning. Of course, all was done by the fathers of St. Louis University to betoken the joy they felt at our arrival. But some of our number were a little disappointed, because we saw no signs of Indians, for whose conversion we had come so far. All was so desperately civilized. In Boston, when I saw a wagon drawn by several yoke of oxen, I took them for buffalo and was delighted. Now at last we hoped to get Indian ponies to ride to the terminus of our travels, the novitiate at Florissant. But instead of ponies three sober looking carriages took us to our destination. Yet the kindness shown to us on all sides made us feel perfectly at home in our new surroundings, and we entered earnestly upon our spiritual preparation for future labors.

In the course of our noviceship, the members of our whole community were edified by the visit of a priest, who had just been appointed to fill the episcopal see of Chicago, Bishop O'Regan. He came to prepare himself for his consecration by a retreat, which he prolonged for nearly three weeks. Soon after Bishop O'Regan had settled down in his diocese, he resolved to make earnest efforts to have a house of the Jesuit Fathers established in Chicago. He had witnessed the success of their labors while he occupied the post of president of the episcopal seminary near St. Louis. In compliance with his invitation, addressed to Rev. J. B. Druyts, S. J., Vice-

Provincial of the Missouri Province, the latter sent Father Arnold Damen, S. J. with a companion, Father Charles Truyens, S. J., to give a mission in Chicago. This proved to be a success. At once property was bought, and soon a small frame church was erected upon the very spot now occupied by the Holy Family Church and St. Ignatius College, near the corner of Roosevelt Road and Blue Island Avenue, at the time rather far from the heart of the city.[3] Father Damen wanted to work for the laboring class, the members of which flocked eagerly around the new church, buying cheap lots in that locality, and building on them their homes. By September of the same year, 1857, a school was opened in a rented house. On the following feast of the Immaculate Conception, the Rt. Rev. Bishop laid with the solemn ceremonies the corner stone of a brick church. In 1860 this church was blessed and the old frame church, which had been twice enlarged, turned into a school. Only then the fathers built a house for their own habitation which still stands on the northeast corner of May Street and Roosevelt Road.[4]

The new church was soon found much too small for the increasing congregation, and in 1862 a wide front was added to it, and the steeple erected, which is still an ornament of the west side of Chicago. Soon afterwards, a money crisis stopped for a while the rapid extension of the city; and I well remember Father Sopranis, S. J. who had just visited Chicago, saying in my hearing at Cincinnati, Ohio: "Poor Father Damen! he has a great church, but outside the city, whose growth has been arrested." But Father Damen never knew discouragement. In 1864 he came to our college at Fordham, N. Y., where I was then studying theology, and there received a telegram from Chicago, informing him that his school, the former frame church, had been destroyed by fire. I expressed to William J. Onahan, who happened to be at Fordham College at the time, my compassion for Father Damen at his loss; but he knew the energy of his pastor better than I; and he promptly answered, "Do not pity Father Damen, but pity his parishioners, who will no doubt be called upon to contribute a large sum of money to build a much larger school." He was right. Father Damen hastened home and turned the basement of the brick church into a temporary school. On the following Sunday

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[3] See cut of this first Holy Family Church in ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. I, op. p. 448.

[4] For a detailed account of the beginnings of Holy Family parish, see ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. I, p. 436, et seq.

he called a meeting of his parishioners to collect money for a much larger building. This was the end of May, 1864; and such was the good will of all, and the energy of the Chicago people that the large structure on Morgan Street, 125 feet long by 65 broad and 76 high, was ready for use by January, 1865.

All this rapidity of improvements clearly shows that Father Damen was not only a man of great energy, but also that he possessed much tact in cultivating the good will of his people, who in fact enthusiastically supported all his efforts, though the majority of them possessed very limited means. A still richer source of his influence was his ardent zeal to promote their spiritual welfare. He was a man of prayer, and was chiefly solicitous to make his people thoroughly God-fearing. For this purpose he fostered a special devotion to the Blessed Virgin. Separate sodalities were instituted for the married men, the married women, the young men and the young women, for working boys, etc. He began with a sodality for the men, which he established in the first year of his pastorate. Some of these sodalities in the course of time grew to a membership of over a thousand.

He was assisted in the care of the parochial school children by two members of his community, who are remembered to the present day with much love and veneration by many thousands of Chicago Catholics, Brother Thomas O'Neill, who came here in 1862, and his brother, Father Andrew O'Neill, who came two years later. These two good men devoted themselves with untiring industry and admirable ability to the education of the boys. Both brothers spent long lives in this work, the latter dying in 1907.

The instruction of the girls has been admirably conducted for half a century by the Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary, (the B. V. M.'s, as they are familiarly called) whose mother house is in Dubuque, Iowa. I had the pleasure of giving them the first annual retreat, which was for me an occasion of great edification. They lived at the time in a little frame house on Halsted Street, (twelve in number), having as superior the highly esteemed Sister Agatha. It was the poorest and yet most cheerful collection of religious that I have ever met. The house consisted of three rooms, namely, a parlor and a community room on the ground floor, with a diminutive appendage for a kitchen and a common dormitory above. On the landing at the head of the stair-case was placed an altar, at which I daily said Mass, the Sisters kneeling between their beds in the dormitory, whence they came singly to the door to receive Holy

Communion. The Lord has richly blessed their devoted labors. Then there was in Chicago only that little cottage; now they occupy nearly thirty large convent buildings. The boys and girls attending the parochial schools of Holy Family Parish twenty-eight years ago actually numbered 4444, a number easily remembered. When progress called for new buildings and other improvements Father Damen was again equal to the occasion.

In 1865 a magnificent main altar was blessed and the ceremony was honored by the presence of seven bishops, many priests, the mayor and city officials. During the same year a new parochial school was built for the southern part of the parish which also served as a succursal church on Sundays, and this later developed into St. Pius' parish. Meanwhile the Madames of the Sacred Heart had opened an academy on Taylor Street for more advanced pupils but they did not neglect the poorer classes for they likewise conducted one of the parochial schools. Father Damen now undertook to build a college for the higher education of Catholic boys. The foundation of St. Ignatius College was laid in 1867, and in September 1870 the course of studies was begun. The building was 170 feet long, 70 feet wide, and 130 feet high. Without additions made later it cost two hundred and thirty thousand dollars. About this time the good Sisters opened a new school building for girls on Maxwell Street which furnished ample accommodations for the pupils and Sisters, besides providing a large hall on the top story. By this time the number of priests laboring in the Holy Family parish had grown to about a dozen. While all these improvements were being made in the parish Father Damen entered upon more extended labors by preaching missions in cities and towns scattered over the United States. At first he left for only four or five days, then he took another Father along and continued the work for a whole week. The success was so encouraging that the missionary band later on consisted of eight priests who, either in separate bands or together continued their work for two or three successive weeks.

Before Father Damen came to Chicago I knew him as the zealous pastor of St. Xavier Church in St. Louis. He was very successful there and organized a "Young Men's Sodality," which gathered in the élite of the Catholic manhood of that city, and is still active in social and religious work. Father Damen had not yet developed any marked oratorical powers. In fact I remember how an old lady remarked that when she wanted to get a good sleep she could do so without fail by listening to one of his sermons. He felt his deficiency

in this respect, and took a vow that should he become a power in the pulpit, he would never hesitate to render any services desired by any superior. Suddenly his success in preaching became extraordinary. He drew immense audiences filling the largest churches with his stentorian voice and by his earnestness touched the hardest hearts. But he was far excelled in oratory by one of his companions, Father Cornelius F. Smarius. Both these men were natives of Holland, and had come to America to enter the Society of Jesus. In early youth Father Smarius had benefitted by good studies especially in the English language, he also taught Rhetoric in St. Louis University before he entered upon his missionary career. His commanding figure and powerful voice at once arrested attention and his choice diction, his logical arguments together with the solidity of his teachings produced a telling effect on his hearers and every mission counted many converts. I remember seeing him baptize at the close of a mission in St. Louis thirty adults; while from 40 to 70 were the usual number who received their first Holy Communion during each mission. During his missionary career, which was all too short, 1862 to 1871 he wrote and published "Points of Controversy," a book still in use today. Before delivering a sermon he was accustomed to read some extracts from Webster's speeches in order to rekindle the spirit of his style.

Another writer of this time was Father Florentine Boudreaux who was the author of two of the most beautiful religious volumes in the English language, "The Happiness of Heaven," and "God Our Father." The style, illustrations, together with the richness of information and tenderness of devotional spirit, probably make them foremost among the most charming books written on these subjects. These books have been translated into many languages.

I will add only one name to the list of distinguished men that I have mentioned. It is that of the genial Father John Verdin, S. J., who, after being a resident of St. Louis University, became a conspicuous figure on the faculty of St. Ignatius College, Chicago, and who is remembered with pleasure by all those who knew him at that time and are still left to cherish his memory.

CHARLES COPPENS, S. J.

Chicago.

THE NORTHEASTERN PART OF THE DIOCESE OF ST. LOUIS UNDER BISHOP ROSATI

(Continued from January, 1920)

V. Father Peter Paul Lefevere of Salt River

With the advent of Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O. P., as successor of Father Francis Fitzmaurice, June 24, 1835, the missions of Galena and Dubuque enter upon a really prosperous period that was to know no serious decline. But, for the present, we must leave that northernmost portion of Bishop Rosati's Diocese and proceed on the pathway of Father Marquette to take up the thread of our narrative at a point that will lead us into fresh and as yet undiscovered country. The hero of this religious movement is the man of untiring zeal and energy, Father, afterwards Bishop, Peter Paul Lefevere, whose missionary territory was the largest and most difficult of all in the diocese.

Nominally pastor of St. Paul's on Salt River in Ralls County, Missouri, he extended his influence far and wide, in Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa. With the deep, lively faith of his first patron, St. Peter, Father Lefevere combined the courage and straightforwardness of his second patron, St. Paul, which led him, at least on one occasion, to resist his beloved bishop and tell him to his face what he thought of his extravagance. But no harm was done, no ill-will produced, and Bishop Rosati continued to hold the great and good man in the highest esteem.

Peter Paul Lefevere was born in Roulers, in the diocese of Bruges, April 30, 1804. After a classical course in his Belgian home, he studied theology at Paris and, coming to Missouri, was ordained by Bishop Rosati at St. Mary's of the Barrens, November 20, 1831. On the 27th of April, 1832, the Bishop appointed the Rev. Victor Paillasson pastor of New Madrid and of all the surrounding country, with faculties in Kentucky and Tennessee, and gave him as his assistant the Rev. Peter Paul Lefevere. It was the intention of the authorities to found a school of higher education in New Madrid. The erection of a proper building was immediately begun. Great hopes were entertained in regard to the project, especially by the people of New Madrid. but it all met with sudden disaster. We

will append Father Lefevere's own words written under the influence of the event, in a letter to the Bishop, dated:

NEW MADRID, June 24th, 1832.

MOST REV. SIR—You are undoubtedly already informed of the great misfortune which happened to us on the eve of Corpus Christi by the combustion of our house, which was already nearly completed. At that dreadful event, struck with sadness and grief, we both thought immediately to abandon our post and return to St. Louis; but seeing the apparent anxiety and activity of the people to renew what we had undertaken, Mr. Paillasson found it expedient that he alone should go up in order to inform you of the sad and serious condition to which this misfortune has brought us, and to know what there should now be done. As he seems to have more courage than I, and to show a kind of punctilio to recommence the establishment, I write these lines by his request to expose to you my depression and also the embarrassment and grief which might lead him to so dangerous an engagement. You know, Most Rev. Sir, that in the prospectus he has given of this establishment, he has expressly specified and determined that it would be erected and directed on the same plan as that in the Barrens, and also, that there would be erected a convent of nuns for the purpose of keeping a female school. Besides, he has also expressly given notice that in both these seminaries or academies, as they call them here, no mention would ever be made of religion or of whatever regards the Catholic doctrine and worship. Now the people, seeing the loss of so great an improvement and benefit for this place, offer willingly to subscribe for the rebuilding of that seminary. We, after a sufficient inquiry and information, find that the building, in the manner the people desire and will have it, would cost, at least, from nine hundred to a thousand dollars, making deduction of all superfluities and considering the building as rough and simple as possible; and the sum of the subscriptions, calculating at large, could only amount to five hundred dollars. So that we would run into debt for four or five hundred dollars. Moreover, being once engaged, we would incur debts upon debts; later for the convent and after that for the church. You conceive very well that this could never be paid with the revenue of the school. Which, I am sure, will never exceed the expense of our corporal sustenance. Besides, you know very well, that the school, we would be able to teach, could and would never satisfy the idea and expectation of the people, which since our arrival, they have continually kept up and increased, thinking to establish and erect themselves on the ruins of the Barrens. So, considering the little prospect and hopes of future progress in the propagation of faith, knowing the inconstancy of the people and convinced that their only motive and intent is their temporal interest, I having no money in cash shall never venture to engage myself for one dollar, under obligation of paying it with the revenue of a precarious school. Because, most Rev. Sir, knowing the dreadful situation of many priests of America merely on account of debts,[1] I

[1] Father Lefevere's horror in regard to debts, was more than justified by an occurrence of the day. In 1833 Father L. Picot of Vincennes was twice imprisoned for debts contracted, not by himself but by the Trustees of the Church. The debt was $50.00. The Sisters went security and Father Picot was released from confinement, but had to turn beggar to pay the sum. Cf. *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, January, 1898.

dread them more than death itself, and would prefer to cultivate the land from morning till evening rather than entangle myself so far. It would also be very painful to me to depend on the whim of the people for a worldly subsistance, because they would have subscribed to the house, without having ever the consolation of seeing any conversion to God, and even without having any time of working for my own salvation. Till now we never said Mass in public, but always privately, and even missed it often ourselves on account of manual labor. We preached about six times in the courthouse, where the people assembled merely to see one another for amusement and pastime, as they say it themselves. You see that the present and future consolation, either temporal or spiritual, is very small, and besides our characters differ on many points, one from another. If therefore you could apply some remedy to my present situation which is lamentable, or assign me some place where, by means of a frugal sustenance, I could work with more fruit for the salvation of others and that of myself, which is the only motive that brought me to America, you would infinitely oblige,

Most Rev. Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant,

P. LEFEVERE, P.

Bishop Rosati's answer of the 18th of July, 1832, announces to Father Lefevere his appointment to the mission of Salt River, but the 2nd day of August he suspends this order, saying that as Father Paillasson was sent on a special mission to Arkansas, he should remain at New Madrid until the pastor's return. Father Lefevere might also join Father Beauprez in the Arkansas mission.[2] Father Lefevere left the choice of his future field to his superior, as was proper, and explained his sad condition:

NEW MADRID, August 17, 1832.

MY LORD—I have been favored with yours of the 2nd inst. in which you seem to give me the choice of the Post of Arkansas; but the obedience which God exacts from inferiors to their lawful superiors commands, and even decency requires, that I should forbear on this point choosing or undertaking anything of my own accord. Wherefore, far from having the least objection or showing the least discontent to whatever is determined, I willingly and joyfully submit to the first orders I shall receive, and am ready to go whithersoever your Lordship shall be pleased to send me. I would only suggest that I greatly apprehend to have no better success than Mr. Saulnier,[3] who is an old and experienced missionary, and my apprehension has also been increased by the dreadful portrait men of good information here have drawn of the immorality and all the vices of the inhabitants of Arkansas. On the other hand, I sensibly feel and experience that warm climates are very prejudicial to my health, and

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[2] Bishop Rosati's *Letter-Book*. Cf. F. G. Holweck, *The Arkansas Mission Under Rosati* in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. I, p. 243 seq.

[3] Father Edmund Saulnier had some rather strange experiences, and but very moderate successes in this mission of Arkansas. All through life he shone more as a talker and letter-writer, than as a missionary. Father Holweck gives a few of Saulnier's highly diverting letters.

perhaps more so to my spiritual welfare. This is what I thought necessary to mention. As for the rest, I resign and conform myself entirely to your will, because this is a duty incumbent on me, and I am confident that you act and ever will act as a father in my regard. I am much embarrassed and in a state of dejection. When I left the Seminary I was without money and had but a scanty provision of clothes, which are now almost worn out by continual work at the establishment, and since my arrival here I have not yet received so much as one cent. So that for want of means I could not stay long in this place, and I am also unable to pay the passage to the place you would send me. . . . It would be a great favor to me and a great relief, if you would pay my passage, and send me something, either by intentions or otherwise, to place myself in a somewhat better condition than I am at present.

I am, with profound sentiments of respect, my Lord,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

P. LEFEVERE, Pr.

This plaintive letter brought the decision which determined Father Lefevere's future life. It is the brief order of August 29: "In the letter which will be brought to you by Mr. Larochia you will find a banknote of ten dollars to pay your passage from New Orleans to St. Louis, from where you will go to Salt River."[4] And to Salt River Father Lefevere went, December 3, to do valiant battle in the cause of Holy Church, until his appointment as Bishop of Zela, and Coadjutor and Administrator of Detroit, November 22, 1841, almost eight years of ceaseless trouble and toil.

Concerning this period of Father Lefevere's activities we have a beautiful monument in the letters he wrote from time to time to Bishop Rosati, letters that owe more to the grace of Christ that animated the writer than to the graces of the English language. Yet, the English is clear and always to the point; and the matter these letters embody is a most important contribution to the history of the beginnings of the Church in Northern Wisconsin and Illinois. We do not, therefore, feel that we owe an apology to our readers for inserting them entire and unchanged in their native ruggedness, interspersing, however, from other authentic sources further information on matters civil and religious that have a bearing on the progress of Father Lefevere's missionary labors:[5]

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[4] Bishop Rosati's *Letter-Book*.

[5] Father Theodore Bruener in his well-written monograph on the history of the Catholic Church in Quincy, *Katholische Kirchengeschichte Quincy's*, 1887, makes extensive use of Father Lefevere's letters, and gives four of the series in a German, not entirely satisfactory version, omitting as he does, the very interesting, though not very respectful, passage in regard to Bishop Rosati's Cathedral.

SALT RIVER, January 23, 1833.

RIGHT REVD. FATHER IN GOD—When you started from St. Louis to the Seminary I was in hope of seeing you once more before I should be called for Salt River. But no sooner was I arrived at Ste. Genevieve in compliance with your order, than Mr. Leake arrived there with a letter from Mr. Borgna (the Vicar-General) that I should immediately accompany this gentleman to St. Louis to start from thence for Salt River. This certainly afforded me a great deal of pleasure, seeing that I was then going to my destined station, where I could exercise the ministry. But coming to St. Louis, I was greatly discouraged and downhearted, because I knew that some difficulties had occurred in this congregation, that I could not receive any directions from you, and that Mr. Van Quickenborn[6] would not communicate anything, neither of the disposition of the Catholics, or as to what he had done or regulated at Salt River. Besides I was entirely unacquainted with the disposition of the congregation, and was without money. Therefore, considering the situation in which I was, I hope you will not be displeased with my interpreting your good will, that you would repay the loan of twenty-five dollars which were offered to me by the Rev. Mr. Lutz. As for what regards the religion here, I have every reason to feel satisfied, seeing the fervor and the zeal of a great many of these Catholics; and if I may judge of what I have already seen, the congregation in general is well disposed and feels deeply interested in having a stationary clergyman among them. But they are widely scattered. I have held church already in two different homes and promised to hold it next time in another place; and I think it will be necessary to go, from time to time, to two other homes. This is somewhat embarrassing to me; for it seems that there is a kind of emulation among the people to have Mass said on Sundays at their house. On this side of the river (Salt River) they seem to desire that the priest should stay among them and spend the greater part of his time in their congregation, because they are more numerous and have built a church, which is already far advanced; on the other side they show great disposition to build a church, and therefore seem to desire that the priest should go often amongst them. As for me, I board with Mr. Raphy Leake, who receives me with all possible kindness and affection; and so does his lady and all his family towards me. But he has many children, and his house is not over large, and therefore I think he does more than he is able. You know that this must be inconvenient to me and to the people. As for finishing the church, building a house, and getting a salary, I dare not undertake anything without your directions for fear of contradicting the measures which have been already taken here by Father De Theux and Mr. Van Quickenborn and thus wearing out the patience of the people. For, as I hear, regulations have been made for a house and a farm appertaining to the church, and also for the establishment of a male and female school; of all these things Mr. Van Quickenborn would communicate nothing, not even things that regard the ministry, the knowledge of which would have been necessary or at least very useful to me; he seemed to know everything under secrecy. But if you think proper, that I should not have knowledge of these things, or not meddle with

[6] Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, S. J., Pastor of St. Charles, and in 1836 Superior of the Kickapoo Indian Mission. Rev. Theodore De Theux, S. J., in 1836 was Rector of the Scholasticate of St. Stanislaus at Florissant.

them, I humbly entreat you to give me, at least, some directions how I should act, and what I should do for the ministry as well as for my sustenance.

I am with profound respect and submission,

Your most humble servant,

P. LEFEVERE.

P. S.—If you should write anything that requires an answer, be not astonished if not receiving it in due time; for very often the letters do not arrive. Mr. Leake never received the letter you wrote to him. If therefore you do not receive an answer, please to write a second time. The surest way would be to direct your letters in the care of Mr. Raphy Leako on Salt River, near New London, Ralls County, Mo.

As early as January, 1831, the people living along both sides of Salt River in Ralls County, Missouri, had received the promise of a resident priest. The congregation was called St. Pauls. The people were immigrants from Kentucky and Maryland. Almost all the Catholics of the neighborhood were, as Father Lefevere states in 1834, one continuous series of relations and connexions. And they were constantly intermarrying, because they, knowing the fatal effects of mixed marriages, had scarcely any suitable opportunity of marriage except among members of their relationship. The first settlers of St. Paul's congregation were James Leak and John Elliot in 1829. Mass was usually said in the houses of James Leak, Raphael Leak and James Elliot, first by Father John A. Elet, S. J., then by Father Charles Van Quickenborne, S. J. Eighty acres of land were set apart for the use of the congregation. There were forty-five families in the Salt River country when Father Lefevere arrived. Mr. James Leake offered to board the pastor gratis and to take care of his horse. He promised to make him as comfortable as he could, and it should not cost him a cent.

The houses in which the missionary was obliged to say Mass in St. Pauls, as well as in the numerous places he was about to visit on both sides of the Mississippi, were probably all built on the same simple plan: so let me give the description of one as written down in 1831:

THE LOG HOUSE OF PIONEER DAYS

There were two rooms, both on the ground floor, separated from each other with boards so badly joined that crevices were observable in many places. The rooms were nearly square, and might contain from thirty to forty square yards each. Beneath one of the rooms was a cellar, the floor and sides of which were clay, as left when first dug out; the walls of the house consisted of layers of strong blocks of timber, roughly squared and notched into each other at the corners; the joints filled up with clay. The house had two doors, one of which

is always closed in winter, and open in summer to cause a draught. The fire was on the floor at the end of the building, where a very grotesque chimney had been constructed of stones gathered out of the land, and walled together with clay and mud instead of cement. It was necessarily of great width, to prevent the fire from communicating with the building. The house was covered with oak shingles; that is to say, thin riven boards nailed upon each other, so as just to overreach. The floors of the house were covered with the same material, except a large space near the fire, which was paved with small stones, also gathered from the land. The windows were few and rather small. It is in reality true, that the want of light is felt very little in a log-house; in winter they are obliged to keep fine blazing fires, which, in addition to the light obtained from their low, wide chimneys, enable the inmates to perform any business that is requisite.

It, is however, by no means to be understood that an American log-house equals in comfort and convenience a snug English cottage. It is quite common to see at least one bed in the same room as that in which the fire is kept; a practice which invariably gives both the bed and house a filthy appearance. There was no chamber, only a sort of loft, constructed rather with a view to make the house warmer than to afford additional room. Adjoining one side were a few boards nailed together in the form of a table, and supported principally by the timber in the wall. This was dignified with the name "sideboard". In the center of this room stood another small table, covered with a piece of coarse brown calico; this was the dining table. The chairs, four in number, were the most respectable furniture in the house, having bark of hickory platted for bottoms. Besides these there were two stools and a bench for common use,—a candlestick made from an ear of Indian corn, two or three trenchers and a few tin drinking vessels. One corner of the house was occupied with agricultural implements, consisting of large hoes, axes, etc., for stubbing, called in America, grubbing, flails and wooden forks, all exhibiting specimens of workmanship rather homely. Various herbs were suspended from the roof with a view of being medicinally serviceable, also two guns, one of them a rifle. There were also several hams and sides of bacon, smoked almost until they were black; two or three pieces of beef, etc. The furniture in the other room consisted of two beds and a handloom, with which the family wove the greater part of their own clothes. In the cellar I observed two or three large hewn tubs, full of lard, and a lump of tobacco, the produce of their own land, in appearance sufficient to serve an ordinary smoker his life.[1]

In these straitened circumstances of a country just emerging from the native condition of wild wood and prairie, Father Lefevere began his missionary career. Add to this the frequent contradictions from the wicked and wayward, and the indifference, seeming or real,

[1]Extract from rare pamphlet published in 1848 in London by S. Berger and entitled, *A True Picture of Emigration or Fourteen Years in the Interior of North America,* being a full and impartial account of the various difficulties and ultimate success of an English family, who immigrated from Barwick-in-Elmet, near Leeds, in the year 1831.

of those for whom he was sacrificing his young life, and we may well understand that his condition at times must have appeared to him as a dreary exile. But, *labor omnia vincit;* labor in the cause of God, conquered all feelings of despondency, all desire for a change; where there is so much to do, and he alone to do it, he will not shrink from any work, but casting his care upon the Lord, he will leave it to Him to bless his labors. The following letter will give us an illustration of this. It is dated:

SALT RIVER TOWNSHIP, July 12, 1833.

RIGHT REV. SIR—When I last visited the Catholics who live above Palmyra in the counties of Marion and Lewis, a perplexing case occurred to me; two of these Catholics had been waiting a long time for the arrival of the priest to be married, and my delay had made them somewhat impatient, so that the day after my arrival all was ready for the marriage. But they were kindred, either in the third degree simple, or the fourth and third mixed, for when the brother who was married to the sister of the other party, explained their lineage, I found nothing but the third degree. But he told me that he was not able to give an exact statement; but that Bishop Flaget had told them at their marriage that it was not exactly the third, but was between the third and fourth degree. Now seeing that it was difficult to get any better information, and there being grave reason for dispensing, I have married them, thinking that I had the faculty of dispensing, in such a case in the fourth and third degree mixed, and in case it was the third degree simple, I knew that Mr. Borgna (the Vicar-General) had given me the faculty of dispensing in that degree in case of great necessity. But still I have done it with some misgivings, thinking that this faculty had perhaps been withdrawn by your granting the ordinary faculties.

The next time I visit these Catholics it is very probable that the same case will happen again. Wherefore I beg of you the favor of granting dispensation in case this should happen, for I think there are grave reasons for so doing, because these Catholics are almost all blood relations; they are very strict observers of their religion, and are living among Presbyterians, the most embittered against the Catholics; besides, none of them are land-owners, tho land is all taken up by other possessors, and all have formed a resolution of moving higher up and forming a Catholic settlement.

In my last trip I said Mass at a Catholic house on the bank of the Mississippi, just opposite Quincy, and hearing that Mr. O'Neil, who has been a brother in the Seminary, was living in that town, I sent over to him to come to Mass. He came over with another Catholic, and both went to their duties. They told me that there were several Catholics living in Quincy, who were greatly desirous of having a church. As this town is in the state of Illinois, I do not know whether it would be licit for me to go there, but if you give me leave, I shall go there the next time, as it is not out of the way I have to go.

The cholera has been more fatal in Palmyra than in any other place I have ever heard of. Out of a population of six hundred and odd souls 109 persons have fallen victims to that disease. It has also been in New London and throughout the country round about. Several persons have been swept away; and I attribute it to a particular favor of God that I have escaped the disease;

for during eighteen days I have been continually exposed to all that wet spell of weather, which caused every creek and water course to be past fording, being wet to the skin every day by a hard beating rain, or by swimming or high fording. All this, however, has brought on a daily fever and ague for these three weeks, whose severity, together with the repeated doses of calomel, tartar emetic and other medicines, has weakened and exhausted me so much that I was not able to walk around the house. The fever now begins to abate, so that I have been able to say Mass today for the first time, not, however, without great difficulty and fatigue; and I hope now that little by little I shall gather my strength so as to be able, after a few days, to attend to my former duties.

I am, with great respect and obedience, yours,

PETER LEFEVERE.

P. S.—I beg of you the favor to forward the enclosed to Mr. Borgna or, in his absence, to Mr. Taylor.

As in this letter Father Lefevere makes mention for the first time of Quincy, we will accompany him on his trip across the river. Quincy has the distinction of being the earliest purely German parish along the whole course of the Mississippi River. The pioneer settler was the John Wood, a veteran of the War of 1812, who in 1821 took possession of his Congressional grant and built his home upon it. The town was named for President John Quincy Adams, the county being called Adams. The first German settler was Michael Mass, a Catholic from Baden, who had left his native city, Forchheim in Breisgau in 1816, made a fortune in Mexico and established his home in Quincy in the year 1829. Father Lefevere met some of the Catholic people of Quincy, who came over to the Missouri side of the river to attend divine service, as his letter states, and were by him encouraged to send a petition to Bishop Rosati for a resident priest. As the bishop had no one to send,[8] Father Lefevere offered to visit the people of Quincy

[8] In view of the ever-increasing immigration of German Catholics to Missouri and Illinois, Bishop Rosati made repeated efforts in Rome to obtain some German missionaries for his diocese. Two Propaganda-Students at Rome belonging to the diocese of St. Louis, Hilary Tucker and George A. Hamilton, kept the Bishop informed as to any prospects of help from the center of Christendom. Hilary Tucker writes September 10, 1835: "If you should be in the need of any other German clergymen you would do well to write to the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Eichstaedt, Count Reisach, our former rector, who will soon leave us. He has told me that he has no doubt but that he can find some good priests for you. At present there is establishing in Rome, a society called the Apostolico Catolico, which has for its object the same as that of the Propagation of the Faith in France and of the Leopoldine Society in Germany. If it succeeds, I will give you notice. Many Cardinals, and even princes, have already taken interest in it. The institutor of it is the confessor of our college, a holy priest, who is looked upon in Rome as a living saint. I have made known the necessities

and surrounding country, in addition to his own numerous and difficult stations, as we learn from his next letter:

St. Paul's, July 3, 1834.

My Lord—When I had the pleasure of conversing with your Lordship last winter, I nourished the greatest of hopes of seeing the church on Salt River completed at my return. But to my sad astonishment, I saw that, during all my absence, not a single stroke had been given to it, and that the prospect of having it finished before long was very dim. Therefore I tarried here these four weeks, visiting the little congregations around in order to give them all the opportunity of celebrating their Easter. During that time I made them sensible of their sluggishness and little zeal in the service of God, and their backwardness in contributing to the attainment of the necessary nourishment of their souls. Finally I told them in positive terms, that in the manner I had been until then living among them without any return of support, a clergyman could not or ought not stay amongst them; that now I was going to visit the scattered Catholics on the side of Illinois and beyond the state of Missouri, that it was now left at their choice either to have a stationary clergyman amongst them or not. For should the church at my return not be completed, and some arrangement for a reasonable support be made up, I was fully determined to leave them, without giving them any hopes of ever obtaining another priest for the present. This (missionary) visit took me about three months, during which I never could pass more than three nights in the same place. I went from Atlas to the head of the Rapids,[9] forty and fifty miles backward and forward in the interior of the country, continually hunting after some Catholics that were newly come to this section. Then I returned on this side of the Mississippi among the Half Indians and in the New Purchase where the Catholics are increasing very fast. The difficulties and the hardships I had to struggle with were great; but in all this I had the consolation of baptizing several adult persons, and of seeing many Catholics, who until then had been cold and indifferent and had never made any use of the church for many years, take a new start, as it were, in the way of their salvation, and devoutly approach the Sacraments. In and about Quincy the Catholics are coming in considerably faster, and are very anxious to have a Catholic church built there. Even people of other (religious) professions are very eager in the cause, and have offered a lot or two, and other aid towards the building of a chapel. They had also written a petition in order to entreat your Lordship to station a clergyman amongst them. Before sending it they asked my advice about it. I told them there was now a great scarcity of priests in the Diocese, that I thought it would be impossible to have a stationary one at present. Nevertheless, I encouraged them to send it on and proceed in their good undertaking, saying that, if they had a church, the place would at least be regularly visited, until there should be a priest stationed there. At

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of the diocese of St. Louis to this young society, but as yet I know not whether it will succeed or not."

[9] Atlas is in Pike County, about 40 miles north Quincy. The "Head of the Lower Rapids," is Nauvoo in Hancock County, then also called Commerce, about 50 miles north of Quincy. The "Fort of the Lower Rapids" is Warsaw, just opposite Keokuk.

the Head of the Rapids, about fifty miles above Quincy, there is a still greater prospect for a church, because the Catholics there are more numerous and very zealous toward the building of a church. Several other families, too, are going to settle there next fall. I saw some time ago in the *Shepherd,* if I recollect well, that Mr. St. Cyr was destined for the mission in the northern part of Illinois. I presumed it was for Sangamon County. But except for Galena, where as I have seen, a priest is already stationed, I do not think that in the whole northern district of Illinois, there is a more interesting and promising mission than at the Rapids and at Quincy. The Catholics are more numerous, the land fertile, well watered and considerably well timbered, and close to the main navigation. People also seem to move to it from every part of the Union. As for Sangamon County, a great many of the Catholics, who used to live there, have moved already to the State of Missouri, and the greater part of the remainder of them intend to move out shortly. And indeed I see no inducement for them to stay there. The land, it is true, is richer than common, but it is extremely sickly.[10] They live toward the head of the Sangamon River, far from navigation, far from market, where no business is stirring, and no money circulating. And it is but too often the case, that Catholics settle in the poorest or most sickly places, and are induced to move or stay there on account of prospects for a church; and this is the great reason that Catholics are generally poor and kept under by other denominations. If Mr. St. Cyr, or any other priest were stationed at Quincy or at the Head of the Rapids, he would find there a wide extensive field for his zeal in the cause of God. Besides many other Catholics scattered through the country, he would find four little congregations in a circuit, as it were of forty or fifty miles at most. These congregations are as yet small, indeed, but very promising and increasing daily. There is one at Quincy, one at the Head of the Rapids, another on the Fork of Crooked Creek,[11] and a fourth one at the Foot of the Rapids among the Half Indians, where there are several French and American families living. From there he could even go sometimes to Sangamon County. On the other hand it would be very consoling for the Missionary. It would be placing the spiritual and temporal comforts within a reach of us both, and also that of the priest stationed at Galena. Then at least we could sometimes see one another. We could ask for consolation in affliction, counsel in doubt, and help in distress, without being exposed so much to die without the consolation of receiving the last Sacraments, as Mr. McMahon of afflicting memory. As for

[10] The health conditions of this part of Illinois at this time, do not seem to have improved very much since the days of Schoolcraft, who in 1821 went up the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers to an assembly of Indians at Chicago. Of the lower Illinois Valley he wrote: "But at the same time the insalubrity of the climate, particularly during the summer season, must be construed as presenting a formidable impediment to its speedy settlement. The appearance of the inhabitants has corresponded with the unhealthfulness of the country. Pale and emaciated countenances, females shivering with ague or burning with intermittent fever, unable to minister to their children, and sometimes every member of a numerous family suffering from the prevailing malady at the same time, have been among the more common scenes." Schoolcraft, H. W. *Travel in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley,* 1821.

my part, if I stay on Salt River, I absolutely could not visit those places any longer. It would be absenting myself too long from these congregations here, and the distance being so great, I could not stand it a long time being dragged continually through rivers and swamps to visit these places.

At my return to Salt River the people had just completed the church, the best way they could, and seemed to have a great desire to have Divine Services performed in it. We had then, the two last Sundays, for the first time, high Mass in it; a band of singers of the congregation forming a delightful and harmonious choir. The church was crowded with people from every quarter of the County, who seemed to be very much delightful and edified with the Divine Service that was performed. I have said and do say Mass in it until now, as if it were in a private house; because I think that, without further necessary ornaments and decorations, this building is not fit to be blessed and dedicated to the service of the Almighty. Still in case of sickness and out of necessity, I keep the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle, which I have rendered as neat and decorous as my slender means would permit. The altar and the celebrant are entirely destitute of all necessary deckings, and vestments for the august Sacrifice of Mass. There is nó becoming chasuble or albe. When I came to Salt River I had but one, which was yet indifferent, and by carrying it now for the space of almost two years in the saddle bags, it has become unfit for use. There are no candle-sticks, no linens for the altar, no canopy, no antipendium, no carpet, no decent pictures or crucifix, the church, in a word, is unfit for the performance of Divine Service: and it is but necessity that urges me to say Mass within its walls. I hope then that your Lordship will open his benevolent eyes to the pressing wants of this church and supply what the congregation, with its utmost endeavors, cannot effect. For as the child goes to the father for the wants of nature, so does an humble priest in the name of his entrusted congregation, address himself, without fear of refusal, to his beloved Bishop, for the almost indispensable means of performing his office with decency, proficiency and edification.

The Catholics here are very eager and desirous to retain your humble servant for their parish priest, and for my support they have made up a subscription of fifty dollars on this side, and forty on the other side of the river (Salt River.) It is little, but it is all that their slender abilities can afford, and I fear that for want of means a great part of what is subscribed will never be paid. The settlers here are poor and have large families. They are generally people who could not find subsistence in the state from which they moved, or who met with some great loss or misfortune; and the little money they had in coming to this state they have laid out to enter their land. So that now they live poorly, work hard, and raise scarcely enough to support their own family. But, at all events, I should loathe the idea of abandoning this mission, considering the importance of it and the immense good that can be done here. It is true, a great many of the Catholics here are cold and indifferent in the ways of God, but it seems to me, that this is the very reason why greater efforts should be made in order to warm that coldness and inspire the rising generation with that ardor and zeal, which one day will constitute them good members of the Church and shining lights to other (religious) professions. I feel very sorry, My Lord, that you are not better acquainted with these northern parts of the state of Missouri. Because, I am confident that, were you thoroughly acquainted with them by self

information and experience, you would be convinced that they require more of your episcopal attention than any of the Southern parts. Because the land here is so beautiful, healthy and productive of most every kind of vegetable, and the people are moving to it so rapidly that it surpasses anything your Lordship has ever seen until now. Catholics, too, are daily increasing and scattering through the country. There are here, as it were, seven small congregations in a circuit of about a hundred and twenty miles, and if in some of these places a little chapel were erected it would be the means of collecting the Catholics together and making many conversions, and also of establishing the Church permanently in these parts. Without such effectual means, I fear greatly that the various sects of Protestants will take the upper hand, since they are also increasing rapidly and seem to bend every effort towards establishing their own sect in every neighborhood. I say these things, not that I would dictate to your Lordship, for I hope that such a suspicion will never arise in your truly episcopal heart. But it is merely a sense of duty that urges me to write this in order to call your particular attention to this interesting and noble portion of your spiritual realm.

I have a great desire of enjoying your Lordship's presence, but I cannot start on account of the prairie flies, which are now so bad that it is impossible to travel; and after they begin to subside, which will be towards the middle of August, before I come, I must absolutely make another trip, in order to visit some Catholics whom I left last time, half way, as it were, in their return to the pale of the Church.

I remain, with due respect, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

PETER P. LEFEVERE.

Father Lefevere animadverts with some natural warmth on the seeming predilection of Bishop Rosati for the missions in the southern parts of his spiritual realm, the old French settlements in Southern Missouri, Illinois, and in the state of Louisiana. That the North had the promise of a glorious future far surpassing that of the South, may have dawned on the mind of the far-seeing bishop; yet it was the South that then possessed the strong, well-established parishes, and almost all the cultured elements of his diocese. Father Lefevere knew but little of the South, and what he knew by experience of its religious and social conditions was not favorable. Yet his fine judgment as to the brilliant prospects of the North, at a time when its energies were just beginning to make themselves felt, deserve our grateful recognition. The wide fields were ready for the hands of the sowers of the seed, and other fields were waiting for the laborers that should clear and till the soil; but the laborers were all too few. Between St. Paul's on Salt River and Chicago, the eastern extremity of Illinois; between Dubuque and Galena in the north, and Cahokia and St. Louis there was not a single priest. Of Father Fitzmaurice we have already spoken, and to his successor in Galena we shall return in the course

of our wanderings. Of St. Cyr, the first resident priest of Chicago, we will have occasion to speak ere long, as his stay at Chicago was about contemporaneous with Lefevere's early days at St. Paul's and in the surrounding wilderness. The seed of God's Word has taken root in this virgin soil: the indications for a great harvest are not, as yet, very noticeable; still Father Lefevere is full of confidence, and his buoyant hope and resistless energy communicate themselves to others, as a pledge of the great things to come.

VI. Father Lefevere and Father St. Cyr

As Father Lefevere's letter of July 3, 1834, passes in rapid survey, not only the country in the immediate vicinity of Quincy, but also the promising settlements on the lower Illinois River, with its tributaries—Crooked Creek and Sangamon River, a brief account of the physical and social conditions of these advanced posts of civilization in Central Illinois will prove acceptable and, we hope, helpful for the better understanding of what we may have to say concerning the planting of the Church therein.

In 1818 the settled part of Illinois extended a little north of Edwardsville and Alton. The entire State numbered about 45,000 souls, about 2,000 of whom were the descendants of the early French settlers, in the villages of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Prairie du Pont, Cahokia, Peoria and Chicago. Immigration on a larger scale from the East and the South set in in 1822. Galena in the farthest north was settled about 1825, though known as a lead center somewhat earlier. "In 1823 Sangamon River and Fulton County were the northern boundaries of the settlements. A military and trading post existed at Chicago, and a dozen families, chiefly French, were gathered at Peoria, formerly known as Lake Pleteous. The northern half of Illinois was a continuous wilderness, or as the universal impression was, an interminable prairie, forever uninhabitable. Morgan County, then including Scott and Cass, had about seventy-five families. Springfield in Sangamon County was a frontier village of a dozen log cabins."[11] In 1830 the first steamboat went up the Illinois River as far as Peoria.

"The population of the State," says Ford, "had increased by the year 1830 to 157,447; it had spread north from Alton as far as

[11] At the "Foot of the Rapids" is Keokuk. The reservation of the Half-Indians comprised about one-third of Iowa. "Crooked Creek" is Fountain Green, the distined home of Father St. Cyr in Central Illinois.

Peoria, principally along the rivers and creeks, and in such places there were settlers sparsely scattered along the margin of the Mississippi River as far as Galena, sometimes at a distance of a hundred miles apart; also on the Illinois River to Chicago, with long intervals of wilderness; a few sparse settlements were scattered about all over the southern part of the military tract, Pike and Calhoun counties. The country on the Sangamon River and its tributaries had been settled, . . . leaving a large wilderness tract yet to be peopled between Galena and Chicago; the whole extent of the Rock River and Fox River counties, and nearly all the lands of Hancock, McDonough, Fulton, Peoria, Stark, Warren, Henderson, Knox, Mercer, Henry, Bureau, Livingston, Champaign, Platt and Iroquois, comprising one third of the State. As yet in 1830 but a few settlements had been made anywhere in the then open-wide prairies, but were confined to the margins of the timber in the vicinity of rivers and streams of water."[12]

There was reason for this. The prairie lands were so different from anything the early immigrants had seen. Though marvels of beauty and design, stretching away in endless undulation of wind-swept grass in summer, with a clump of trees here and there; apparently fertile beyond the lands of the East, yet so silent and lonesome, lacking shade and water, uncanny as if a curse rested on the vast expanse of pathless green, the prairies frightened away the bewildered homeseekers. Thus it came to pass, that up to the Black Hawk War, Northern Illinois was almost an uninhabited wilderness, in which the towns of Peru, La Salle, Ottawa, Newark, Holderness Grove, Galena and Chicago formed the scattered oases of civilization, the two places—Galena on the Mississippi and Peoria on the Illinois River being connected by the only railroad in the State. For the rest, there was the stage-road through the pathless prairie to Shawneetown on the Ohio and the Illinois River leading to the outer world.

But with the defeat of Black Hawk the sinister charm seemed broken. The soil was found to be most fertile, the climate not too severe, and the lurking dangers from savage men and wild animals only formed another element of attraction. Numberless settlements arose in all the counties, and every year brought new and flourishing additions to the towns already founded.

Although the great immigration of Irish Catholics was coincident

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[12] *Annals of the West*, compiled by James H. Perkins, second edition revised and enlarged by J. M. Peck, St. Louis, 1850.

with the Irish famine of 1846, 1847, and 1848, and that of the German Catholics found its high-tide during the years 1841-1850, still there was a steady stream of Catholic families pouring into Northern Illinois all through its earlier period and diffusing its elements of progress throughout the length and breadth of the land. What was to become of their religion amid the hardship and privations of the wilderness, in the loneliness of isolated homesteads, or among men of other faiths? That was the great question that touched the heart of many, but most deeply the fatherly heart of Bishop Rosati. For the Bishop of St. Louis had in 1818 been intrusted by Bishop Flaget of Bardstown with the spiritual care of the Catholic settlements of Illinois along the Mississippi. At that time this commission was comparatively easy, as these settlements were all in the immediate neighborhood of St. Louis. But as the settlements were extended farther and farther every year, the difficulty of providing for them grew in proportion.

In order to provide properly for the spiritual wants of Illinois, the territory should be under his immediate jurisdiction, especially as the Mississippi River and its eastern tributaries formed the only highways of travel. On June 25 Bishop Rosati answers a letter of Bishop Flaget, then the Ordinary of Illinois: "I concur with your opinion that the limits of my diocese should be fixed at the 12th degree of longitude west of Washington. I also desire that the line be continued further north."[13] This arrangement was ultimately approved by Rome June 17, 1834, in the following words: "The diocese of St. Louis comprises the state of Missouri, together with the territory called Arkansas and, until the Holy See decrees otherwise, it shall include the territory also on the west side of the Mississippi (i. e., Iowa). The diocese, then, of Vincennes shall comprise the state of Indiana together with a part of Illinois, to-wit: let a straight line be drawn from Fort Massac (36 miles above the junction of Ohio and Mississippi), along the east boundaries of the counties, Johnson, Franklin, Jefferson, Marion, Fayette, Shelby and Marion as far as the Rapids of the Illinois River, which are about eight miles above the city of Ottawa in the County of La Salle, and thence up to the northern limits of the state so that the part of Illinois lying west of this line shall belong to the diocese of St. Louis, the eastern part, however, to the diocese of Vincennes."[14] By this decree Chicago was

[13] *A History of Illinois*, by Gov. Thomas Ford, Chicago, 1854.

[14] Bishop Rosati's *Letter-Book*.

placed under the jurisdiction of Bishop Simon William Gabriel Bruté; nevertheless this rising metropolis of the West was, at least for a time, to be administered by a priest from St. Louis, Father John Mary Irenaeus St. Cyr. Indeed there was a movement to place all the State of Illinois under the jurisdiction of St. Louis, but it failed through the strenuous opposition of Bishop England's party in the American hierarchy.[15]

Concerning Father St. Cyr's activities in Chicago we will give but a brief resumé: referring our readers to the important article, *Early Catholicity in Chicago*, by Father G. J. Garraghan, S. J., in the July and October numbers of this REVIEW for 1918. And first of all there is the announcement made by Bishop Rosati to Bishop Flaget that he would provide for Chicago:

April 17, 1833.

Having received a petition of the Catholics of Chicago, who regarded me as their diocesan bishop and demanded of me a priest, showing the danger of losing a concession of two thousand acres of land which the chiefs of the Pottawatomies, with the consent of the government, have made to the Catholic Church, by virtue of the powers of Vicar-General, which you have given me, I will send Mr. St. Cyr, but on condition that, until the limits of the diocese are fixed, I can recall him.[16]

Bishop Flaget was well pleased to be relieved of the care of such

[15] The original text of the decree, as given in the Bull *Apostolicae Sedis* of Gregory XVI, dated June 17, 1834, is as follows: "Diocoesis Scti-Ludovici complectatur provinciam Missouri una cum territorio dicto Arkansas et, donec aliud a Scta Sede statuatur, habebit quoque territorium ad Occidentalem plagam fluminis Mississippi. Diocoesis denique Vincennopolitana comprehendet provinciam Indiana una cum parte Illinois, et proprie ab Castello Massac ducatur linea recta per fines Orientales comitatuum Johnson, Franklin, Jefferson, Marion, Fayette, Shelby et Macon usque ad magna fluenta fluminis Illinois, quae sunt ad octo millia passuum supra oppidum Ottawa in comitatu Lasalle, et hinc usque ad Septentrionalem provinciae finem adeo ut pars Occidentalis lineae provinciae Illinois pertineat ad dioecesim Scti-Ludovici, pars vero Orientalis ad dioecesim Vincennopolitanam omnino spectet." MS. in Archives of St. Louis.

[16] The impression at this time was that Bishop Rosati desired to have the entire state of Illinois placed under his jurisdiction. Bishop Flaget states that, "Bishop Rosati exercises his jurisdiction upon a vast tract of the Illinois, but he has never determined the line where he ceases exercising his administration." Baltimore seemed favorable to his claims. But Bishop England, together with Bishop Rese of Detroit, and Bishop Dubois of New York, formed a party as against the followers of the Archbishop of Baltimore. The fact that only two-thirds and not the whole of the State of Illinois was placed under Bishop Rosati of St. Louis in 1834, is owing to the exertions of Bishop England. Of course, all were working for the good of the Church as they saw it.

a distant mission; and Father St. Cyr started on horseback for his appointed place on April 18th, arriving there May 1, 1833. It is well known that Father St. Cyr was the first priest to reside in Chicago, the founder of its first parish, St. Mary's, and therefore the principal data concerning his life and priestly activity are, no doubt, a cherished tradition among the people of the great city of the lakes. To the writer of this article Father St. Cyr is a sacred memory. It was in 1878 that I, as a seminary student, visited the blind old man, the last link then left connecting the heroic days of Bishop Du Bourg and Rosati with the living, progressive present, in his retreat at Nazareth Convent. He was a man of small stature, with hands and face of a translucent whiteness, as of pure wax. Being unable to read the Ordinary of the Mass, he was permitted to say the Votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin every day. And I was told he did so regularly with the assistance of another priest. Little did I know then of the importance of this feeble old man in his earlier days; but his presence impressed me as that of a saint, the bright sun of whose soul was breaking through the thin veil of the body containing it.

Father John Mary Irenaeus St. Cyr was born at Guineic on the Rhone on November 2, 1803.[17] He made his classical, philosophical and theological studies at Lyons. Minor Orders and subdeaconship at the hands of Msgr. P. P. Saston, Apostolic Administrator of Lyons. He started for the American missions and arrived in St. Louis on August 1, 1831. The expense of the journey, as he himself

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[17] That there was a good foundation for Bishop Rosati's hope that a concession of 2000 acres of land was made by the chiefs of the Pottawatomi is evident from the letter of the Indian Agent at Chicago:

To A. H. Taylor, Esq.,

Chicago.

"On the petition of some of the principal chiefs of the Potawatomi Tribe of Indians to the President of the United States, permission was given to them, to donate to the Roman Catholic Church four sections of land on the Desplaines or Chicago Rivers near the town of Chicago for the purpose of establishing a Seminary of Learning."

TH. J. V. OWEN, Indian Agent.

In regard to this matter Father St. Cyr wrote in June, 1833: "As to the land which the Indian Chiefs are reported to have promised, we cannot count on it, seeing that Rev. Mr. Badin, to whom the Indians made the promise, did not fulfill the conditions of the contract", i. e., "the building of a Catholic Church, for their own use, however."

Originals of these letters in the Archives of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

tells us, was $25.87. After eighteen months spent in studying the English language, he was ordained priest in the Cathedral of St. Louis by Bishop Rosati on April 6, 1833, and appointed that same month to the missions of Chicago and its surroundings. Father St. Cyr was most kindly received by the people of Chicago, especially by the Beaubien family, a member of which, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, donated a lot of ground for Church purposes. At first Mass was said in a log-hut, but the building of a chapel, subsequently called St. Mary's, was immediately undertaken. It was completed by October, 1833, so that services could be held in it, though the dedication was deferred until 1834. But prior to this joyful event Father St. Cyr returned to St. Louis, not for the purpose of staying there, as the good people of Chicago feared, but in order to beg some funds for the maintenance of a school, which he intended to found near his church. After a brief visit to the Barrens to his old friend Father Tornatore, Father St. Cyr spent Christmastide in St. Louis and returned to Chicago. In August, 1834, he is back once more in St. Louis, probably for the consecration of the new Cathedral and the consecration of Bishop Simon William Gabriel Bruté, the first Bishop of Vincennes, whose diocese included the eastern part of Illinois, with Chicago. Naturally, Father St. Cyr did not wish to leave the diocese of St. Louis, but at the urgent request of Bishop Bruté and with the consent of Bishop Rosati, he returned once more to Chicago to remain there until September 2, 1837. Father St. Cyr preached in French and English and had sufficient knowledge of German to meet the humble requirements of the scattered German Catholics.

From Chicago Father St. Cyr visited, in the early spring of 1834, the settlements on Sugar Creek, Bear Creek, South Fork, and at Springfield. He advises Bishop Rosati to make Springfield in Sangamon the center of a permanent mission for these places. To these parts Father St. Cyr was preceded only by the Jesuit missionary Charles S. Van Quickenborne, whose baptisms in Sangamon County are the earliest on record.

When Father St. Cyr was invited to Chicago in 1832, the city contained about two hundred souls, thirty-seven of whom signed the petition to Bishop Rosati; in 1837, the year of his recall, the number had grown to "more than two thousand; with a large number of Catholic families in the adjacent country, particularly on the line of the Chicago and Illinois Canal." There were 143 signers to the petition of June 9, 1837, asking for the retention of Father St. Cyr in Chicago.

Archbishop Ireland's judgment on the character of Chicago's first resident priest may conclude our brief sketch of his life and labors in Chicago. We shall meet him again in Central Illinois. "Father St. Cyr," says Archbishop, "was a priest of the diocese of St. Louis, from which in early days the scattered Catholics of Southern Illinois received ministerial attention. He was a remarkable man, intelligent to a very high degree, most zealous in work, most holy in life. He held in vivid recollection the story of the Church in olden times through Missouri and Illinois. It was a delight and a means of most valuable information to sit by and converse with him."[18]

After this wide detour, that drew into our circle the chief city of Northern Illinois and, we may add, the chief city of the western half of North America, we must now return to our redoubtable missioner, Father Peter Paul Lefevere of St. Paul's on Salt River, Missouri, and the outlying settlements within a radius, north to east, of about two hundred miles. From his last two letters we gained some idea of the labors, exertions and dangers of his wandering life; in the next letter we catch a glimpse of the good father's tender heart:

SALT RIVER TOWNSHIP, December 3, 1834.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR—I take the liberty of writing to you these lines of recommendation in behalf of two poor helpless children of the late William Carter, deceased. This gentleman was loved and respected by all who knew him, for honesty and neighborly qualities. Being left a widower with three sons by the death of his companion, who was and died a sincere Catholic, he had continual hard striving to support his family, and though of good morals, he never professed any religion until his last sickness, when he urgently called on me and expressed a sincere desire of becoming a member of the Catholic Church. After a previous instruction proportioned to the ill state of his health, I administered to him the sacrament of Baptism, which he received with the liveliest sentiments of piety and devotion, and of compunction and sorrow for his past life. The next day, when he departed this life, his dying words and

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[18] As to the date of Father St. Cyr's birth there seems to be a slight discrepancy among authorities. The Rev. John F. Kempker sent us a transcript of a Memorial Card with this inscription:

"REV. J. M. J. ST. CYR

Born near Lyons, France, January 2, 1804."

Father St. Cyr's letter to John Wentworth dated Carondelet, Mo., January 19, 1880, as given by Frank Beaubien in the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 105, states: "I was born in France on the 2nd day of November, 1803, in the Department of the Rhone, in the Archdiocese of Lyons."

The Records of our Chancery give the date as November 2, 1803. November 2, 1803 is correct as will be seen by baptismal record and birth certificate published in ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW for January, 1920, p. 324.

wishes were, that I should take care of the children and see they be instructed in their Christian duties. It is certainly a most heartfelt sorrow for me to see that I am not able of myself to comply with the dying wishes of this gentleman; and I would willingly sacrifice anything I have in the world in order to raise these children and to educate them in a Christianlike manner; more especially because I see many good qualities and dispositions in these children. But not being able to do anything of myself, these poor children are now real objects of pity. Their father has not left a cent for their support; their relations are all poor and generally of no religion; if they must be raised by them, they will undoubtedly be miserable for soul and body. The best and only means, then, I know is to recommend the two oldest of them to your care and protection, and solicit their reception into the Orphan Asylum. Their grandmother will take care of the youngest, which is but three years old. The oldest of them is about ten, and the other eight years old. They would be bound to you, or to their superior's disposition until the age of maturity. If I could, as I trust I shall, receive an affirmative answer by Christmas, I would send them down, as there will be an occasion by that time. It seems to me that God places these children into your hands, either to rear them to the holy ministry, or to cause generations to be born in the pale of His Church; and undoubtedly their own salvation or eternal damnation depends, in a great measure, on their being received or not.

I am with deep respect, Right Revd. Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

PETER P. LEFEVERE.

In his next two letters Father Lefevere reinforces his former request in regard to the orphan children, adding some pleasant news about recent conversions and expressing the hope of having the Bishop at Salt River some day in the near future for the purpose of confirmation.

(*To be Continued*)

REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

St. Louis.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY IN THE MAKING

I.

For three days, from the twenty-third to the twenty-seventh of November, 1674, Jacques Marquette, Jesuit missionary-explorer and discoverer of the Mississippi, in the course of a journey from Green Bay to the land of the Kaskaskia, camped at the mouth of the Milwaukee River. It was the first recorded visit of a white man to the locality where the metropolis of Wisconsin rises today in queenly splendor. A few touches in the missionary's *Journal* emphasize the bleakness of the scene that met his gaze on the memorable occasion. It was bitter cold, a foot of snow was on the ground, and as he strained his gaze over the blue waters of Lake Michigan, he noted that there were "great shoals over which the waves broke continually." Having thus lifted the site of Milwaukee out of prehistoric darkness into the light of authentic human record, Marquette pressed on in the eventful quest for souls that was to bring him to his grave. During his three days' stay at the mouth of the Milwaukee River, civilization and that locality had met for the first time in mutual embrace. Accordingly, fitting is it beyond all measure that Milwaukee's leading educational institution should go back for its name to the heroic missionary-explorer who thus stood upon its site nearly two hundred and fifty years ago. In name as in actual historical beginnings, Marquette University links up with all that is venerable as it links up with all that is of distinction and high repute in the life-story of the city of Milwaukee.[1]

Twenty-four years later than Marquette's voyage down the west shore of Lake Michigan, a party of Canadian missionaries arrived at the Indian village of "Milouakik." Of Fathers Montigny, D'Avion and St. Cosme much of fascinating interest could here be written, were this the place for it, so remarkable was the path they blazed through our early Western history as they made their way from Canada to the Lower Mississippi. In October, 1698, they were at "Milouakik," as St. Cosme tells us in his *Relation*, the next white visitors after Marquette to set foot on the site of the future city

[1] Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 1634-1699, New York, 1917, p. 246.

and the first to give its name a place in written history. Some days later they were in Chicago, guests of the Jesuit missionaries of that place, whose residence was probably near the forks of the River, in what is now the seething center of the business district of the fourth city of the world. December the eighth found them on the right bank of the Mississippi directly across from the Tamarois village, on ground that is now within the city-limits of St. Louis; and here, on the day commemorative of the Virgin Mother's Immaculate Conception, they celebrated Mass, the first incident of authentic record identified with the site of the metropolis of Missouri.[2]

It wanted but three years of a century since Father Montigny's party of 1698 passed across the marshes where Milwaukee was to rise in later years, when Jean Baptiste Mirandeau settled there as the first white inhabitant. Solomon Juneau came in 1818 and in 1835, with his partners, Morgan L. Martin and Michael Dousman of Green Bay, laid out the village of Milwaukee on a government land-claim that lay between the Milwaukee River and the Lake. In a clearing made in the dense tamarack-swamps that overlay much of the claim the first houses were built, somewhere along the line of the present Chestnut Street. Immediately west of the river, Byron Kilbourn, a New Englander, entered in 1835 three hundred acres of land, on which was platted the village of Kilbourntown, while south of the river George H. Walker, an Indian trader, erected a trading-post on land that became known as "Walker's Point." The three settlements coalesced in time to form a single community, the names of Juneau, Kilbourn and Walker being sometimes linked together as co-founders of the city of Milwaukee. But to Solomon Juneau belongs by common accord the distinction of being Milwaukee's "first pioneer citizen." "It was he who made the first survey of the village, who became its first president, was the first

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[2] "We left on the 5th and after being windbound for two days, we started and after two days of heavy wind we reached Milouakik on the 9th. This is a river where there is a village which has been a large one, consisting of Mascoutins, of Renards and also of some Poux. We stayed here two days partly on account of the wind and partly to recruit our men a little because there is an abundance of duck and teal in the river." Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 345. Claude Allouez, veteran Jesuit missionary, canoed down the west shore of Lake Michigan in the Spring of 1677, passing the Milwaukee River, though there is no evidence of his having landed there. However, his party probably went ashore at Whitefish Bay, a few miles north of Milwaukee. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relation*, 60: 155, 320.

postmaster, donated the first public square and later on, when the village had grown to a city, was its first mayor.''[3]

As the civic, so the ecclesiastical beginnings of Milwaukee centre around the name of Solomon Juneau. Organized Catholicity in the place dates from 1837. Father Bernard Schaeffer, a priest of Alsatian birth, resident in Chicago, was the first clergyman known to have visited Juneau's Settlement.[4] He baptized there, April 27, 1837, Matilda, a daughter of Juneau by the latter's wife, Josette Vieau. In August of the same year, Father Fleurimont Bonduel, a missionary from Green Bay, said Mass on Sunday in Juneau's home on East Water Street where the Mitchell Building now stands. The following autumn Father Patrick Kelly, under instructions from the Bishop of Detroit, arrived in Milwaukee to become its first resident priest. Before that same year, 1837, had run its course, Solomon Juneau had offered property on Martin Street, near Jackson, on which was to be built the first church, St. Peter's, finished in 1839.[5] It remained the only Catholic church in Milwaukee until the building of St. Mary's in 1847 and for some years after the arrival of Bishop Henni served as his Cathedral. Of Catholicity in Milwaukee, as he found it in 1842, Father Martin Kundig, distinguished missionary of his day, has left us this pleasant account:

The Milwaukee parish (German and English); services for both classes, as I have already informed you. The French have now united with the English. The Boys' and Girls' Schools, the Church-Building Society, the Sunday School, the Temperance Union as well as the Men's and Women's Unions, witness to a zeal and self-sacrifice, the superior of which you will find nowhere else. Oh, that you had been here on Christmas morning and seen the lighting-up of the church and the throngs of people. Everybody is longing for

[3] *Memoirs of Milwaukee County*, Western Historical Association, Madison, 1909, 1: 239.

[4] *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1: 170, art. ''Early Catholicity in Chicago.'' ''Father Schaeffer's baptisms, as entered in the St. Mary's Register (St. Mary's Parish, Chicago), range from September 5, 1836, to July 24, 1837. They include five administered on the same day, April 20, 1837, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Baptized on this occasion by Father Schaeffer were Matilda, daughter of Solomon Juneau and Josetta Vieau, and Margaret Klark, 'sixteen years of age, born amongst the Indians.' These appear to be the earliest Milwaukee baptisms on record.'' The statement appearing in some accounts that Father Bonduel said the first Mass in Milwaukee, August, 1837, calls for revision in view of Father Schaeffer's visit of April 20, 1837, on which occasion there is every reason to suppose that he celebrated Mass.

[5] *Memoirs of Milwaukee County*, 1:331.

a new church as the old one can hold only a fifth of the congregation.[6]

Meantime a great tide of emigration, chiefly from Ireland and Germany was gradually peopling the Middle Western States with Catholic settlers. Wisconsin Territory, attached to the Diocese of Detroit on the erection of the latter in 1833, was now to be organized into a separate ecclesiastical unit. Together with those of Chicago, Hartford and Little Rock, the diocese of Milwaukee was erected November 28, 1843, and Father John Martin Henni, Vicar-General to Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, named as its first incumbent. He received consecration in St. Peter's Cathedral, Cincinnati, at the hands of Bishop Purcell, on March 19, 1844, there being in attendance at the ceremony the venerable Bishop Flaget, the "patriarch of the West" and the oldest living member of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States.

When Bishop Henni arrived in Milwaukee, May 4, 1844, there were but four priests in the entire range of his diocease, which counted about 20,000 Catholics out of a population of 70,000 for the state. St. Peter's, the only church for Milwaukee Catholics, was enlarged in the summer of 1844 to a length of 92 feet and its interior remodeled and renovated with such effect that on the testimony of Father Heiss, the Bishop's secretary, the application to it of the term "cathedral" was not as incongruous as one might be tempted to believe. But a more seemly edifice for the principal church of the diocese soon became a necessity; and so, on December 5, 1847, Bishop Henni laid the foundation-stone of a new cathedral, to be erected under the title of St. John on property facing the Court-house square. As planned, the structure was to be 155 feet long, 75 wide and 50 high with a tower of 210 feet. It was useless to look to the struggling and for the most poverty-pinched Catholics of his diocese to meet even a moderate part of the cost of this elaborate house of worship. The Bishop accordingly determined to avail himself of a projected visit to Rome to appeal to the generosity of the Catholics of Europe in behalf of his Cathedral and other needs of his diocese. Crossing the Atlantic he reached Southampton in England, March 4, 1848. He found Europe ablaze with revolution. Louis Philippe was in exile, the Republic had been proclaimed in Paris, Berlin and Vienna were in the throes of revolution and clouds

[6] Marty, O. S. B., *Dr. Johann Martin Henni, erster Bischof und Erzbischof von Milwaukee*, p. 151.

of war hung menacingly over the entire continent. It was amid this wide-spread political upheaval that Marquette University was born.[7]

II.

In the path of the revolutionary disorders which thus broke out in Paris in the spring of 1848 and spread with unexpected rapidity over continental Europe, numerous Jesuit houses were suddenly closed and their communities dispersed. The Province of Upper Germany was for the moment swept away. Forced on a sudden to make a summary disposition of his men, Father Anthony Minoux, the Provincial, conceived the plan of sending his theological students with their professors to America, there to open a temporary house of studies. To Father John Elet, Rector of St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati, who was at the time in Europe, having just attended a meeting of Jesuit Procurators in Rome, Father Minoux wrote from Antwerp, May 16, 1848:

Father Ehrensberger arrived today as advance-guard of a party of forty-two or forty-five of our men who are to leave here on the 26th of this month or thereabouts. Father Ehrensberger will rejoin Father Hubner without delay, in order to acquaint him with my plans and to take measures with him, as Father Hubner in turn will take measures with you, for the reception and further transportation of my colony. It is nearly my entire scholasticate with its professors and spiritual father. My plan is to reassemble them somewhere so as to preserve their religious spirit and enable them to pursue their studies in due form. It is a matter of supreme importance and I must realize my purpose at all costs. I count fully on help from on high. Heaven will come to my aid, as it came to my aid in furnishing means of transportation for so numerous a colony.[8]

The exiles, forty-one in number, left Antwerp June 1, 1848, on board a sailing-vessel, the *Providence,* which had been chartered for the voyage. It had been used for freight service only, and, as a consequence, proper accommodations for the travellers were lacking. The hold was hastily fitted out for the use of the seminarians, called scholastics in Jesuit parlance. The captain, a Belgian, was found to be inexperienced and the crew was rough and unreliable, while at the outset a drunken pilot nearly ran the vessel on a rock as she

[7] Marty, *op. cit.,* p. 187.

[8] The Minoux letters and other unpublished correspondence embodied in this sketch are in the archives of St. Louis University. Extracts from the Minoux correspondence are translations from the French originals.

put out from the Scheldt. The *Providence* was forty-five days in covering the distance between Antwerp and New York. That was a longer stay on the ocean than the captain had counted on, and as a result, the food-supply ran low. Down in the hatches the scholastics fell sick one after another until the place took on the appearance of a general hospital. Father Anthony Behrens, who had been commissioned by Father Minoux to act as Superior of the party during the voyage, outdid himself in unselfish, unwearying attention to the sick and suffering. He had laid in a stock of dried fruit on his own account before the vessel left Antwerp and was thus enabled out of his private store to relieve in some degree the distress caused by the meagre and unhealthy diet provided by the ship's cook in the last days at sea. To add to the wretched experience, there were violent storms in the ship's path, in one of which her main-mast was carried away. The *Providence* at length put into New York harbor. On reaching land most of the crew deserted which made it necessary for four of the scholastics to stand guard on the wharf to watch the vessel and its contents. None of the party seem to have known any English and Father Behrens was hard put to it trying to get trunks and cases through the Custom House.

The end of the voyage revealed a situation which came as a shock to the emigrant Jesuits. Their coming had not been announced. Father Ignatius Brocard, Provincial of Maryland, wrote to Father De Smet July 4th: "A numerous party from the Province of Upper Germany is on the water, bound for America. They will be at New York before this letter reaches you; consequently it is useless to ask if you know their destination. It is said they intend to organize an independent colony, but no one seems to know where." Whether through oversight or delayed transmission of the mails, the Jesuits in New York City had not been notified in advance of the coming of the German exiles. The whole movement, in fact, had been planned in great haste and without due appreciation of the difficulties that would attend it, a circumstance due to the confused situation in the Province of Upper Germany, following upon the sudden dispersal of its various communities. As soon, however, as the presence of the exiles in America became known, Father Brocard hastened to tender them the hospitality of Georgetown College. A number of them repaired thither, while a still larger number, continuing their journey westward, found shelter in St. Louis University.

From Issenheim in Germany where a novitiate had been opened, Father Minoux wrote to Father Elet, who had recently been appointed Vice-Provincial of Missouri:

It is sad news indeed that I have about the arrival of my last contingent in New York. A very distressing voyage with suffering and every sort of privation and a landing more distressing still. However, *Quod factum est infectum fieri nequit* [what is done cannot be undone]. Special circumstances led me to despatch this numerous party before receiving Father Hubner's letter. Father Ehrensberger gave him personal instructions as to their departure and the approximate time of their arrival. Meanwhile Father Brunner arrived. I was hoping that once the party were on their way, at least some preparation would be made to receive them and to direct them to some particular place, seeing that Father Brunner and also Father Hubner had judged my plan to be impracticable. Happily Father Brocard had compassion on my poor wayfarers and received a goodly number of them. Perhaps I come too late with my measures. Father Hubner must have laid my plan before you. I thought it a very modest one. I merely had in mind to establish a scholasticate under my charge, say in Chicago or Milwaukee, and thus be free to recall my scholastics to Europe as soon as the need should arise; then in the course of time would follow a small college and some missions. With Father General's authority and consent, I had made Father Brunner Superior of this colonization project, and had provided the scholastics with good professors, spiritual fathers, etc. What has become of the project? God seems to will otherwise and my will is His.

Another letter from Minoux to Elet followed July 29, 1848:

"I must have caused you a good deal of trouble by the arrival of such a numerous party. This elaborate and extemporised expedition was brought about by circumstances which it was scarcely in my power to control. Your prudence and charity will devise means with which to clear up this chaos of things and persons. I thank you immensely for the offer made to Father Hubner to give us two of your scholastics to help us in case we settle down in Milwaukee and to admit some twelve of my scholastics into your seminary. As I cannot give up Europe, I always look to having a mother-house whence I can draw at need the necessary help. Has God other designs? I submit to them in all reverence. Mgr. Henni of Milwaukee has offered me his hospital as a residence and place of shelter for my children.[9] Is this agreeable to you? I have seen Very Rev. Father General, our Assistant, and Father Villefort. It might be desirable to find a point of conjunction with the Rocky Mountains. Would that be possible from Wisconsin Territory?

Meantime, despite the disturbed state of Europe, Bishop Henni of Milwaukee was moving about on the Continent in his efforts to

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[9] St. John's Infirmary in Milwaukee was opened by the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, May 15, 1848.

enlist clerical workers and gather funds for his poverty-stricken diocese. Having met Father Minoux the prelate proposed to him the starting of a college in his diocese; but the latter declined the proposal as he lacked the necessary means for such a venture. Some time later a liberal financial offer to Bishop Henni from an unexpected quarter put a new color on the project of a college in Wisconsin. Under date of January 18, 1849, Father Minoux wrote from Munich to Father Elet:

Mgr. Henni of Milwaukee has just announced to Father Muller, the chaplain, the good news that he has obtained at Antwerp from the Baron de Boey the sum of 70 to 75,000 francs with which to found a college in his diocese and that he is to return here to confer with me on the measures to be taken for realizing this important plan and to ask of me the men necessary for the purpose.

I have just now written to Mgr. that since I have entrusted my subjects to your Reverence as well as to Rev. Father Brocard, and since the establishment in prospect lies in your territory, it is to you that I must ask him to apply for a definite settlement of the affair in hand: and hence any interview between us (the Bishop and myself) for the purpose of discussing it would be useless.

I accordingly leave this affair, which appears to me providential, fully and entirely in your hands. It is yours to judge whether it be proper for me to undertake this new establishlishment, which, non-existent as yet, would leave me time to form my subjects in a way to enable them to begin work perhaps with their own resources and without calling on you for aid. You cannot fail to see how helpful it would be for me to have a temporary foot-hold for my province. I will earnestly pray that the holy will of God be perfectly accomplished.

III.

The project of a college in Milwaukee, first conceived in the mind of Bishop Henni, had now found a material basis on which to rest. It is high time that we rescue from the almost complete oblivion into which the passing of the years has suffered it to lapse, the name of M. Guillaume Joseph Count de Boey of Antwerp, whose gift of 75,000 francs was destined to become the starting-point on its material side of Marquette University.[10] Unfortunately there is an almost complete absence of data to enable us to sketch his career or fix the outstanding traits of his personality. Yet the few glimpses that we do catch of him in letters of the period show him in every

[10] In contemporary letters he is styled variously as Chevalier, Count, and Baron, but in most cases as plain Monsieur.

instance in the role of the Catholic layman zealous for the cause of religion and lavish of his temporal means to further its designs. To the Society of Jesus he had, on the testimony of Father De Smet, been a benefactor even before the re-establishment of the Society in Belgium in 1814.[11] In particular to his Jesuit countrymen of the Mission of Missouri established by them in 1823 he gave munificently, intensely interested as he was in the various activities, especially educational, in which they were engaged in the New World on behalf of white and Indian alike. With a group of friends he formed a partnership to raise funds for the Missouri Mission by methods singularly modern. "For the benefit of our dear Missions in America," wrote one of their number, M. De Nef, to a Jesuit of Missouri:

I have formed a sort of company with my honorable friends, MM. De Boey, Le Paige and the Proost brothers of Antwerp. The plan is this: we buy stocks in different countries with the understanding that the loss, if such there be, shall be for us to bear, while a good share of the profits, should such be realized, shall go to our cherished Mission in America, to the end that our speculations made with such purpose in view may produce abundant fruit to the glory of God.[12]

The gifts that found their way from M. De Boey to his Jesuit friends in Missouri, were of the most varied character. On October 16, 1837, the bark Paoli, Captain Rangard, left Antwerp for America, having in its cargo eleven boxes consigned to St. Louis University. Seven of them were the gift of Count De Boey. Among the articles they contained were flutes, violins, chasubles, albs, surplices, chalices, books, porcelain vases, crucifixes and geometrical instruments.[13] Conspicuous among De Boey's gifts to St. Louis University was a richly embroidered silken banner, *le drapeau d' Harmonie*, behind which the students were often to march in procession through the streets of the city.[14] It was largely with money contributed by the same Belgian benefactor to the amount of 10,000 florins that the first University chapel was erected in 1836 on Washington Avenue.[15] Again, Father Van de Velde in the course of a business trip through

[11] De Smet à De Staercke, Mai 7, 1849.

[12] *Le Pere Theodore de Theux, de la Compagnie de Jesus et la la Mission Belge du Missouri*, Roulers, 1913, p. 105.

[13] Joseph Proost à De Smet, Oct. 18, 1837. A letter of De Boey's to Father De Smet, S. J., under date of September 2, 1837, inquires as to the best arrangement for forwarding his contributions to America.

[14] *Litterae Annuae Missionis Missourianae*, 1837.

[15] *Ledger of Missouri Mission*. Archives of Missouri Province, S. J.

Belgium in 1842 negotiated a loan from M. De Boey of 100,000 francs. Dying in 1850, the lender in his last will and testament transferred his claim to the debt to the General of the Society of Jesus, Father Roothaan, who in turn remitted the debt in favor of the Missouri Mission.[16] Such were some of the benefactions of an illustrious Belgian citizen to his Jesuit countrymen of Western America. A happy inspiration it was that led Father De Smet, distinguished path-finder of the Oregon country, to name a fine inland body of water in the Northwest Lake De Boey in grateful recognition of one to whom he and his associates of the Mission of Missouri were in a very signal manner indebted.[17]

IV.

With the pledge of financial assistance made by De Boey to Bishop Henni to enable the prelate to build a college in his diocese we are here especially concerned; and we proceed to chronicle the successive steps that led to the realization of this educational project.

January 27, 1849, about a week later than the date of Father Minoux's letter to Father Elet announcing the De Boey gift, Father Roothaan, General of the Society of Jesus, wrote to Father Elet on the same subject:

> The object of my letter of to-day is this. Even before Father Minoux had despatched his subjects to America, Mgr. Henni, Bishop of Milwaukee, had asked him for men with whom to start a college at Milwaukee. The plan, however, could not be put into execution because Mgr. was without sufficient funds for the support of the personnel. But now, according to a letter just received from Father Minoux, Mgr. Henni has recently informed him of his having found a benefactor who promised the sum of 75,000 francs to carry out the project of the college in question. Fifteen thousand francs of this are already at hand to put up the necessary buildings.
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> As this place happens to lie within the limits of your province, Father Minoux will conclude nothing with Mgr. without your consent and even without your intervention. Moreover, as he cannot be present on the ground to examine sites and other things which

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[16] "I have the consolation to inform you that M. De Boey having left at my disposition the claim which he had on the Province of Missouri, I remit it entirely in your favor, on condition that you spend the equivalent of the revenue of this sum for the benefit of the Indian missions immediately dependent on you, either by lending them effective aid or by training up recruits for the missions in question." Roothaan à Elet, 18 April, 1850.

[17] Chittenden and Richardson's *De Smet*, 2:457, 462.

prudence requires us to know before taking an establishment in hand, he will ask you to be so good as to negotiate this affair in his name. Two things, therefore, are expected from your charity: 1. That you permit the province of Upper Germany to acquire this new establishment and to hold it as its own. 2. That you kindly lend your services to negotiate the affair in question.[18]

There were difficulties, however, in the way of a college at Milwaukee which Father Elet felt it necessary to bring to the notice of the Provincial of Upper Germany.

I am infinitely grateful to you. (Father Minoux wrote in reply) for the details which you had the kindness to communicate to me in regard to the Milwaukee affair and I congratulate myself that I did not enter at once into negotiations with Mgr. Henni, despite the most pressing invitation. I am entirely free in this matter as you are, for in my letters to his Lordship I constantly referred him to you. I thank you at the same time for the generous offer you make me of two houses in Kentucky and for the hopes held out to us by the new Bishop of Chicago. I have acquainted Rev. Father General with your proposals and shall await the expression of his will in the case, which I shall make known to you as soon as communicated to me. . . . . What do you think of the health of good Father Friedrich? Will he stand the hot climate of St. Louis? Might it not be best to try a change of climate or perhaps to send him back to Europe? I also commend to your fatherly care the excellent Father Anderledy, whom I had to recall from Rome on account of the excessive heat which he found insupportable.

Father Elet's offer to Father Minoux of two Jesuit establishments in Kentucky, apparently St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, and St. Aloysius College, Louisville, was eventually declined. The Superior of Upper Germany had reached the conclusion not to attempt a college at all in America. "A residence in Wisconsin might be a good thing, but without any engagement to accept a college." In June, 1850, he was still of the same mind. "I can readily believe that the Milwaukee enterprise is postponed indefinitely. By this time you know my subjects in America; you must realize accordingly that we shall not be in a position at once to place ourselves at the head of a college and direct it."

V.

The Jesuit Vice-Province of Missouri was reinforced in the forties by a group of Jesuits of the Province of Austria, of whom

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[18] Roothaan à Elet, 27 Janvier, 1849.

Fathers John Hofbauer and Joseph Patschowsky came to America in 1846, Fathers Francis Kalcher and Martin Seisl in 1847 and Fathers Christopher Genelli and Francis Xavier Weninger in 1848. In the spring of 1848, Fathers Joseph Weber and Francis Xavier Wippern and Mr. Tschieder, of the Province of Upper Germany, the last-named still unordained, reached Missouri. They were followed in the summer of the same year by the greater part of Father Behren's party who had made the eventful voyage in the *Providence*. Altogether, the German exiles who found a home in the Missouri Vice-Province, numbered thirteen Fathers, nine scholastics and nine lay-brothers.

In the view taken by Father Elet as to the inexpediency of opening a college in Milwaukee, the Provincial of Upper Germany had readily acquiesced. Later, however, the question appears to have presented itself to Father Elet in a different light, for in July, 1849, he visited Milwaukee and there conferred with Bishop Henni in regard to the latter's plan for a college in that city under Jesuit auspices. In the following month he despatched Father Anderledy to Milwaukee to execute the plan. Father Anderledy, General of the Society of Jesus to be, was a native of Beresal, Canton Wallis, Switzerland. Not yet ordained when he reached St. Louis in 1848, he was on September 27 of that year raised to the priesthood in that city by Archbishop Kenrick, after which he continued his theological studies for a year at St. Louis University, discharging at the same time the duties of catechist and confessor to the students. Father Anderledy and his companion, Father Frederick Hubner, carried with them a memorandum of instructions drawn up and signed by Father Elet, under date of August 17, 1849.

A memorandum for Fathers Hubner and Anderledy on the eve of their journey to Wisconsin:

1. M. de Boey has pledged himself to give 75,000 francs for the future college in Milwaukee. This college is to belong to the Province of Upper Germany.
2. Rev. Father Brunner has been appointed Superior and Rev. Father Hubner Procurator of the house by Very Rev. Father General. For the first-named I substitute, for the present, Rev. Father Anderledy in everything regarding studies.
3. With the sanction of Very Rev. Father General and Rev. Father Minoux, I authorize Father Anderledy to summon from the Georgetown scholasticate as many scholastics, the choice to be left to himself, of the number of those who have finished their Philosophy, as he shall judge necessary to carry on the work required of him in Milwaukee.
4. Care must be taken in selling the property lately acquired by Bishop Henni

for the Province of Upper Germany that the act of sale be not illegal and void on whatsoever account. In many states of this Union only American citizens can hold real estate.

5. Bishop Henni has promised, on the completion of the new Cathedral, to turn over the old one *in perpetuity* to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus as a parochial church.
6. Pending the opening of the College, Bishop Henni provides for the support of Ours in Milwaukee, and will be at liberty to employ their services either in the Seminary or elsewhere in the ministry.
7. I think a beginning should be made with a day and not with a boarding school. The first must be in the city itself, the other outside of the city, but at no great distance, (Walker's Point).
8. Let the *Minervalia* which in virtue of a dispensation we may licitly accept, be fixed by local circumstances, etc.
9. It will be necessary, on arriving at your destination, to write at once to Rev. Father Minoux and to M. de Boey, or to Rev. Father Hessels, Rector of the College of Notre Dame at Antwerp.[19]

In Milwaukee Fathers Anderledy and Hubner were joined by Father Joseph Brunner, who was to be Superior of the projected college. Father Hubner's arrival in the city was followed in a few days by his sickness and death. A letter from Father Anderledy to Father Elet, dated Milwaukee, September 11, 1849, conveyed tidings of the unexpected event:

I sent to your Reverence by a telegraphic despatch, the very sad news of the death of Father Frederick Hubner. On the 8th of September, immediately after preaching in the church of the Blessed Virgin, I went to see him. He told me that besides fever he was now troubled with dysentery. The physicians declared there was no immediate danger. He requested me, however, to hear a general confession of his whole life. This being finished, hee earnestly besought me to administer to him the sacrament of Extreme Unction, the Viaticum and the general absolution before he would be deprived of the use of his senses. He also begged me not to leave him unless it was absolutely necessary. Accordingly I remained with him until he gave up his soul to God on the 10th of September, at 6:45 P. M.

I was extremely anxious to spend that night in writing, but the Most Rev. Bishop and Father Brunner obliged me to take some rest as I had not slept for three days and two nights and had scarcely taken

[19] St. Louis University Archives. *Minervalia*, plural form of *Minervale*, conventional Latin term for the tuition-money which Jesuit colleges may accept from their students in virtue of a Papal dispensation from the Jesuit rule, which requires that academic instruction be given gratis. The property referred to in the memorandum as having been purchased by Bishop Henni for the Province of Upper Germany, was acquired by him August 5, 1849, and consisted of eight lots with a substantial brick building situated on Van Buren Street.

any food. This was very distressing to me as I earnestly desired to send you the news in order that the Father whom I loved so much might be aided as soon as possible by the prayers which are due to him. On the following day I sent your Reverence a despatch which I trust has reached you."

During their short stay in Milwaukee Fathers Anderledy and Brunner were unable to make arrangements with Bishop Henni for the opening of a college, which was the primary purpose of their going to Wisconsin. Thereupon, in accordance with the instructions they carried from Father Elet, they placed their ministerial services at the disposal of the Bishop, who assigned them the mission of Green Bay at the northern limit of his diocese. They left Milwaukee for this destination September 14, 1849. At Green Bay they took in charge the church and parish of St. John the Evangelist, with the outlying stations, which included Duck Creek, New Franklin (St. Kilian's), Rapides des Peres, now De Pere, and Bay Settlement, which boasted its own little church. These stations, consisting chiefly of French and German-speaking Catholics, were visited once a month. At St. John's in Green Bay there were instructions in English, French and German. The natural aptitude of Father Anderledy for languages now stood him in good stead as he had to preach to the Irish, Germans and French-Canadians that made up his little congregation. One incident of his stay in Northern Wisconsin has been preserved. On a Sunday morning, as he was preparing to say Mass, he found that the chalice had been placed on the top of a high cupboard. Mounting a chair to reach it, he fell, fracturing one or two ribs. He performed, however, the customary services only to be informed at the end that theree was a sick call at a considerable distance from the church. Though in great bodily pain he attended, nevertheless, to the sick call, with the result that it was evening before he coudl give to his serious injury the attention it required. Father Anderledy is said to have met with opposition in his ministry from the trustees of St. John's so that the summons he received to return to Europe came probably as a welcome relief. Father Minoux was much exercised over the condition of Father Anderledy's health. "Father Friedrich," he wrote to Father Elet in May, 1849, "ought to be removed on account of his health; Father Anderledy for the same reason. The heat experienced in your region will render him unfit for work." Father Friedrich returned to Europe, but without Father Anderledy, much to Minoux's disappointment, who was insistent that Father Anderledy be restored to his own Province, especially as the

Father General expressed a desire that he be employed in teaching. In pursuance of instructions received from Father Elet, Father Anderledy in the latter part of 1850 resigned his charge in Green Bay and returned to Europe.

It will be interesting to note here that the hope of starting a college in Milwaukee had not been given up even after Father Brunner and Anderledy had left that city for Green Bay. The official register of the Missouri Vice-Province for 1850 lists among Jesuit establishments, *Collegium Marquettense brevi inchoandum*, "Marquette College, which is to be started soon." This is apparently the earliest designation of Milwaukee's future University by the name of the Jesuit missionary-explorer anywhere to be met with and establishes for the title under which the institution is so familiar to us today a respectable antiquity of seventy years.

Shortly after Father Anderledy's departure from Green Bay, Father Brunner, who had been Superior of that Mission from his arrival there with his fellow Jesuit, resigned his charge with Bishop Henni's consent and took up his residence at Manitowoc Rapids, in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, 60 miles north of Milwaukee. The first white settlements in Manitowoc County were made in the thirties, when saw-mills were built along the streams, drawing for material on the abundant timber of the neighborhood. The timber soon disappeared and farming became the chief occupation in the county. Not long after Fathers Anderledy and Brunner arrived at Green Bay, they were visited by a committee of Manitowoc Catholics who petitioned the favor of a visit from the missionaries. Bishop Henni having signified his consent, Father Brunner paid his first visit to Manitowoc Rapids in June, 1850. He found the Catholics here and at other points in the county in great spiritual distress. For two months the missionary went from one settlement to another in the county, instructing and administering the holy sacraments. His efforts bore fruit. Six hundred communions were distributed, thirty baptisms of infants administered and many marriages blessed. Father Brunner returned to Green Bay after this apostolic excursion, but, in view of Father Anderledy's recall to Europe, finally requested Bishop Henni to relieve him of the Green Bay charge altogether and assign him to Manitowoc. To this the Bishop agreed and towards the end of 1850 Father Brunner took up his residence at Manitowoc. Within a year and a half five churches had been built. At the Holy Maternity, the parish-church of Manitowoc, instructions were given in English, French and Ger-

man. Out in the county, St. Luke's at Two Rivers was visited every month, as were also St. Anne's in French (Francis) Creek and St. Dennis's and the Holy Family. Altogether there were five Catholic churches or chapels in Manitowoc county, all served by Father Brunner. The field soon became too extensive to be cultivated effectively by a single hand, so that Father Brunner in the autumn of 1852 felt justified in asking Bishop Henni to send another laborer. This the Bishop did in 1853, when Father Brunner was relieved of the care of three of the churches and a station. In the same year, however, Father Brunner was withdrawn altogether by his Superiors from the Manitowoc Mission, which was thereupon assigned with all its dependent churches and stations to Rev. W. Nuyts, O. S. C. The ministry of the Jesuits in northeastern Wisconsin thus came to an end and was not afterwards resumed.[20]

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[20] *Origo et Progressus Missionis Manitowocensis in statu Wisconsin Americae Septentrionalis,* Two Rivers, Wis., March 1853, Joseph Brunner, [Ms.] Father Brunner later devoted himself to missionary work in British India, dying at Bombay, November 30, 1884. Cf. also *Catholic Almanac,* 1853, 1854.

It will not be without interest to the reader to touch at this point of our narrative on the final status of the exiled German and Swiss Jesuits in the Vice-Province of Missouri, concerning whom their Provincial, Father Minoux, was in frequent communication with Father Elet. Some extracts from Father Minoux's letters follow:

Strasburg, May 26, 1849: "The Bishop of Chicago pictures in harrowing terms the condition of the Germans in his diocese: on the other hand, he declares frankly that a college is out of the question, as he is absolutely without funds. He asks for at least twelve evangelical laborers, who however, must travel at their own expense; but he hopes that the charity of the German Catholics of his diocese will not suffer them to die of hunger. The Bishop has written to this effect to Very Rev. Father General. The latter in turn appeals to my Province. As for myself, I refer the matter to your prudent charity. . . . . To return to Chicago, I may find it possible to send one or two Fathers: I am going to write to Rev. Father Pierling and through him to Rev. Father Bawaroski; perhaps they may have some one to send."

Strasburg, January 29, 1850: "In Germany we are gaining ground; but we shall need a greater force than we now possess. I miss Father Ehrensberger."

Brussels, July 24, 1849: "Father Ehrensberger would be of great help to me, in fact would be almost indispensable in Westphalia where a vast field for missionary work has just been opened up. If you could replace him, what a vast service you would do me!"

Issenheim, August 28, 1849: "I hoped to see Father Anderledy arrive with Father Friedrich; once more I urge upon you my request that you send back those who cannot become acclimatized."

Strasburg, November 30, 1849: "Your beautiful map of the United

The greater part of Father Minoux's exiled subjects, whose final status he was thus endeavoring to arrange with the Vice-Provincial of Missouri, eventually remained in America. Among the number

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States of America is hung up in the corridor of the Novitiate of Issenheim. I already wrote to you that we are working in Westphalia and that we are in lack of workers. Now we are called to the Grand Duchy of Baden. Already a mission has been given there and others are asked for. We are truly in straits and cannot meet so many demands."

Strasburg, May 5, 1850: "My hopes in America vanish more and more. Westphalia, the Grand Duchy of Baden, the principalities of Hechingen and Sigmaringen, the kingdom of Wurtenberg, claim all my forces; I dare say that with all my subjects together we should not be able to supply the needs that confront us in these parts. Moreover, my young people ought to apply themselves to German; I fear that in America they may forget it somewhat. This Germany of ours, so long at the mercy of Protestantism, may be compared to your own country. You have proof of what it is like in the emigrants who reach you from here. Do not think that you receive the refuse merely; not at all, and I make bold to say on this occasion, the little thieves get hung, the big ones, well, let no one dare lay a finger on them. You are distressed for lack of subjects; we are going to be in like case. To meet the situation, I must take measures in time. Still I should not like to be charged with parsimony or avarice. I shall be as generous as I can, due regard being had for the rule about sending subjects to the foreign missions. Here then are my arrangements:

1. I agree to leave in America such as believe themselves called thereto, after mature consideration on their part of this calling in the Lord; as also those who, while still in Europe, asked of Very Rev. Father General to be sent to America.
2. So much conceded, I call back the Juniors and recently ordained priests, as Father Anderledy, etc.
3. The theologians shall make their Theology *en regle;* after theology, they shall come to Europe to make their third year.
4. Fathers and Brothers alike shall have the opportunity of looking into their vocation for America, and those who find themselves without such, shall return in due season. This provision will comfort many hearts and confirm vocations.
5. I except in every case those who have gone to America at their own petition or have been assigned to it by our Very Rev. Father General.

Munster, Westphalia, June 11, 1850: "In recalling Father Anderledy, I take for granted you are able to find a substitute for him from among your own subjects. Father Ehrensberger will also have to come back; his letters lead me to the conclusion that he will be of the number of those who, unable *coram Domino* to decide for America, will return to Europe. I should be very much distressed were you to have taken in hand new enterprises in reliance on my men who are priests or will become such. I always said I wished the door left open for their recall."

who thus cast in their fortunes with the Jesuits of the Middle West were Fathers Wippern, Goeldlin, Schultz, Weber, Gailland, Tschieder, Nussbaum and Haering. They proved a valuable accession to the Vice-Province of Missouri and their ministry was lavished for years with splendid results on parishes in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chillicothe, Ohio, Washington, Missouri, and Westphalia, Missouri.

VI.

We digressed from our recital of the efforts of Bishop Henni to establish a college in Milwaukee at the point where Fathers Anderledy and Brunner, unable to conclude with the prelate the arrangements needed towards setting the enterprise definitely on foot, withdrew from Milwaukee to take up ministerial work in Green Bay. Of this abortive attempt to begin a Catholic college in the chief city of Wisconsin, Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago wrote about a year later to Father Elet: "Bishop Henni is quite uneasy and will probably write to your Reverence tomorrow. He is now very sorry that

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Strasburg, October 24, 1850: "I have just received your letter of September 3. It affords me great pleasure with the news it contains that next year you will be in a position to get along without my subjects and that you will be good enough to send back to me all that have no vocation for the foreign missions, and all who ask to return, Fathers, Scholastics and Brothers. . . . . I should be very ungrateful were I to forget the very great charity you showed in receiving my scholastics; I shall always be infinitely grateful for it."

Strasburg, January 7, 1850. [To Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago]: "I received in good time your letter of the 27th of November past. I thank you for it. The heart and soul of a Bishop speak therein unmistakably; the honor of the church and the salvation of souls are your only concern. Would that I were able in every way to respond to your views and plans. But it seems the words of our Lord Jesus Christ must be verified at all times and in every place, *messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci.* The sudden and unexpected changes that have occurred in Germany, which is my province, have modified to a considerable degree my plans in America. On all sides I meet with reproach for having sent away such a force of men: now they offer me money to bring them back, and even appeal to the Holy Father, to obtain perforce what I was not ready to grant. All the parishes, the most important of the towns, which, only two years back were the resort of the proletariat and the hot-bed of agitators, are now asking me for missionaries. The fight for liberty of education is on; if it ends happily, then indeed, we do not know which way to turn. Where are we to find Missionaries and Professors? You see, then, my embarrassment."

he did not follow my advice and keep the Fathers here and begin at once."

On August 5, 1849, Bishop Henni purchased, with a view to the proposed college, eight lots on Van Buren Street, with a substantial brick building. On September 16, of the same year, two days after Fathers Anderledy and Brunner left Milwaukee for Green Bay, he put his signature to a document stating the precise terms of the agreement between himself and M. de Boey. The first two articles regard certain Masses to be said prior to and after the benefactor's decease. Article III reads: "That the college belongs to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and that the management of it be in the hands of the Fathers of the same Society." Article IV reads: "That the chapel or church of the aforesaid college be dedicated to St. Joseph in pious memory of the same illustrious founder." An important letter bearing on this document was received by Father Brunner at Green Bay from Father Franckeville, Provincial of the Belgian Jesuits:

Brussels, 12 October, 1849.

Reverend Father:

I have written to Mgr. Henni in the name of M. de Boey, to inform him that all difficulties are now smoothed away and that the enterprise may therefore be taken in hand. Your letters of September 15 and 16 have contributed not a little to this result by removing whatever doubt may have arisen in consequence of certain malicious reports and of the haste with which the first note of 15,000 francs was presented for payment. I enclose herewith a copy of the contract entered into between Mgr. and M. de Boey, an authentic act which we preserve here. I wrote Mgr. that M. de Boey indorses this act and subscribes to it, and I asked him to have a copy of it deposited in the diocesan archives. Moreover, I wrote him in the name of de Boey that the desire of this gentleman is that the college, or at least the free and independent administration of it, belong to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, so long as they shall not abandon it of their own accord, or under pressure from some superior power, in which case the college will be at the free disposition of the Bishop or his Chapter; always, however, under condition that it remain a college. On these terms, therefore, M. de Boey engages to pay by way of foundation the sum total of 75,000 francs, in annuities of fifteen thousand francs each year, to wit, 15,000 in 1849, 15,000 in 1850, 15,000 in 1851, 15,000 in 1852, 15,000 in 1853, notice to be given at least thirty days in advance and no allowance to be made for the cost of exchange or other costs.

As to the clause that the college will belong to the Society, nothing to this effect was stipulated for when Mgr. was in the country. M. de Boey's primary intention having been to provide foundations for

Masses in rather large number, this somewhat burdensome charge was judged to be scarcely compatible with our Constitutions. This is why they were content to express a desire that the college be conducted by members of our Order and in particularly by our Swiss exiles.[21]

A communication of this period from Bishop Henni to M. de Boey expresses his keen satisfaction over the arrangement that had been made touching the final payment of the promised money.

To the Chevalier J. De De Boey,
Antwerp, Belgium.

Very Respectable Sir and Signal Benefactor—
Health and Benediction:

I hasten to express to you the lively sentiments of gratitude with which I am inspired in your regard for the new favor which my poor diocese has just received of your generosity through an arrangement which will enable me to realize annually the sum of fifteen thousand francs up to the full payment of the promised sum, 75,000 francs. Now shall I be able, so I hope, to meet the contracts I have made for the site and buildings of the future college; and I venture to expect that all preparations will have been happily completed by 1852. I have been greatly consoled to learn from Reverend Father Franckville that you are thoroughly convinced that circumstances quite unforeseen and not any want of exactness on my part in adhering to the conditions laid down by you was the reason why my draft was presented before maturity. I have lost 280 dollars by its being protested, but it is not so much this loss that I regret as the annoyance the matter has occasioned you.

I shall be at pains, Sir, to keep you informed on all that shall be done towards the realization of the project you have so much at heart, the college of Milwaukee. Be assured that all the stipulations agreed to will be faithfully carried out.

Deign to accept the homage of profound respect with which I have the honor to be,

Very Respectable Sir and Benefactor,
Your very humble and devoted servant,
J. M. Henni.

The arrangements entered into between Father Elet and Bishop Henni with a view to starting a college in Milwaukee to be under the control of the Jeesuit Province of Upper Germany, were eventually not upheld by Father Minoux, who, in the end, came to the conclusion to accept neither college nor parish, but at most a missionary

[21] The members of the Jesuit Province of Upper Germany (*Provincia Germaniae Superioris*) were often described collectively as the Swiss Jesuits from the circumstance that their houses before 1848 were located in Switzerland. Moreover, a great many of their number were of Swiss origin.

house in Bishop Henni's diocese. In this conclusion he was upheld by the General Father Roothaan, and thus came to an end what may be called the first or German phase in the negotiations that led up to the opening of a Jesuit house in the city of Milwaukee. The hopes of Bishop Henni now turned towards St. Louis, the seat of the Vice-Province of Missouri. New establishments, however, were a risky venture when the Vice-Province had only the scantiest of resources to count upon; hence, as early as September, 1850, Father Elet decided not to accept the invitations of Bishops Van de Velde and Henni to open colleges in their respective cities.

The unexpected death of M. de Boey early in 1850 made available the balance of the sum of 75,000 francs which he had promised to send to Bishop Henni in annual installments extending over four or five years. His executors allowed the legacy, paying the money to the Procurator of the Jesuit Belgian Province who transferred it to the Procurator of the Vice-Province of Missouri. By the latter it was in turn paid over to Bishop Henni, who on receiving the money, wrote December 12, 1850, to Father Druyts, President of St. Louis University. "I thank you and the Provincial sincerely for the kindness with which you tendered me this favor. My prayers are now only that the day may soon come on which I may greet the good fathers of Marquette College."[22]

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[22] The transfer of the De Boey money to Bishop Henni was negotiated through Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago who went to Milwaukee for the purpose. The note of Father Druyts, President of St. Louis University, to Bishop Van de Velde, dated August 7, 1850, directs that the money or as much of it as remained uncollected ($7,533), be paid to Bishop Henni six months after such date. "The above being in full payment of all dues arising from a legacy made by the Chevalier G. J. De Boey of Antwerp for the foundation of a college to be opened in the city of Milwaukee and to be entrusted to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, unless the said Fathers should decline accepting it for themselves, in which case the V. Provincial of the Society of Jesus of the V. Province of Missouri has been empowered by the executor of said Chevalier de Boey to make such arrangements as will carry out the intention of the donor." At Milwaukee, December 12, 1850, Bishop Henni signed a receipt for the money, "being the balance (in full) "of the grant made by Mons. le Chevalier G. J. Deboey of Antwerp in behalf of the Marquette College at Milwaukee in the state of Wisconsin." It [the name "Marquette"] was the selection of Archbishop Henni. In his frequent visits to St. Gall's he often spoke of this, his wish, that the college be called Marquette and of his intention to procure for it a statue of the pioneer Jesuit. Marquette was to be represented significantly as standing beside the globe of the world and with extended hands pointing majestically to the West." *Marquette College, a Quarter Century*, 1881-1896, p. 9.

Bishop Henni having in 1852 again invited the Jesuits to Milwaukee, the matter was referred for settlement to the General of the Order, Father Roothaan. A communication from the latter to Father William Stack Murphy, Father Elet's successor as Vice-Provincial of Missouri, reveals the General's mind on the question of a college in Milwaukee:

In writing to you on the 20th inst., I failed through an oversight, to say anything about the petition of Bishop Henni, a copy of whose letter you forwarded to me. I make up for the omission today, sending you at the same time a letter from Mgr. Miege.

As to *Marquette College*, here is the information you ask for. Mgr. Henni, while soliciting alms in Europe, met Father Minoux, who at that time had planned to open a house of his dispersed Province in America. In Belgium, Mgr. met M. de Boey, (R. I. P.) who offered 70,000 francs, payable in 10 [sic] years, for a college projected by Mgr. on condition that the college belong to the Jesuits. As a matter of fact, however, the Swiss Fathers, after being on the ground, judged the project of a college to be impracticable and thereupon withdrew. The project therefore proved an absolute failure.

Now, my dear Father, it is you who are invited. What can you say? You have only one answer to make—*hominem non habeo*. If the *temptation* to do good without having the means to do it, had been steadily rejected by this Province, as it should have been, such a deal of excellent good-will and devotion would not have been sacrificed at an utter loss. There is therefore absolutely nothing to be done, nothing to be promised for this college of Milwaukee. It seems to me that Mgr. ought to be content, with the means he has at his disposal, to establish elementary schools. But the Society attempts nothing and engages to do nothing in this regard.

After Father Roothaan's peremptory instructions to Father Murphy no hope would seem to have been left for a Jesuit College in Milwaukee. Bishop Henni, however, on his part, persisted in the attempt to realize the object he had so much at heart. In August, 1853, Fathers John Gleizal and Isidore Boudreaux preached a mission at the Bishop's Cathedral, after which Father Gleizal conducted a retreat for the clergy of the diocese. The Bishop took occasion of the presence of the Fathers to bring up once more his favorite project of a College. Father Gleizal, after communicating with the Vice-Provincial, Father Murphy, answered in his name that a college could not be attempted, alleging among other reasons for this decision, the lack of Fathers to undertake the work, and the small prospect of a sufficient number of students in Milwaukee to justify a college. Father Gleizal and his companion, after their missionary work in

Milwaukee, proceeded to Racine, where they preached a mission to the English-speaking Catholics of that town. While in Racine, Father Gleizal received a communication from Bishop Henni, again reiterating his petition for a Jesuit college in Milwaukee and at the same time making it clear that this was to be a final appeal made to the Society. The Bishop offered the Jesuits, besides the property he had purchased for a college-site, the parish of St. Gall's the dividing line between which and the Cathedral parish was to be the Milwaukee River.[23] When, in December, 1853, Bishop Henni's offer came before Father Murphy and his Council in St. Louis for consideration, it was decided to defer decision until the return from Europe of Father De Smet, whose opinion in the matter was deemed of great importance.

In January, 1854, Father De Smet being then in St. Louis, it was decided to accept the Bishop's offer if a personnel could be spared for the work in Milwaukee. Meantime, Father Peter Beckx had, on Father Roothaan's death in 1853, succeeded him as General of the Society of Jesus. A letter from Father De Smet to Father Beckx on the Milwaukee question bears date December 20, 1854:

Rev. Father Provincial has instructed me to give your Paternity my opinion on the acceptance of a Residence and church in Milwaukee. The question has been under consideration for several years. I have always been in favor of accepting the offer of the worthy Mgr. Henni. Last year his Lordship, in a letter to us, expressed the desire that we come and take possession in his episcopal city of a fine piece of property, a house and a church. The Bishop does not insist on the establishment of a regular college (which would be a thing impossible for us at the present moment); he leaves this idea to the good will of Superiors, in case circumstances should permit them to realize it; it would be enough at present to send two or three Fathers and open a school (large or small, according to our means) for day-scholars. He desires, as far as depends on him, that the money given by M. de Bocy be applied to an establishment of the Society in his diocese. I am of opinion that the Vice-Province could, without serious inconvenience, accept the Bishop's offer. From all I have heard of the place, the Society could do an immense amount of good. Milwaukee is already a very important city; every year there is a notable increase in the population. Wisconsin, of which Milwaukee is the capital, enjoys great prosperity. The states of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota border on and surround it. Catholics from Europe, especially Germany and Ireland, flock there every year by thousands. In all these states the soil in general is highly fertile and the climate healthy, while communica-

[23] Ms. account by Father Simon Lalumiere, S. J.

tion between them by lakes and railways is very easy. A few zealous missionaries of the Society would achieve immense good throughout all this region of which Milwaukee appears to be the focal point.

With the views of the Consultors of the Missouri Vice-Province, all of whom had reported favorably on the question of accepting Bishop Henni's offer, Father Beckx, the General, showed himself to be in complete accord. In a letter to Father Murphy, the Vice-Provincial, who dissented from the view expressed by the Consultors, Father Beckx wrote, February 10, 1855:

I have received the opinions of the Father-Consultors whom I take occasion to thank for their diligence. All advise that Bishop Henni's proposition be accepted. Father Weninger had written to me before in the same sense and with great detail. In opposition to their opinion, your Reverence enumerates various difficulties. All these have been gone over carefully with the Father Assistants. I highly praise and approve your Reverence's zeal for the proper training of our men, and I have no desire to stand in the way of it. At the same time the offer made in Milwaukee appears to merit every consideration.

Hence the decision has been reached to propose to your Reverence to see whether you cannot reduce the number of subjects in Louisville, since we are not by any means meeting there with the success we should like, and furthermore, whether you cannot suppress one or other isolated Residence, and by this or similar means, find two or three men to send to Milwaukee to begin a house to which we can add in time and according to our means.

I communicate this decision to your Reverence, not by any means as an order, but as a counsel.

The wishes of Father Beckx were finally carried out in the course of 1855. In August the decision to accept the Milwaukee offer was definitely reached and on September 13, Fathers De Smet and De Coen arrived in the city. On the 14th, Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, they took formal possession of St. Gall's Church. As the parochial residence was not quite ready for occupancy, they lodged a few days at the residence of the Bishop, by whom they were kindly received and entertained. On the following Sunday, September 16, the Bishop preached at the High Mass at St. Gall's and formally introduced the Fathers. He spoke in commendation of the Society of Jesus and expressed the great satisfaction he felt at its entrance into his diocese. On September 27, Father Dionysius Kenny, with the lay-brother John Murphy, arrived from St. Louis to assist Father De Coen, while Father De Smet, who had only been awaiting

the coming of Father Kenny, left Milwaukee for St. Louis on the same day.[24]

VII.

St. Gall's Church, a frame building, ninety-four feet by forty-six and twenty-four feet high, stood at the southwest corner of Second and Sycamore Streets. It had been dedicated December 8, 1849, Father Beauprez, its first pastor, and Fathers Callanan, Putnam and McFaul participating in the ceremony. Conspicuous among the decorations of the church on the occasion was an oil-painting of St. Gall portrayed in the act of announcing the Gospel to the heathen Allemani. It was the work of a Miss Pearsall and came as a gift to the parish from Bishop Meier of St. Gall in Switzerland, Bishop Henni's early tutor and life-long friend. Bishop Henni's biographer notes that the prelate, in providing a church for the Irish emigrants of Milwaukee under the patronage of the Irish missionary-saint, St. Gall, one of the apostles of the Faith in Switzerland, was especially gratified to be able thus to repay in some measure the debt of gratitude which his native Switzerland owed to the early Celtic missionaries.[25]

The parish territory of St. Gall's was limited on the east by the Milwaukee River; North and South it extended some four miles into the county while to the West it included the town of Wauwatosa, about five miles from the city. Father Beauprez, the first pastor, had as his assistant for a time Father P. Callanan. In 1850 Father Bradley succeeded to the rectorship in which he was assisted by Father Thomas Keenan. During the few months between June, 1855, and the arrival of the Jesuits in September of that year, Father Martin Kundig, at a later period Vicar-General of the diocese, was in charge of the parish.[26]

On taking over St. Gall's the Jesuits found the church sadly out of repair, while the Rectory, a one-story cottage of two rooms with basement situated in the rear of the church, was in similar case. Being built on an unusually low spot of the marshy ground that was characteristic of the entire neighborhood, the Rectory became flooded after every shower of rain. "Snakes, toads and lizards," exclaims the diarist of St. Gall's, "have their dwelling there." In

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[24] *History of St. Gall's Residence, Milwaukee,* [Ms.]

[25] Marty, *Dr. John Martin Henni,* etc., p. 202.

[26] *Marquette College; A Quarter-Century,* 1881-1906, Milwaukee, 1906, p. 5.

1855 this section of the West Side still retained much of its primitive condition as a wild-rice swamp. Between the Menominee River on the South, the Milwaukee River on the East and up to between Fourth and Fifth Streets, where the hills began, the Fourth Ward was low, marshy ground, covered in most places with several feet of water. As a consequence the locality was unhealthy to a degree, the records of the day commenting on the great amount of sickness to be found among the parishioners of St. Gall's. Happily, the evil did not continue long. During the period 1855-1857 the low-lying and miasma-breeding blocks in the Fourth Ward were filled in to an average of twenty-two feet, the filling being brought from the hills or bluffs which were cut away to a depth of some twenty feet. A new St. Gall's Rectory, forty-eight feet by thirty-eight, built of brick on the site of the old one, was finished in the remarkably short space of four months, and was occupied by the Fathers shortly before the Christmas of 1856.[27]

With the early struggles and development of St. Gall's parish we are, however, concerned here only to the extent that they connect themselves with the beginnings of Marquette University. The establishment of a college had been the primary object that drew the Society of Jesus to Milwaukee; and within two years of its entrance into the city, the first steps had been taken by its representatives to realize this object by the opening of St. Aloysius Academy. A three-year lease having been secured on the ground immediately adjoining the church on the West, the old Rectory was moved to this site and there raised ten feet so as to admit of new foundations and a ground-story being built underneath. Thus enlarged and its interior fitted up anew, it was to furnish quarters

[27] *History of St. Gall's Residence, Milwaukee,* [Ms.]. "All that portion of the Fourth Ward bounded by the Menominee on the south, the Milwaukee on the east, Spring Street (Grand Avenue) on the north and to a point about midway between Fourth and Fifth Streets on the west where the hills commenced, was a wild rice-swamp covered with water from two to six feet in depth, in fact, an impassible marsh. The amount of filling that has been done upon the tract is immense, averaging twenty-two feet over the entire tract. There was a small island near the corner of Second and Clybourne Streets, upon which was a large elm tree. All else was a watery waste. At Spring Street the ground commenced to harden and from there to Chestnut, with the exception of West Water from Spring to Third (which was also marsh) the whole was a swamp, upon which grew tamarack, black ash, tag alder and cedar in abundance." *Memoirs of Milwaukee County,* Madison, Western Historical Association, 1909, p. 262.

for a classical and commercial school to be known as St. Aloysius Academy. The expense thus incurred was met by subscriptions from the congregation, by donations from other sources and by money borrowed at interest. In August, 1857, Father Simon Lalumiere and Mr. Cornelius O'Brien, accompanied by Sebastian Schleuter, a lay-brother, arrived from St. Louis to take in hand the management of the new Academy. A prospectus, which appeared in one of the Milwaukee dailies, August 26, 1857, reads as follows:

ST. ALOYSIUS ACADEMY

Under the direction of the members of the Society of Jesus, situated on Third Street, between Sycamore and Clybourne Streets, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The classes in this institution will be opened the first Monday of September.

The course of studies will comprise all the branches of a thorough Classical and Commercial Education, and classes will be organized to suit students of every grade of proficiency. Greek, Latin, English and French will be taught by experienced and competent professors.

The classes of Rhetoric, Mathematics, Astronomy, Chemistry and Natural Philosophy will afford the more advanced portion of the students every opportunity of successfully following the scientific course, while the younger students will be carefully instructed in Orthography, Reading, Grammar, History, Geography, Arithmetic and other branches suited to their age and capacity.

Penmanship and bookkeeping will receive special attention and will be taught on the most approved plan.

TERMS—First department, per quarter, payable in advance, $7.50. Second department, per quarter, payable in advance, $5.00.

For further information apply St. Gall's Parsonage, corner of Second and Sycamore Streets.

S. C. LALUMIERE, ESQ., President.

The diarist of St. Gall's, having chronicled the preparations made to set St. Aloysius Academy on foot, expressed the fervent hope, "may it prove, under the blessing of heaven to be the root and foundation of a flourishing college." In the event, the new institution was not to develop into a college, but it struggled through many years, not without a measure of success, to realize its ideals of higher academic training, and many of the leading citizens of Milwaukee found instruction within its humble walls. At the opening of the Academy in September, 1857, there registered about forty students, ranging in age between six and twenty-one. In August,

[11] *Memoirs of Milwaukee County*, etc., p. 263.

1858, the faculty was re-enforced by the arrival of Father John Coveney and Mr. Joseph Van Zealand, both of the Society of Jesus. Though the number of students in attendance during the year ending July, 1859, had risen to ninety-two, the managers of the school apparently felt disappointment over the progress made. At the end of the second year Father Lalumiere with the other Jesuit instructors were withdrawn, the teaching-staff being thereupon recruited with laymen. Among these were Messrs. Graves, Menger, O'Brien and Rimmele, of whom the last named subsequently entered the Society of Jesus. On July 2, 1861, Father Lalumiere returned from St. Louis to succeed Father De Coen as pastor of St. Gall's. In August Father Kenny followed Father De Coen to other fields of labor. On September 9, St. Aloysius Academy began its third year with about forty boys in attendance. In 1864 a new school-building of brick was erected. Father John T. Kuhlman was Principal of the school which now assumed the name of "St. Gall's Academy." Beginning with 1852 one or more Jesuit scholastics were annually assigned to the teaching-staff of the Academy, until 1872 when Father Ferdinand Coosemans, the Provincial, decided to station no more scholastics in Milwaukee. Little by little the Academy, between which and the parish school of St. Gall's a clear line of demarcation had been drawn in the beginning, lost its individuality and was merged in the parish-school. For a decade at least prior to the opening of Marquette college in 1882, the Academy at St. Gall's, as an institution of high-school grade, had ceased to exist; or rather, was it a case only of suspended animation, for the Jesuits, who had come to Milwaukee to open a college, were still on the ground and ready, when circumstances should be ripe, to execute their cherished plan.

VIII.

The issue of events was to see Marquette College established, not in the filled-up rice-swamp where St. Aloysius Academy ran its brief career, but on the bluffs, which in the infant days of the city rose up sharply from the marsh-land below, and wearing a crown of timber of more or less heavy growth were a thing of beauty to the eye and the favorite pleasure-grounds of all pioneer Milwaukeans. Beginning at the Menominee River on the south, the bluffs ran uniformly north along a line midway between Fourth and Fifth Streets to a point between Spring Street, the present Grand Avenue and Wells Street. Here the front of the bluffs swung around sharply

and coursed west to midway between Eighth and Ninth Streets, where it swerved again to the north. In the mid-fifties, as was stated above, the sharp edges of the bluffs were cut away and the level of the bottom-land lying at their base was proportionately raised; but to this day the topographical contrast between the hill-top section of Milwaukee and the lower or business district of the city is striking enough to impress even the most unobservant.

Discounting, then, actual conditions, for there were few residents in the hill-top district in the early fifties, and looking only to the expansion which he felt the city was bound to undergo up and across the bluffs, Bishop Henni acquired for $11,000 eight lots, being the south half of block 199, bounded by Tamarack or State, Prairie, Tenth and Eleventh Streets. The property lay at a remove of some score yards back from the edge of the bluffs and was described by one of the pioneer Jesuit residents of Milwaukee, as "an eminence which overlooks the whole city and presents an extensive view of Lake Michigan." July 15, 1856, Bishop Henni deeded over this property in trust for educational purposes to Father William Stack Murphy, Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits of the Middle West with headquarters in St. Louis, thus carrying out the intention of the donor, M. De Boey, through whose gift of money the Bishop had been enabled to make the purchase and who had stipulated that the college to be established through his agency should be conducted by members of the Society of Jesus. In 1863 the six remaining lots of block 199 were acquired by the Jesuits and in 1868 Bishop Henni delivered them a title in fee-simple to the property purchased by him in the same block.

Meantime, in 1864, by special act of the Wisconsin Legislature, Marquette College was incorporated as an educational institution of collegiate grade, with a charter authorizing its trustees to confer such academic honors and degrees as they might deem proper. The incorporators were the Reverends Simon P. Lalumiere, Ignatius Maes and James M. Hayes, all of the Society of Jesus and resident at the time at St. Gall's Rectory. All the while, too, there was a steady flow of population from the center towards the hill-top section of the city, a condition that determined the pastors of St. Gall's to open the succursal church of the Holy Name. It stood along the Eleventh Street front of the college property, and was dedicated October 24, 1875. Five years later, August 15, 1880, the corner-stone of Marquette College was laid by Rt. Rev. Michael Heiss, Coadjutor-Bishop of Milwaukee, on a site at the northwest corner of Tenth and State

Streets. September 5, 1881, the doors of the new institution opened to receive the first students and the hopes long-deferred of the Society of Jesus to. bring within reach of the youth of Milwaukee the advantages of an education of college grade became at length an accomplished fact.

To tell the story of the growth of the new Marquette, an institution of University rank, with admitted academic prestige and a sphere of active educational influence embracing the city, the State and a wide region beyond, does not enter into the scope of the present paper. The season of 1919-1920 opened with an enrollment of over 3000 students, a token, if any were needed, that Milwaukee's one big center of instruction in the arts and sciences has assumed the proportions of a civic institution and won for itself a position of undisputed pre-eminence in the educational life of the metropolis. And here we cannot but reflect that all this splendor of accomplishment, and hopes realized beyond measure, derives in a sense from a gift of money, inconsiderable according to present-day standards, but signally generous when measured by the standards of seven decades ago, made in 1848 by a distinguished citizen of Belgium towards the promotion of higher education in Wisconsin Territory. We have scarcely moved from out of the shadow of those tragic days when Belgium, confronted with the most terrible crisis in her history, sent forth to the world her passionate cry for relief. In the nation-wide response with which the cry was ultimately met in the United States, the University which in its rudimentary stages de Boey was instrumental in founding, participated nobly from the beginning and hundreds of her sons went forth to lend their young strength to the tremendous struggle. With an equity of compensation good to look upon, the bread cast upon the waters seventy years before by a son of Belgium had come back to his beloved country under a guise and with a richness of measure that no imagination of his could easily have forecast.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

St. Louis.

THE FRANCISCANS IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

(Continued from January, 1920)

In the preceding papers, we have briefly described the arrival and the activity of the Franciscans in the diocese of Alton up to the year 1875. During this time, their numbers increased from nine to one hundred and nine, and their labors, at first confined to three parishes in Effingham County, gradually extended to many neighboring counties and even beyond the limits of the state. Mention was made in the January issue, page 330, of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, of the houses founded by them, since their arrival, in various states. They were: Quincy, Illinois (1859); St. Louis, Missouri (1863); Cleveland, Ohio (1868); Memphis Tennessee (1870). Of these, the foundations at Quincy are of more especial interest to the readers of this Review. We shall, therefore, in the following give a short sketch of these foundations, restricting ourselves, however, for the present to the history of the convent and parish, as we intend to deal with that of the college on another occasion.

The Rev. Herman Schaefermeyer, who had come to this country with the Franciscans in 1858, and who had been appointed pastor of St. Boniface Church in Quincy the same year, was very anxious to have the friars found a new parish and open a high school or college in the eastern part of the city. This desire was strengthened when Father Capistran Zwinge, at his request, came to Quincy in 1859 and assisted in the confessional and pulpit from Low Sunday to Trinity Sunday. Mr. Christian Borstadt, a member of St. Boniface parish, on this occasion offered to donate a site for a church and convent, declaring that he wished thereby to express his gratitude to the Franciscans for a service rendered him earlier in life. When he was a traveling artisan in Germany, he fell dangerously ill at Fulda and did not know whither to go. The Franciscans of the city took pity on him and nursed him back to health. Ever since, he said, he had been hoping for an opportunity to requite their charity. Bishop Juncker, who was approached in the matter, gladly gave his consent to the proposed foundation. He and Rev. H. Schaefermeyer went to Teutopolis to confer with the Fathers there, and as a result of the conference, Rev. Schaefermeyer, from Teutopolis, forwarded

a request to the Provincial in Germany to establish a convent and high school at Quincy. On September 25, 1859, the intermediate chapter assembled at Wiedenbrueck, approved the proposal and sent two Fathers, three clerics, and a Tertiary lay brother. Father Servatius Altmicks, then laboring zealously at Effingham and the neighboring missions, was appointed superior of the contemplated foundation. He arrived at Quincy, together with Brother Honorius Dopp, on December 2, 1859, and was heartily welcomed by Rev. H. Schaefermeyer. At the latter's request, Father Servatius, in a sermon delivered on the following Sunday, explained to the people the object of the coming of the Franciscans and asked them to give their aid to the undertaking. In the afternoon, the trustees of St. Bonifaee Church, at the invitation of the pastor, met at the parochial residence to decide on a course of action. It was deemed advisable to rent a house which might serve temporarily as a home for the friars and at the same time enable them to open the high school with a preparatory class. At this meeting a building committee, consisting of Messrs. Christian Borstadt, Clement Vanden Boom, Joseph Mast, Ferdinand Cramer, George Laage, and William Mersmann, was chosen to aid in the erection of a convent, church, and school.

A three-story brick building, known as the Mast House, still standing, though completely remodeled, on the southeast corner of Eighth and Main streets, was rented at $29 per month, and furnished and occupied before the end of December. The first floor was used for school purposes, the second contained the apartments of the religious, the third served as a chapel.[1]

Father Herbert Hoffmanns and the three clerics who had been sent by the Province in Germany, arrived at Quincy about the end of January, 1860.[2] The clerics, Bernardine Hermann, Maurice Klostermann, and Raynerius Dickneite, at once continued the study of theology, which had been interrupted by the journey, under the guidance of Father Herbert. They were ordained deacons in St.

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[1] The sources from which we have drawn in preparing this sketch are: Several letters written by Father Servatius Altmicks and other Fathers to the Provincial in Germany; *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of St. Francis Solanus Parish, Quincy, Ill.,* (1910); *Kirchengeschichte Quincy's,* by Rev. Theodore Bruener (1887); *Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of St. Boniface Congregation, Quincy, Ill.,* (1912); *Souvenir of the Sixtieth Anniversary of St. Anthony's Parish, Melrose Township, Adams County, Illinois* (1919); *Clerical Bead Roll of the Diocese of Alton,* by Rev. A. Zurbonsen.

[2] See Illinois Catholic Historical Review, January, 1920, p. 328, n. 2.

First Church and Monastery, 1860

St. Francis School, Quincy, 1865

Boniface Church on February 9. On this occasion, Bishop Juncker, after a consultation with the clergy and the trustees of St. Boniface Church, decided to accept the site offered by Mr. C. Borstadt for the new church and convent. This property was situated at 18th and Vine streets, about one mile east of St. Boniface Church, in a section of the city that was almost entirely undeveloped and very thinly inhabited, so that for a long time the new church was known as "the church on the prairie."

In the meantime, the committee had labored zealously to procure funds and building material, and it was soon found possible to begin the work of construction. The convent was finished during the summer, and the friars removed to it on September 27, glad to be released from their cramped quarters in the city.[3] The new convent was a two-story structure of brick; the lower story was used temporarily as a chapel and school.

On July 2, Bishop Juncker raised to the priesthood the three clerics Bernardine, Maurice, and Raynerius. In the afternoon, he laid the cornerstone of the new church, which was placed under the patronage of St. Francis Solano, in the presence of the Franciscan community, the Rev. H. Schaefermeyer, Rev. P. McElherne, pastor of St. Peter's Church, Quincy, Rev. Lorent, of Mount Sterling, Illinois, and the Rev. John Janssen, of Springfield, Illinois, later Bishop of Belleville. All the Catholic societies of Quincy and a large concourse of people from the city and the surrounding territory took part in the celebration. Work on the church progressed so favorably that services could be held in it before the end of the year. Great was the joy of the Fathers and the people when Mass was said in it for the first time at midnight on Christmas day, though the interior was still in an unfinished condition and the snow drifted far into the church through the temporary door. The dimensions of the church were: length, 115 feet; width, 43 feet, and height, 45 feet. The parish at first was very small; eight to ten pews were sufficient to accommodate all the members.

An agreement was made by the Bishop and the Provincial, according to which St. Francis Solano Church was to enjoy the rights and privileges of both parochial and Franciscan churches; the deed was

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[3] Before the community took possession of its new home, it was saddened by the death of Brother Honorius Dopp, the first one to die in the present Province of the Sacred Heart. He departed this life on June 17, 1860.

recorded in the name of the Bishop, but the care of the church and parish was given over to the Franciscan Fathers.[4]

Growth of the Parish

In October, 1862, Father Servatius was appointed to found a new house and parish in St. Louis, Missouri. Two events which occurred during the administration of his successor, Father Ferdinand Bergmeyer, 1862-1869,[5] are worthy of note: the consecration of the church by Bishop Juncker, on December 8, 1864, and the erection of the first school building.

Up to the year 1865, the parish had no school building of its own. The children of the parish attended St. Boniface school until March, 1862, when St. Aloysius Orphan Society[6] offered the use of the orphan asylum, which was vacant at the time, to the Franciscans for school purposes. The offer was accepted, and classes were taught here until February, 1865. The number of school children during the first year was forty. The first teacher was no other than Father Maurice Klostermann, who as a young man had qualified for the position of teacher in Germany. He taught for two years, that is, from 1862 to 1864; in the latter year he was appointed Rector of St. Joseph Seminary and College, at Teutopolis. Father Maurice was assisted at Quincy by Mr. Joseph Bergschneider and Mr. Theodore Stuckmann; the latter taught the larger boys from 1863 to 1893.

As the Orphan Society, owing to numerous appeals, wished to use the asylum for its original purpose, Father Ferdinand determined to erect a school for the parish. The cornerstone of the new building was laid by him on July 24, 1864; the dedication of the school took place on February 2, 1865. This ceremony also was performed by the pastor. In 1866, the School Sisters de Notre Dame, of Milwaukee, were given charge of all grades, except that of the larger boys.

In December, 1869, Father Ferdinand was transferred to Teutopolis as *lector,* or teacher, of theology. He was succeeded at Quincy by Father Nazarius Kommerscheid,[7] who guided the destines of the parish with great success until 1883. The parish continued to prosper in every way, so that the need of a more spacious church

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[4] *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of St. Francis Parish,* p. 57; Bruener, p. 267.

[5] Illinois Catholic Historical Review, January, 1920, p. 328, n. 2.

[6] This Society was organized in 1851 to provide for the many children bereft of their parents during the cholera which raged at Quincy with more or less violence from 1849 to 1854. Cf. *Bruener,* pp. 143, 146, 165, sqq.

[7] Illinois Catholic Historical Review, January, 1920, p. 329, n. 4.

yearly became more apparent. Father Narzarius, accordingly, in 1874, after consulting the trustees of the parish, called upon the members of St. Francis Society to take the lead in raising funds for the erection of a new church. The appeal met with a ready response. The "St. Francis Building Society" was at once organized, and soon numbered every man in the parish among its members. By means of entertainments, festivals, collections, and dues, the Society within ten years, that is, up to the summer of 1884, collected a fund amounting to over $30,000. In the meantime, the zealous Father Nazarius was afflicted with a disease of the lungs and was advised by his physician to seek relief in the mild climate of California. He was not to reach his destination; for he passed away suddenly, on October 27, 1883, while en route, near Dallas, Texas. His body was brought back to Quincy, and the solemn obsequies took place on October 29.

The New Church and Convent

Father Maurice Klostermann was now appointed guardian of the convent, while Father Andrew Butzkueben was placed in charge of the parish.[8] As the number of families had increased to about five hundred, the new pastor at once took steps to carry out his predecessor's plan of erecting a more spacious church. The building fund amounted, as was stated, to over $30,000, and a favorable site had been purchased in block 13, west of the old church. Bishop Baltes and the Provincial readily gave their permission, and Brother Adrian Wewer[9] was ordered to draw the plans and specifications. At the same time it was decided to build a convent in connection with the new church, to serve as the parochial residence, while the first convent building, which had, since 1860, been enlarged twice to accommodate the growing number of the cleric students of philosophy, was to be placed at the disposal of St. Francis Solano College, which adjoined it.

The cornerstone of the new church and convent was laid by Bishop Baltes, on April 26, 1885, in the presence of a large number of the clergy, both secular and regular, and of a great concourse of the people. The convent, a two-story structure, with the main wing

[8] Father Andrew came to this country in 1875, while still a cleric, in consequence of the *Kulturkampf*. After his ordination in 1877, he attended Green Creek from 1878 to 1879, and Siegel from 1879 to 1883. See Illinois Catholic Historical Review, January, 1920, p. 335.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 334, n. 17.

facing the south, 145x33½ feet, and an eastern wing, 71x33½ feet, was dedicated on October 4, 1886. On this occasion, the Rev. B. Bartels who had welcomed the pioneer Franciscans to Teutopolis in 1858, and who was living in retirement at Quincy, sang the solemn High Mass, and the Rev. T. Bruener, pastor of St. Boniface Church, preached the sermon. The new church was dedicated by the Very Rev. J. J. Janssen, Administrator of the diocese of Alton, on October 24. The sacred edifice, built in the Gothic style, has a length of 182 feet; the nave measures 72 feet, the transept 120 feet in width.

The New School

As the number of the school children continued to increase from year to year, the parish found it necessary to erect a new and larger school. A suitable site was obtained in the block south of the church and convent, and Brother Adrian Wewer was again asked to furnish the plans and specifications. These called for a four-story structure (including the basement), with a frontage of 92 feet and a depth of 63 feet. The upper story contains a hall for entertainments and exhibitions. The cornerstone was blessed by Bishop Ryan of Alton, on May 26, 1892; the dedication ceremonies were performed on Easter Monday, April 3, 1893, by Father Ferdinand Bergmeyer, guardian of the convent, who, by a happy coincidence, had dedicated the first school building in 1865.

In 1894, the school was almost destroyed by fire. On December 22, 1899, to quote the words of the history of the parish, "the most harrowing disaster of recent times at Quincy, brought inexpressible anguish, not only upon the bereaved families, but upon the whole parish and city. A score of happy girls (ranging from eight to ten years of age) were rehearsing for the annual Christmas play, under the direction of the Sisters, when the dainty costume of a child came in contact with a burning gas jet, and this child rushing among the others, set their dresses on fire. Rev. Father Andrew pronounced the words of absolution, then with Prof. Musholt (the teacher in charge of the larger boys) and the Sisters rushed to the rescue, but with little success. In about three minutes, twelve girls were badly burned, four expiring almost instantly. Eight more died a few hours later at St. Mary's Hospital. Three other girls, though injured more or less, escaped with their lives. Ven. Sister Theotima's hands were so badly burned as to necessitate amputation. Sister Ludwiga and Sister Rudolpha were likewise severely injured. Father Andrew, Sister

Ephrem, and Prof. Musholt were fortunate to escape with lighter injuries.''[10]

To provide a suitable home for the Sisters, who up to this time had dwelt in St. Aloysius Orphan Asylum, the parish, in 1910-1911, erected a large building west of the church. It contains, besides a chapel and the apartments of the Sisters, several rooms of the kindergarten department, a dining room, and three music rooms.

This brief sketch will give the reader an idea of the beginning and growth of St. Francis Solano parish. That it also fared well in a spiritual way, goes without saying. A convincing proof of this may be seen in the fact that seven priests, of whom six are Franciscans, and about seventy Sisters have gone forth from the parish.

Labors of the Fathers

The labors of the Fathers, here as elsewhere, were not restricted to the parish. Calls for their services were numerous, both in the city and in the surrounding territory, and they have continued to be so up to the present day. We shall content ourselves with merely mentioning the fact that they have acted as chaplains at St. Aloysius Orphan Asylum since its opening in 1865, at St. Mary's Hospital since 1876,[11] and at St. Mary's Academy since 1877, and refer in particular to their efforts in behalf of the negroes of Quincy. ''After the Civil War,'' says the Souvenir mentioned above, ''many former negro slaves, a number of whom were Catholics, settled at Quincy, Illinois. To prevent their drifting away from the Church, the Rev. Father Michael Richardt, O. F. M., undertook to collect the scattered sheep, if possible, into a separate parish. Rev. J. Janssen, pastor of St. Boniface Church, placed the former Protestant church on Seventh and Jersey streets, temporarily utilized for school purposses, but vacant at the time, at Father Michael's disposal. A Sunday school was begun October 21, 1877. As the attendance was very good and kept on increasing, Sister Herlinda de Notre Dame, with the permission of Mother Caroline, February 11, 1878, opened a day school

[10] *Souvenir of St. Francis Parish*, p. 104, sq.

[11] The first request made to the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, of Cincinnati, Ohio, to found a hospital at Quincy, was refused, owing to the small number of Sisters. ''It was not until 1865, when Rev. P. Ferdinand Bergmeyer, O. F. M., pastor of St. Francis Solanus Church, made a trip to Cincinnati for the purpose of securing Sisters, that Sister Felicitas (the superior at Cincinnati) came to Quincy to survey the field,'' and the Sisters agreed to build a hospital in the city. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

which was attended by twenty-one children. The number soon increased to sixty. The baptism of seven negro children, April 22, 1878, caused an indignant protest on the part of the Methodists and Baptists. In 1878 the total number of baptisms was nineteen, which decreased to eleven in 1879, and dwindled to seven in 1880. Indeed, no stone was left unturned to pervert the colored Catholic children and many of them stayed away. Finally, Father Michael, by order of the Very Rev. Provincial, discontinued his work." The pastor of St. Boniface Church and his assistants then attended to the spiritual needs of the Catholic negroes, until July, 1886, when the Rev. August Tolton, the first colored priest in the United States, was installed as the regular pastor of St. Joseph's Negro Church.[12]

Missions Attended by the Fathers

The first mission entrusted to the Franciscans of Quincy was that of *St. Antonius*, Melrose Township, Adams County, about five miles east of Quincy. The first settlers, all Germans, attended divine service at St. Boniface Church. When, in 1859, Rev. Schaefermeyer, pastor of that church, was assured that the Franciscans would found a house in the city, he began to organize a parish at St. Antonius. A frame church, 36x24 feet, with a sanctuary 12x12 feet, was erected on a tract of land comprising ten acres, which had been donated by Mr. Antony Bordewick and Mrs. Catherine Huenkmann. The church was placed under the patronage of St. Antony of Padua. Mass was said in it for the first time by Rev. Schaefermeyer, on December 6, 1859. Father Servatius Altmicks preached the sermon on this occasion. Rev. Schaefermeyer dedicated the church on November 11, 1861. The mission at that time consisted of twenty-six families. A school building of frame also was erected in 1859; in 1862 an addition was built to it, which served as the pastor's residence. The first Franciscan in charge of the mission was Father Maurice Klostermann. Services were held every Sunday, the Father arriving on Friday and remaining until Monday.

The increasing number of families soon necessitated the building of a larger church. Brother Adrian Wewer drew up the plans. The cornerstone of the new structure was laid on August 15, 1869, by Rev. Schaefermeyer, and on June 13, 1870, Bishop Baltes solemnly dedicated the church. It is of brick, in the Gothic style, 70x40 feet, with a steeple rising to a height of 125 feet. The old church was

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 179; Zurbonsen: *Read Roll, Etc.*, p. 139.

henceforth used for school purposes. Up to the year 1884, the children were taught by a lay teacher; in that year the pastor, Father Antony Moll, procured the services of the Sisters de Notre Dame. These were succeeded by the Franciscan Sisters of Christian Charity, from Alverno, Wisconsin, in 1892. The Sisters de Notre Dame again took charge of the school in 1912. Thus far one young man has been raised to the priesthood, and eleven young ladies have consecrated themselves to God in the religious life. The parish consists of seventy-two families, and is still attended by the Franciscans from Quincy.[13]

Another mission in Adams County attended by the Franciscans was *St. Joseph's Church, on Columbus Road,* about ten miles northeast of Quincy. The first settlers attended services at St. Bonifacc or at St. Francis Church in the city. Owing to the distance from these churches, the people, consisting of twenty-one families, in 1867, petitioned Bishop Juncker to organize a parish in their midst. The petition was granted, and steps were at once taken to erect a church and school. The former, a stone structure (on account of the abundance of good building stone in the vicinity), measuring 40x32 feet, was blessed in May, 1868. Mass was said in it for the first time by Father Bergmeyer, O. F. M. A school building of frame was also erected in 1868. The Franciscans attended this mission, at first twice a month, later once a month, from 1868 till 1888.[14]

About the middle of August, 1861, the Very Rev. Joseph Mueller, C. SS. R., came to Quincy and, in the name of the Bishop of Chicago, requested the Fathers to take charge of St. Joseph parish at Warsaw, Hancock County, which had been organized in 1858. The Franciscans expressed their readiness to accede to this request, but for various reasons, not the least of which was the dearth of priests, they could not attend the mission regularly until 1868. From this year on until February, 1874, they visited Warsaw and West Point, also in Hancock County, twice a month.[15]

Westwood, Jersey County, and Roodhouse, Green County, were regularly attended by the Franciscans from about the year 1872 till 1878. St. Joseph's Church, at Mount Sterling, Brown County, was administered by them from July, 1871 till August 1872, and again from June till September, 1884.[16]

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[13] *Souvenir of the Sixtieth Anniversary of St. Anthony's Parish, Melrose Township. Souvenir of St. Francis Parish,* p. 180. Bruener, p. 344.

[14] *Souvenir of St. Francis Parish,* p. 189. Bruener, p. 348.

[15] *Souvenir of St. Francis Parish,* p. 190.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 191.

Owing especially to the dearth of priests in that state, the Fathers were also called upon to administer to the spiritual needs of the Catholics in Missouri. The main missions attended by them in this state were:

Palmyra.—The Catholics at Palmyra, Marion County, were visited for some time by priests from Hannibal, in the same county, and from Quincy. Mass was said every second Sunday in a private house. The first Franciscan to visit the place was Father Anselm Mueller of Quincy. He seems to have held services regularly from February, 1865 till September, 1868. In 1866, a two-story wagon shop was purchased and converted into a church. Its patron was St. Joseph. The parochial residence was built in 1869 by Rev. Theodore Kussmann, a secular priest then in charge. A school was begun at an early date, probably about the year 1870. The present brick school, 45x29 feet, containing a basement and two stories, was erected in 1879. The Franciscans again took regular change of the mission in the summer of 1873. A new church of brick, 101x46 feet, with a steeple 125 feet in height, was built in 1899 by Father Ulric Petri, O. F. M. The cornerstone was laid on May 22, 1899, by the Very Rev. Henry Muehlsiepen, Vicar General of the archdiocese of St. Louis. The new church was dedicated by Father Michael Richardt, O. F. M., on November 30, 1899. In 1916 the mission was returned to the Bishop.[17]

Hager's Grove.—The first settlers at Hager's Grove, Shelby County, were German immigrants who arrived in 1856. Father Anselm Mueller, O. F. M., Rector of St. Francis Solano College at Quincy, who was summoned, in 1864 or 1865, to administer the last Sacraments to a sick person, was the first priest to visit the settlement. From that time, the Franciscans from Quincy said Mass every third Sunday in a private house, until the Fall of 1866, when the first church, measuring about 35x20 feet, was dedicated and placed under the patronage of St. Joseph. Mass was said in it for the first time by Father Anselm, on January 12, 1867. From this year or the next, the secular clergy were in charge of the mission until the year 1877, when the Franciscans established a friary at Wien, Chariton County, and accepted the charge of the missions Hager's Grove, Hamden, and Hurricane Branch, all in Chariton County, and of Lingo and New Cambria, Macon County. They attended these

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 185, sqq.

missions until the summer of 1914, when the parishes at Wien and Chillicothe with all their missions were relinquished to the Bishop.[18]

Ewing.—The Franciscans began to visit the Catholics of this town, situated in Lewis County, occasionally in 1892. They took regular charge of the parish in 1893, and after some time succeeded in bringing it to a flourishing condition, especially by establishing a free parochial school. They had charge until 1916.[19]

Louisiana, Bowling Green, Clarksville, and St. Clement, all in Pike County, were attended every Sunday from about the year 1877 till 1882, but particulars of the activity of the Fathers there are, unfortunately, not available.

(*To be Continued*)

Silas Barth, O. F. M.

Teutopolis, Illinois.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 190, sq.

THE IRISH IN CHICAGO

The Irishman is, if anything, ubiquitous. No surprise need be felt in finding Irishmen at any place upon the habitable globe, and if to visit any quarter is venturesome, it would be strange if an Irishman were not the first there.

A very painstaking student of the doings of persons of Irish blood or ancestry in this country, Mr. Michael J. O'Brien, Historiographer of the American-Irish Historical Society, not long since delivered an address in Chicago in which he astonished even his Irish audience with the catalogue of "Irish Firsts" he had compiled, the address almost giving the impression that the Irish were first in everything and everywhere.

The claim for first place in discovery and settlement of Illinois is foreclosed against the Irish, however, in favor of the French; but as appears from a former paper, the Irish began early amongst subsequent comers to people the state.

As with the rest of the state, so it was with Chicago. The French had visited, paused at and some dwelt upon the site of Chicago before representatives of other races found their way here. Modern Chicago came into existence, however, when Fort Dearborn was planted on the Lake Shore in 1803, and the first settler, the real Father of Chicago[1] was the first Commander of Fort Dearborn, Captain and afterwards Major John Whistler, a native of Ireland.[2]

It has, of course, been claimed that not Whistler, but John Kinzie, was the Father of Chicago and much has been said and written to glorify this early trader, but it is beyond doubt that Kinzie did not come here until after the Fort was established. He was not, therefore, the first resident, nor was he by any means either the most important or the most worthy resident. John Whistler and his family have left a most enviable record, and undoubtedly was while here a much more public spirited man than Kinzie, while the record of Kinzie is by no means unblemished, and no mention is made in history of any sacrifices made for or benefit conferred upon the public by him.[3]

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[1] Quaife *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* p. 148.

[2] Andreas' *History of Chicago,* p. 80.

[3] For a very enlightening discussion of the questions involved in this paragraph, see the excellent treatice of Milo Milton Quaife, Superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society and one of the ablest historians that have studied Western history, entitled *Chicago and the Old Northwest.* Consult index.

Amongst the few residents of those very early days contemporary with Whistler and Kinzie were several of Irish extraction whose names have come down to us.

Dwelling about in the cabins of that early day were Thomas Burns and his family, Charles Lee and his family and Liberty White. Burns and Lee lived on the north bank of the river where, prior to 1812, there were only four houses, namely: Those of Burns, Lee (at Wolf Point) Kinzie and Antoine Ouilmette, while White lived on Lee's farm at Hardscrabble, on the south branch of the Chicago River. Oustide of Fort Dearborn and the Government houses, these were the only dwellings, and their inhabitants the only dwellers prior to 1812. The names and other circumstances indicate pretty clearly that Burns, Lee and White were of Irish extraction.[4]

The Government factor, Matthew Irwin, who came a little later, was an Irishman, a most worthy citizen. He was factor here from 1810 until the destruction of Fort Dearborn, August 15, 1812, and after the departure of Mr. Jouett, in 1811, probably acted also as agent. He was the son of Matthew Irwin, Sr., a native of Ireland, who settled in Philadelphia when quite young, and becoming a wealthy merchant, assisted the United States Government during the Revolution, by loaning it money for carrying on its plans. In September, 1777, he was appointed Quartermaster-General of Pennsylvania, and served in General Armstrong's division, then in the field. During 1778 and 1779 he was engaged in fitting out privateers and ships against the enemy, being appointed a naval agent for the State in the latter year, and commissioner for procuring salt for the public. In 1781 he was Port Warden for Philadelphia; from 1785 he served for several years as Recorder of Deeds and Master of Rolls of Philadelphia, and in 1787 was appointed Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. The mother of Matthew Irwin, Jr., was a sister of Thomas Mifflin, General in the Revolution and afterward Governor of Pennsylvania. His oldest brother, Thomas, was United States District Judge of Western Pennsylvania, and another brother was a merchant of Philadelphia. Matthew Irwin, Jr., was born, reared and educated at Philadelphia.[5]

Whistler was in Chicago in command of the Fort until 1810,

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[4] All of these names are common amongst Irish. Parish in his *When Wilderness was King* treats "Ol' Tom Burns" as an Irishman.

[5] See satisfactory sketch, Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, pp. 87, 88. See also Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 299. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VII, pp. 269. See letter of

when, as charged by some very reliable contemporaries, his transfer was brought about by intrigue in which Kinzie was concerned,[6] and it was a most unfortunate occurrence as the sequel showed when the post was later attacked by Indians, that being the first great event after the establishment of the Fort.

The Fort Dearborn Massacre

Benjamin F. Taylor, writer and poet has sadly told the tragedy of Fort Dearborn in a few lines:

"I saw a dot upon the map, and a housefly's filmy wing—
They said 'twas Dearborn's picket-flag, when Wilderness was King.
I heard the block-house gates unbar, the column's solemn tread,
I saw the Tree of a single leaf its splendid foliage shed
To wave awhile that August morn above the column's head;
I heard the moan of muffled drum, the woman's wail of fife,
The Dead March played for Dearborn's men just marching out of life;
The swooping of the savage cloud that burst upon the rank
And struck it with its thunderbolt in forehead and in flank,
The spatter of the mustket-shot, the rifle's whistling rain,—
The sandhills drift round hope forlorn that never marched again."

The little post had gone along quietly from its establishment in 1803[7] to the summer of 1812. In that year war broke out between Great Britain and the United States. The English had by intrigue and bribery secured an alliance of greater or lesser extent with the Indians, and the existence of a state of war gave rein to the lawlessness of the savage. Every military post became accordingly an object of attack, and Fort Dearborn was no exception. During the summer, hostile bands of Indians began to gather near the Fort and menacing attacks increased as time passed, until in August the situation became critical. General James Hull was the General in charge of the Western Posts and fearing the savages, ordered Detroit and Fort Dearborn evacuated.

In the manner in which these orders were considered by the local commanders, we get an idea of the character of Captain John Whistler in contrast with that of the commander of Fort Dearborn who succeeded him, Captain Nathan Heald. When Hull's order to evacuate the Fort at Detroit was delivered to Captain Whistler, he deliberately refused to obey, saying that so long as he was commander he would

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[7] The fort was garrisoned in 1803 despite many statements that it was established in 1804. See Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 80.

never raise a white flag to the savages.[8] When, however, the order was delivered to Captain Heald, he supinely obeyed in direct opposition to the best advices of his officers and of those who were best acquainted with the situation, resulting, as we are all aware, in the massacre of his force shortly after they had evacuated the Fort.[9]

In this great historical event it is interesting to know who were the men concerned, what they were and how they acted their part. An answer to these inquiries will also indicate who were amongst the first inhabitants of Chicago.

Of the little band that walked out of Fort Dearborn on the 15th day of August, 1812, most of them to their death, there were of Irish extraction, Ensign George Rowan, Sergeant Otho Hays, Sergeant Thomas Burns, Quartermaster William Griffith, Drummers Hugh McPherson and John Hamilton, Privates James Corbin, Phelim Corbin, Dyson Dyer, Daniel Dougherty, John Furey, Samuel Kilpatrick, James Latta, Michael Lynch, Hugh Logan, Duncan McCarthy, John Simmons, Walter Jordan, John Smith, Sr., and John Smith, Jr.

In company with the soldiers of the Fort there were twelve civilians organized into a militia company, nine women and eighteen children. Amongst the women and children were Mrs. Charles Lee and her four children, Mrs. Phelim Corbin and three children, and Mrs. Thomas Burns, and two or three children.

It will be remembered that when this little band of soldiers and civilians had fairly left the Fort and were passing along the lake front, scarcely having reached as far as 18th Street of the present corporation, the treacherous Indians began their pre-conceived assault upon them, and now arose the supreme moment to test the fiber of the individuals who composed the group.

Amongst the advisors of the Captain, who was most outspoken in his opposition to the evacuation of the Fort, was George Rowan, a handsome stalwart young Irishman only two years from West Point, but with the characteristic courage and intrepidity of his race.

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[8] He broke his sword rather than surrender it to the British. Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 168.

[9] All authorities agree that Heald made a mistake in evacuating the fort and that everyone else who knew of the intended action advised against it. For discussion see Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest; Wau Bun;* Kirkland's *The Chicago Massacre.* Andreas' *History of Chicago* and Kirkland's *Story of Chicago.* Curry's *Chicago—Its History and Its Builders,* and *The Fort Dearborn Massacre* by Lieut. Helm, edited by Nellie Kinzie Gordon.

He had not only opposed the surrender or evacuation of the Fort and the destruction of the property, but had denounced such action as cowardly and unworthy, predicting the exact result that ensued. When the fight came on however, amongst all the contenders, save perhaps the gallant Captain Wells alone, Ensign Rowan proved the boldest and most valorous defender of his company and gave up his life to the superior forces like a true hero. In the best account which we have of this sanguinary battle, Rowan is singled out as the hero of the occasion. In *Waubun* Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie who was present at the battle is reported as saying to Doctor Van Voorhees:

I pointed to Ensign Ronan, who though mortally wounded and nearly down, was still fighting with desperation on one knee: 'Look at that man,' said I, 'at least he dies like a soldier.'[10]

Again Mrs. Kinzie says:

I vividly recalled a remark of Ensign Ronan, as the firing went on. 'Such,' turning to me, 'is to be our fate—to be shot down like brutes.'

'Well sir,' said the commanding officer, who overheard him, 'are you afraid?'

'No,' replied the high-spirited young man, 'I can march up to the enemy where you dare not show your face.' And his subsequent gallant behavior showed this was no idle boast.[11]

Mrs. Kinzie also details how Rowan rescued the Burns family before the battle. After the killing by the Indians of the two men at Hardscrabble some days before the massacre all of the residents of the little town came to the Fort and Mrs. Kinzie says:

It now occurred to those who had secured their own safety that the Burns family was still exposed to imminent peril. The question was, who would hazard his life to bring them to a place of security? The gallant young officer, Ensign Ronan, with a party of five or six soldiers, volunteered to go to their rescue.

They ascended the river in a scow, took the mother, with her infant, scarcely a day old, upon her bed to the boat, and carefully conveyed her with the other members of the family to the fort.'[12]

But returning to the fight:

Back at the wagons where the women and children are gathered together with the hope of greater security, another incident of the

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[10] See Nellie Kinzie Gordon's *The Fort Dearborn Massacre* by Helm, p. 56.
[11] *Ibid.* p. 59.
[12] *Ibid.* p. 53.

battle attracts attention. There Sergeant Hays, giving his best efforts to the protection of the helpless, is in mortal conflict with several savage beasts, and after he had a ball through his body is pressed by a giant Indian, chief Naw-non-gee whom he succeeds in bayoneting, but just as his bayonet pierces the savage, the tomahawk in the savage's hand falls upon the head of the helpless sergeant; he falls, is set upon by other savages and killed.[13]

The wagons cleared of their defenders, are attacked by the savage band and the women and children beaten, lacerated and killed, but in that fray a heroic figure stands out; that of Susan Corbin the wife of Phelim Corbin. Like a tigress she defends her young and her companions. She has provided herself with a sword, and with it she lay about her like a man, striking down a savage here and there;[14] she sees her little children grabbed up by the brutes making the attack and their brains dashed out against the walls of a near-by building.[15] At length, however, by superior strength and numbers she is overcome, brutally murdered, and being in a delicate condition, her child is cut from her very womb and killed before her dying eyes.[16]

Mrs. Kinzie tells the story of Susan Corbin as follows:

> The heroic resolution shown during the fight by the wife of one of the soldiers, a Mrs. Corbin, deserves to be recorded. She had from the first expressed the determination never to fall into the hands of the savages, believing that their prisoners were invariably subjected to tortures worse than death.
>
> When, therefore, a party came upon her to make her prisoner she fought with desperation, refusing to surrender, although assured by signs, of safety and kind treatment. Literally, she suffered herself to be cut to pieces, rather than become their captive.[17]

Sergeant Thomas Burns also deserves special mention in connection with the massacre. Though a civilian at the time of the mas-

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[13] *Ibid.* p. 84. See also Quaife's *Chicago and Northwestern*, p. 229.

[14] Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 207.

[15] Hurlburt quotes the following from the letter of Mrs. Callus: "The home which my father lived was built before the massacre of 1812. I know this from the fact that 'White Elk,' an Indian Chief, and the tallest I ever saw, was pointed out to me as the savage that dashed out the brains of the children of Suky Corbin against the side of this very house." *Chicago Antiquities*, p. 105.

[16] *The Niles Register* of October 23, 1812, states: "Mrs. Corbin, wife of Phelim Corbin, in an advanced stage of pregnanc ywas tomahawked, scalped, cut open and had the child taken out and its head cut off." See Kirkland's *Chicago Massacre* of 1812, p. 119.

[17] Nellie Kinzie Gordon, *The Fort Dearborn Massacre*, p. 65.

sacre he was serving in the militia contingent organized for the occasion and was sergeant and leader. He had before been a soldier and after serving his four-year term of enlistment became a civilian and was one of the four residents of Chicago. He was the "Ol' Tom Burns of Parrish's, *When Wilderness was King,* who waged the desperate fight in the jungle. Heald speaks of "the soldierlike conduct of Burns while engaged with an unequal force of savages, and the manner in which he was inhumanly murdered." Fighting desperately against such great odds, he was wounded and disabled, an infuriated squaw after the battle was over and after the agreement to spare the survivors, attacked Burns and stabbed him to death with a stable fork.[18]

In like manner William Caldwell of whom more will appear later, is entitled to special commemoration and commendation. Caldwell was not in the fight, being absent from these parts, but immediately upon learning of the designs of the Indians started for Fort Dearborn with the purpose of preventing trouble. He was the Chief of the Pottowatomi Indians, although the son of an Irish officer of the British army. The fight was over when he arrived but he prevented further violence and is entitled to credit for saving the lives of the survivors.[18a]

Amongst those who survived the attack were Sergeant and Quartermaster William Griffith, Phelim Corbin, James Corbin, Daniel Dougherty, Dyson Dyer, John Furey, Michael Lynch, Dennis McCarty and Hugh Logan. Almost immediately after the fight, Hugh Logan was murdered because he was not able to march as fast as the Indians wished to take him away from the scene of carnage. Of the others named, they were all, with the exception of Sergeant Griffith, taken prisoners, held for some nine months and subjected to the grossest indignities.[19]

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[18] Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* pp. 233-4.

[18a] See Nellie Kinzie Gordon's book, p. 73.

[19] The names of those killed in the battle or soon after as analyzed by Quaife are George Ronan, Ensign, Isaac Van Voorhis, Surgeons Mate, Isaac Holt, Otto Hays, Thomas Forth, George Burnett, Hugh McPherson, John Hamilton, John Allin, George Adams, Priestly Andrews, Asa Campbell, Stephen Draper, Micajah Denison, John Fury, Rishard Garner, Wm. N. Hunt, frozen to death in captivity; Rhodias Jones Samuel Kilpatrick,, John Kelso, Jacob Landon, James Latta, Michael Lynch, Hugh Logan, Frederick Locker, August Mort, Peter Miller, John Needs; died in captivity, Thomas Poindexter, William Prichelt, Frederick Peterson, David Sherror, John Suttenfield, James Starr, John Simmons. Quaife's *Chicago and Old Northwest, pp.* 434-5-6.

The victims tortured to death by slow burning and otherwise were: Micajah

Some of the survivors were never afterwards heard from, but Mr. Quaife reeently got trace of James Corbin through the Pension Office at Washington, and in the columns of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Magazine,* tells the privations and sufferings of this member of the ill-fated company of Fort Dearborn, and calls him one of Ameriea's unsung heroes.[20]

On Michigan Boulevard, near 18th Street, marking approximately the point of the Fort Dearborn Massacre, a monument has been reared by Mr. George M. Pullman, commemorative of this great Chicago tragedy, and upon the north wall of a business house on Rush Street, there is a tablet also plaeed by private enterprise, reciting the main facts of the massacre. In the monument, the wife of Lieutenant Helm, the daughter of Kinzie who was wounded or maltreated; a Potowatomi Indian; the prostrate form of Doctor Van Voorhees who according to the only reeord we have acted the part of a coward, and a little child are represented; but in neither the monument nor in the bronze tablet is the names of Ensign Rowan, of Sergeant Hayes, of Susan Corbin or of Sergeant Burns, the four heroic figures of this bloody day, represented or alluded to. Names have been given streets in reference to some of the participants of this terrible tragedy (that of Captain Wells most deservedly bestowed), but nowhere so far as I have ever learned has any public recognition been shown any of the large number of men, women and children of Irish birth or extraction who were conspicuous in this massacre.

It seems necessary in order to keep the history of this bloody tragedy straight to say that General Hull who ordered the evacuation of the several forts, including Fort Dearborn, was court-martialed for cowardice, found guilty, but pardoned by the President; and though opinion be somewhat divided, most of the investigators of the history of the surrender of Fort Dearborn, have arrived at the conclusion that the Commander, Captain Heald was a coward. It should be

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Denison, John Fury, Richard Garner, James Latta, Michael Lynch, Thomas Poindexter.

[20] Vol. I, No. 4, p. 561.

[21] I have found interpolated in parenthesis in a reproduction of part of a letter written Mrs. Callis, a daughter of the Factor Jouelt, a statement that Susan Corbin was "(camp-follower and washerwoman)". I have seen no other authority for the statement. She was beyond doubt the wife of Phelim Corbin, and undoubtedly of the stuff of which heroes are made. For statement see Kirkland's *Chicago Massacre of 1812,* p. 48.

noted also that the terms of his surrender were such that he and his family were saved. In passing too, it should be noted that the canny silversmith and trader, Kinzie, whose son-in-law, Captain Helm, was second in command was able to save his scalp and his life and those of his family.

After the Massacre

The effect of the massacre was to depopulate Chicago. Save for Antoine Ouilmette[22] who was here years before any of the others mentioned, and another Frenchman named Du Pim, there was no white man living in Chicago or its vicinity until the Government sent a force to rebuild the Fort in 1816.

The second Fort Dearborn was under the command first of Hezekiah Bradely, whose last name indicates Irish origin. He had with him several Irishmen or at least men with Irish names. He was succeeded by Major, afterward Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Cummings, and he by Major Daniel Baker.

Not long after the seecond fort was built, rather unique character in Chicago history who had lived in the neighborhood prior to the establishment of the first Fort Dearborn—Billy Caldwell, came to reside in Chicago. Caldwell was the son of an Irish Colonel in the English army and of his lawful wife, the daughter of the great Indian chief, Tecumseh. He was a man of education having been educated at the Jesuit College in Detroit, a practical Catholic and altogether a very worthy citizen. As before stated he arrived in Chicago at the time of the Fort Dearborn Massacre just too late to prevent that great tragedy, but in time to save several of the victims from Indian barbarity. As indicating that he was quite a distinguished man, it may be noted that in the 20's he was a Captain in the English army, a Squire or Justice of the Peace of the village of Chicago and the head chief of the tribe of the Potowatomi Indians in the territory. He became a landowner, a highly respected citizen and a very great power for good in the community.[23]

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[22] A letter signed by Ouilmette by his mark witnessed by James Moore is published in facsimile in *The New World,* April 14, 1900, stating, "I came to Chicago in the year 1790 in July." Ouilmette was here when Whistler came and when Kinzie came. He was here during and after the massacre. For an extended examination of Ouilmette's claim, see Grover's *Some Indian Landmarks of the North Shore,* Pamphlet, p. 277 et seq., *Chicago Historical Society Pub.*

[23] See short biographical notice, Kirkland's *The Story of Chicago,* p. 27. For an extended biographical notice, see Andreas' *History of Chicago,* Vol. I, pp. 108

The first school teacher, of which we have a definite mention, was one William Cox, who, in 1816 taught school in the bake-house of the old Fort Dearborn, having for his pupils the children of some of the members of the garrison.[24]

John C. Sullivan, a surveyor, came in 1819 to run the old Indian boundary line.[25] James and Peter Riley, sons of Judge Riley of Schenectady were here before 1819.[26] There was a Doctor McMahon[27] here at the same time and Henry Kelly[28] was then a resident of the little town. John Murphy became the proprietor of the Sagaunash, Beaubian's Hotel in 1826 and after his death his widow continued to manage the hotel. Long John Wentworth tells with a great deal of pride of living with Murphy when he first came to Chicago and of celebrating his advent to this city by dining with the Murphys annually. John Murphy was a man of importance and prominence and his wife was very well known and very highly respected.[29]

Somewhere between 1816 and 1820 Michael Welsh or Walsh came to the Chicago and several writers have stated that he was the first Irishman to reach Chicago. From what has been before said it is plain that he was far from the first, but whereas some of the writers have referred to him as a laborer and quite lightly the facts are that he was a man of parts. He had served his country well in the navy and had an honorable discharge and set out in this new town to make his way in life. He had been a bugler in the navy and took up one hundred and sixty acres of land on the south branch of the river for which he paid cash to the government and which he farmed with some success. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Antoine Ouilmette. In 1830 Welsh joined Brown's rangers, organized to protect the frontiers against the Indian depredations and went with the company on a campaign against the Indians. His grandson, John L. Walsh, succeeded to his property and became a distinguished school man as superintendent of all the schools of South Chicago. John L. Walsh contributed largely to the expense of organizing the Irish Legion, 90th Illinois Infantry hereinafter referred to.[30] The

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and 109. See also good sketch, Curry's *Chicago—Its History and Its Builders*, Vol. I, p. 123-4.

[24] Andreas' *History of Chicago*, p. 204.

[25] Rogers Avenue marks the Indian Boundary Line.

[26] Hurlburt's *Chicago Antiquities*, p. 106.

[27] Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 90.

[28] Came in 1826, native of Ireland, Kirkland's *History of Chicago*, VI., p. 79.

[29] Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 633.

[30] After Walsh's death his widow married Louis R. Darling of Silver Lake,

Walsh property, of course, became valuable and the family an important one in the community, and there are still very worthy representatives of the family in Chicago.[31]

The New Town and City

Colonel John McNeill became commander of Fort Dearborn in 1821 and so remained until the Fort was abandoned in 1823. Colonel McNeill was the tallest man in the army and divided the honors with Long John Wentworth of being the tallest man in Illinois. He entered the army in 1812 and served until 1830. He was twice breveted in the single month of July, 1814 for distinguished and gallant conduct in the battles of Chippewa and Niagara. Physically he shared with General Scott the reputation of being the most gigantic man in the army. His wife was a half sister of President Franklin Pierce.[32]

Kansas. Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 92 The following appeared in the *South Chicago Calumet* of May 26, 1890: "He was born in the City of Chicago in 1838. His uncle, Michael Walsh, a sailor in the navy during the war of 1812, took up 160 acres of government land along the south branch of the Chicago river on what is now the West Side. This land, densely timbered, and known as the Walsh woods, was left in the owner's will to his two nephews, John and Luke. They, not appreciating its value, allowed it to slip out of their possession. Then the two boys were taken by Bishop Vandevelde and placed in the institution then known as the University of St. Mary of the Lake. After growing to manhood and acquiring means John Walsh helped substantially in building St. Patrick's church, and the Jesuit church on 12th Street. The Walsh school was named after him. During the war he assisted in the formation of the Ninety-first Regiment. The remainder of his property Mr. Walsh lost in western mines. Then returning to Chicago he taught in the Bowen school, and was shortly afterwards made superintendent of all of the schools in South Chicago. During President Cleveland's administration he was appointed postmaster, which position he filled until death came. He was married to Margaret E. McGovern, daughter of John McGovern, and was a brother-in-law of Rev. James J. McGovern of Lockport, Ill. He leaves a wife, daughter, Mrs. Dr. F. H. Kidder, and two sons."

[31] The facts relating to this, one of the earliest Chicago pioneers are furnished me by Miss Mary Frances Kidder, a granddaughter of John L. Walsh, and a sketch artist of ability, Miss Cecelia M. Young, the talented author of the very excellent pageant play, "*The Illinois Trial,*" depicting the history of Illinois, is a niece of Rev. J. J. McGovern, mentioned in the above note. These facts are additional proof if any were needed of the good qualities of the earliest Walsh's in Chicago.

[32] From 1816, the time of the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn to 1830, "Chicago gained only some 12 or 15 homes and a population of less than 100." *Chicago*

During this time Doctor Wolcott was Indian Agent at the Fort and Alexander Doyle was the sub-agent.

In 1832 Fort Dearborn was again reoccupied and this time by Major William Whistler, son of Captain John Whistler its first builder and the father and founder of Chicago. Major Whistler was a worthy son of a noble sire and was in charge of the Fort during the Blackhawk War.[32a] Six members of the Whistler family were counted among the congregation of Old St. Mary's and Father St. Cyr, the first pastor of Chicago made his home with Major Whistler and his family until other arrangements were made.[33]

After Fort Dearborn was again re-occupied in 1832, Colonel Thomas Joseph Vincent Owen was made Indian Agent, and acted in that capacity in 1831-32-33, thus covering the period of the final Indian Treaty negotiated at Chicago under which the Indians were in a measure compensated for their Illinois possessions and removed to a reservation in Kansas. He was one of the most distinguished and capable of the earliest settlers of Chicago. He was elected to the first council or Board of Trustees of the village by popular vote, and was by the board, elected its first president, and is thus entitled to the distinction of being the first presiding officer (corresponding to mayor) of Chicago. The ordinances passed by this first legislative body were known as "The Ten Commandments." He, in connection with Richard R. Hamilton, established the first school of a public nature by the employment of Stephen Forbes as teacher, and he signed the petition which was sent to Bishop Rosati at St. Louis for a priest to establish the first church here, later known as Old St. Mary's. His wife was a niece of United States Senator Elias Kent Kane.

Owen and "Billy" Caldwell dissuaded the Potowatomi from joining Blackhawk's force in the Blackhawk War.

Colonel Owen was cut off in the prime of life and in the midst

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Magazine, May 1857, cited in Kirkland's *The Story of Chicago*, p. 87. Amongst those who came to Chicago, in the period besides those mentioned in the text were Billy Caldwell, spoken of before, and Alexander Robinson, another Catholic Indian Chief, a worthy pioneer and benefactor of the White people and of Chicago. Outside of the Kinzie family including the Clarks, Clybourne's and Millers the remaining dwellers were French or French and Indians mixed.

[32a] Quaife's *The Developement of Chicago*, p. 80. Also Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 282.

[33] Rev. Dr. J. J. McGovern, in *The New World*, April 14, 1900, p. 21. On the 15th of June, 1838, Rev. Timothy O'Meara, pastor of old St. Mary's, baptized John, Mary, William and Elizabeth Whistler, children of Major John Whistler.

JOHN STEPHEN COATES HOGAN, Postmaster

JOHN CALHOUN
Editor *Chicago Democrat*, First Paper Published in Chicago.

WILLIAM B. EGAN, M. D.
First Great Orator in Chicago.

of his splendid activities for Chicago, dying in 1834 and was buried in Old St. Mary's, Father St. Cyr, the first Pastor, having charge of the funeral services and entering the burial as one of the very earliest funeral entries in the church records.[34]

About the same time, John Stephen Coates Hogan came to the settlement, and as early as 1831 was taking care of what little mail came here for distribution. While it is frequently stated that Hogan was the first postmaster, it is literally true that Jonathan N. Bailey held the first commission as postmaster for a very short time, but Hogan was the acting postmaster and was on the 2nd of November, 1832, commissioned as postmaster. Hogan and Bailey were closely connected, as Mr. Hogan married Bailey's daughter. Hogan was elected Justice of the Peace at the first contested election ever held in Chicago. He had an opponent in the person of William Clybourne, a son-in-law of John Kinzie, but defeated Mr. Clybourne. He was said by Mr. Bates, one of the scholarly men among the early settlers to be the best educated man in Chicago during his lifetime there. Hogan was in the forefront of every activity in the new settlement, the organizer of the militia, a member of the town council and in general one of the most public spirited men during his time. He also signed the petition to Bishop Rosatti for the establishment of the Catholic church here.[35]

Almost the first, if not the first lawyer to establish himself here and open an office for the permanent practice of law was John Dean Caton, who arrived in Chicago June 19th, 1833. He was of Irish ancestry, his grandfather having been a native of Ireland,[36] and enjoys at this distance from his public career, the reputation of being at least amongst the greatest men who ever resided in Illinois. He was a leading light of the new town, had a prominent part in all its activities, engineered its organization as a city, contributed his full share as a local magistrate in the capacity of Justice of the Peace, early became a judge and eventually sat upon the Supreme Bench

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[34] See Munell's *History of Chicago*, pp. 87, 88, 91, 92. See Andreas' *History of Chicago*, pp. 36, 91, 115 117, 119, 124, 128, 130, 175, 205, 207, 268, 271, 289, 365, 507. Curry's *Chicago—Its History and Its Builders*, Vol. I, pp. 195, 196, 204, 221.

[35] See Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, pp. 112, 116, 147, 168, 175, 178, 182, 184, 269, 276, 289, 420. Kirkland, *The Story of Chicago*, Vol. I, pp. 112, 128, 129, 168.

[36] Andreas' *History of Cook County*, p. 267. Kirkland's *Story of Illinois*, Vol. I, p. 133, note.

for twenty-six years. He was one of the most scholarly men that ever came to the Supreme Court, and is conceded to have been one of the ablest jurists which Illinois has produced.[37]

Near the same time came Dr. William B. Egan, who was a most distinguished citizen. He was the silver-tongued orator of every public occasion; the man chosen by common consent to voice the desires of the young community; the most powerful volunteer proponent of the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the most effective in the numerous campaigns waged for its promotion.[38]

I have found a specimen of Dr. Egan's eloquence which I think the reader will enjoy as well as a little gem by Captain Patrick Kelley by way of response to Dr. Egan. The Montgomery Guards was a very early military organization organized in 1842, survived the Mexican War and the long period of peace succeeding, and was amongst the first to volunteer for service in the Civil War. The officers in 1842 were Captain Patrick Kelley, First Lieutenant W. B. Snowhook, Second Lieutenant Henry Cunningham, Third Lieutenant Michael O'Bryan. At the same time a Cavalry Company was organized and we are told that:

These two earliest independent companies of Chicago were attached to the 60th Regiment of Illinois Militia. Both these companies appeared in new uniforms on July 4th, 1842. The Chicago Cavalry headed the procession and the Montgomery Guards were presented a flag on that occasion. The *Chicago American*, July 5th, gives an account of the presentation celebration as follows:

On presenting the standard Dr. Egan thus addressed the company: 'Gentlemen of the Montgomery Guards,—you have honored me in receiving at my hands the banner—accept it. It is the first that has been presented in our new city, may it be the last to suffer in defeat. Behold! it unfurls to the breeze the name of the illustrious Montgomery; it wakes up glorious associations of the chivalrous dead. It points as a beacon light to the shadowy future. Remember! humble as you are now, the disjointed times may call upon some spirit from amongst your ranks to shed his blood for a nation's rights and to leave behind him a name like that which now floats upon the breeze above you. He was but one of the many sons of Erin's Isle that planted the seed of liberty in a foreign land, and watered it with his blood. History points equally to the torrid regions of the fiery South; the snow-clad hills of Canada; the sunny valleys of France; and the

[37] See extended biography first citation.

[38] See Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, pp. 152, 162, 227, 236, 276, 258, 290, 334, 335, 459, 460, 594, 612, 634. Kirkland's *The Story of Chicago*, Vol I, pp. 112, 113, 114, 128, 132, 133, 147, 157, 181, 194, 249.

orange groves of Spain—and each bears testimony in our favor. Let the spirit that actuated such, inspire you, and hover over this banner as an heirloom from father-land—a talisman to lead you on to glory. Remember your country has claims on you yet—she bids you be united and firm in support of your own rights, and yield an equality to all. She bids you spurn the oppressor, by whatsoever name he may be called, and to walk upright, for the eye of the stranger is upon you. Farewell and remember your God, your country, and your rights.'

Capt. Kelley replied as follows:

We receive this banner gratefully at your hands. We pledge ourselves to keep its ample folds floating in the breeze until we shall have the honor to say that we, the Montgomery Guards, have added fresh laurels to our adopted country. We shall ever be ready to meet the enemy first in action and last out. The British flag, it is true, has dotted the globe, but it has marked it with cruelty and oppression; but the star-spangled banner is hailed everywhere as the harbinger of freedom, the hope of the oppressed and the terror of tyrants. The sympathies of the whole world are following its course as it ploughs the ocean in search of distant climes, and unborn millions will yet bless the hour when it was unfurled to wage unceasing war upon the oppressors of mankind.[39]

(To be continued)

Chicago. JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

[39] Andreas' *History of Chicago*, Vol. I, p. 276.

TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF FORT CHARTRES

The French-English struggle for empire in America left fewer landmarks than one might expect to find after so recent a battle of Titans; it is much as if the vanquished, after the manner of true French politeness, had taken leave without a formal adieu, after taking precautions to leave nothing about that might remind the victor of the disagreeable fact that there had ever been an adversary.

One of the most interesting monuments to French occupation of the Mississippi Valley belongs to the early history of Illinois and in its ruins stands as a perpetual reminder, not only of a territory of old France, but also, one indicating all the romance of the dream of French empire as the great La Salle dreamed it.

Fort Chartres was but one of a line of forts built to unite Canada with the West and the South. On the advice of La Salle to Louis XIV, this line of forts was established as protection against the great rivals, Spain and England, and also, to serve as centers of colonization.

The discovery of valuable mineral deposits in the Illinois country, notably lead mines, and the organization of John Law's great Company of the West and of the Indies, with the lure of promised gold and silver mines in the region, made the placing of a fort in this part a matter of necessity to hold the territory for France.

Father Jean Mermet, from Kaskaskia, sent word to the Governor of Canada as early as 1715 of the encroachment of the English near the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, and when Pierre Dugue de Boisbriant arrived with a commission from France as Commandant of Illinois in 1718, he selected as the site of the fort to be built, a spot sixteen miles above Kaskaskia.

The first structure was of wood timbers, hewn from the adjacent forests; barracks, commandant's house, store-house, and great hall of the company of the West, mounted with cannon bearing the insignia of Louis XIV. In 1720 the flag of France floated over the structure named in honor of the son of the regent of France, the young Duke de Chartres.

No sooner was the fort erected than a town, Nouvelle Chartres, sprang up at its gates and here the Jesuits established the parish of St. Anne de Fort Chartres, the records of which furnish much data for early Illinois history.

Seat of Government

The great fort became immediately the center of the civil government of Illinois.[1] In 1721, a decree promulgated by Louis XV in 1716, arrived at the parish of St. Anne. It was for the purpose of arranging the order of precedence for the official dignitaries who attended the church, so that the seating according to rank would be according to a plan that should obviate friction. It was sent to all parishes and entered in the parish register.

Pierre Dugue de Boisbriant, commandant, Marc Antoine de la Loire des Ursins, the director of the great company of the West and Michel Chassin, commissary of the company, formed the Provincial Council of the Illinois which dispensed civil government from the fort.

The Center of Fashion

Besides being the headquarters of the civil government, the fort was also the center for the great social functions of which there were many in the days of official French occupancy. There are many accounts of these social affairs in the early history of the region.[2]

The French assisted their Indian allies in struggles with other Indian tribes; one of these wars was waged unsuccessfully against

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[1] "The first fort cost one million crowns. . . . . It became immediately the seat of military power. Large warehouses and factories were erected by the trading companies and New Chartres sprang up. . . . . Philip Renault, secretary of the French Trading company, brought with him mechanics, slaves, settlers and miners. . . . . Mather, *The Making of Illinois*, p. 86.

[2] "All roads lead to Chartres" was the common saying of early days in all the settlements in the new world.

The people of the fort and village led a merry life. Lordly processions of gentlemen and richly dressed ladies marched into the chapel to hear Mass. Gay hunting parties issued from the gates of the fort and returned at night full laden with the spoils of the chase." Mather, *The Making of Illinois*, p. 87.

What these spoils were may be gathered from a letter from Father Louis Viviers, dated June 8, 1750, in which he says: "Wild cattle, deer, elk, bears, and wild turkeys, abound. Swans, bustards, geese, ducks of three kinds, wild pigeons and teal, ... overrun the country during autumn, winter and spring." He mentions also, grouse, partridge and hares. Bossu, who accompanied Chevalier Makarty, and was the historian of the early days at the fort, mentions the same wild game and its great abundance in his accounts of the life in the Illinois.

Stately receptions were given, where officers in uniforms covered with gold lace, danced with ladies robed in velvet and satins. The fashions of Paris were reproduced in this military station on the distant Mississippi. Mather, *The Making of Illinois*.

the Foxes, and Indians and French retired to the safety of the fort. In a subsequent war, the French troops succeeded in making peace for their allies.

The young commandant, Pierre D'Artaguiette took the post in 1734 and in 1736 lost his life in an expedition against the Chickasaws who were incited to war by the British.[3] Failure of troops from New Orleans to join the forces from Fort Chartres in time, caused the death of this gallant young officer and his companions. D'Artaguiette and his brave band have been the theme of song and story for near two centuries. He was the New World type of the Chevalier Bayard and we are glad to associate his shining name with the old Fort Chartres.[4]

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[3] In 1736, Gov. Bienville resolved to crush the troublesome Chickasas and called upon D'Artaguette at Fort Chartres and Vincennes at Fort Vincennes to co-operate with him in an expedition for that purpose. Francis Morgan, otherwise known as Vincennes, commanded at Fort Vincennes. He was said to be a brother-in-law of Joliet. He was of Irish descent. He was young and had already acquired a reputation for great bravery. His garrison was augmented by Indian allies of many tribes among whom were some Iroquois. With them went volunteers from all the French villages, and many of the Kaskaskias. The distinguished Indian chief Chicago led the Illinois and Miamis. Indians from as far away as Detroit joined the forces and all sailed down the Mississippi to join Bienville.

The Chickisa trouble all resulted from the intrigues of the English who, from the beginning of the settlement of Louisiana, used all their endeavors to incite the Chickisas to deeds of violence against the French. This Chickisa war was fought under the British flag and the British were the leaders and aggressors. The Indians in their attack on D'Artaguette were led by about thirty Englishmen. Gayarre, *History of Louisiana*, Vol. I, p. 486.

[4] Bossu tells the story briefly, as related by Sergeant Louis Gamot, an eye witness, one of the men of the expedition, who escaped from the enemy by stratagem. . . . . "M. d'Artaguette was taken with seven officers and about twenty-six soldiers and inhabitants, by the Chickisas, who burnt them alive. Among them was Father Senat, who went with M. d'Artaguette in the quality of chaplain." Monnette gives the story in greater detail.

"In due time, d'Artaguette and his lieutenant, the gallant Vincennes, and their allies, penetrated the Chickisas' county, prepared to maintain the arms and honor of France. Two attacks against the enemy were successful; in the third, d'Ataguette was wounded, causing a panic among the Indians who fled, leaving their French leaders on the field at the mercy of the enemy. Father Senat might have escaped, but remained to receive the last sigh of the wounded, regardless of danger, mindful only of duty. Vincennes, too, the Canadian, refused to fly, and shared the captivity of his leader."

The account goes on to say that the victors cared for the wounds of their captives, at first hoping for large ransoms from Bienville; but hearing that this leader had retired south again, they resolved to slaughter all the living, and the

One of the original documents coming down to us from those old days is a deed executed at Fort Chartres by Alphonse de la Buissoniere, Commandant of the Illinois, and Madame Therese Trudeau, his wife. During his governorship were the halcyon days of the French settlers at the Illinois. The Indians were kept in check, the fertile soil yielded bounteous harvests, two convoys with grain and provisions went each year to New Orleans, and lower Louisiana became almost dependent upon them for supplies.

Other French villages sprang up around the fort, Prairie du Rocher and St. Philip, and hither came scions of noble families from the old country, seeking fortune, fame and adventure, whose names appear with their titles at ceremonious length on the parish registers; with these good families came traditions of refinement and education and gentle breeding, invaluable gifts to bring to a wilderness, the evidences of which remain in all accounts of the early history in the fact that they lived in peace and harmony with each other, without the aid of the law, and that their manners and social intercourse were inspirations to all visiting travelers. Their social functions were carried out with meticulous attention to ceremony which is also a matter of record.

Captain Benoist de St. Clair, a gallant young Irishman, succeeded La Buissoniere who sought more active military service than could be had in those piping times of peace around the fort in the year 1742.

In turn St. Clair was succeeded by Chevalier de Bertel.

The parish register of St. Anne's has the title page of the new volume opened, inscribed thus:

Numbered and initialed by us, Principal Secretary of the Marine and Civil Judge of the Illinois, the present book, containing seventy-four leaves to serve as a Register of the Parish of St. Anne's, of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths. Done at Fort Chartres, the first of August, 1743.

CHEVALIER DE BERTEL
Major Commandant

DE LALOIRE,
Flaneour.

The parish register spares no time or words in setting down the record of the families of the officers at the fort. We find Jean La

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melancholy account closes . . . .'' The young and intrepid d'Artaguette . . . . . and the heroic Vincennes . . . . and the faithful Senat, true to his mission, were, with their companions, each tied to stakes . . . . were tortured before slow and intermittent fires until death released them from their protracted torments.'' Monnette, *The Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 240-246.

Freile de Vidrinne, officer, married to Elizabeth de Moncharveaux, daughter of Jean Francis Liveron de Moncharveaux, captain, and Monsieur Andre Chevalier, royal solicitor and treasurer weds Madeline Loisel, and all with their full names, titles and ancestry given in full, and Makarty, commandant, Buchet, principal writer, and DuBarry, lieutenant, all the dignitaries of the fort and village, and all the relatives sign the register as witnesses. The parish register was transferred to Prairie du Rocher where many of the records of the fort were also found.

De Bertel came to the fort in difficult times. Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa, in their inability to agree, prepared the stage for war. Some Englishmen, accused of being spies, were confined in the dungeon of Fort Chartres, and rumors of an English invasion were rife. De Bertel begged his superior officer to re-inforce the fort, which was getting to be so badly conditioned that it was purposed to abandon it as a place no longer possible to defend. Finally, the Governor General of Canada wrote to the home government in France: "The little colony of Illinois ought not to be left to perish. The King must sacrifice for its support. The principal advantages of the country are its extreme productiveness and its connection with Canada and Louisiana, and it must be maintained."

In 1750, DeGalissonniere again urged the importance of strengthening and preserving the post of Illinois, describing the country as open and ready for the plough, and traversed by innumerable buffaloes. "And these animals," he says, "are covered with a fine fur or species of wool, sufficiently fine for manufactories; the buffalo, if caught and attached to the plow, would move it at a speed superior to that of the domestic ox."

It might well take the imagination that could foresee empire in the Mississippi to envisage a buffalo at a plow.

Makarty the Fort Builder

In the succeeding year, the Chevalier de Makarty, major of engineers, came from France, under orders to rebuild the citadel of the Illinois country. Soon a full regiment of French grenadiers came to the fort. They proceeded to change the structure from one of wood to one of stone, under the skillful guidance of this trained officer whose Irish blood and French commission made his work a double glory to him.

To this day may be seen the place in the bluffs east of the fort where were quarried the huge blocks, which they carried across the

little lake intervening. The finer stone with which they faced the gateways and other parts of the building was brought from beyond the Mississippi.[5]

A million crowns seemed not unreasonable expense to the King across the water for the great fortress which was to keep his dominion in America for France, the Empire of the West.[6]

The Contest for Supremacy

The final contest between France and England began even before the new fort was finished. In May, 1754, George Washington, with his Virginia riflemen, surprised Jumonville de Villiers at Great Meadows and slew him. Jumonville's brother, Neyon de Villiers, one of the captains at Fort Chartres, obtained leave from Makarty to avenge his death. His party captured Fort Necessity from "Monsieur Wachenson" and this was one of the causes assigned by George the Second for the declaration of hostilities by Great Britain, and the Old French War began.

From this time on during the war, expeditions went forth from Fort Chartres, and returned there, first with victory for the French, and, finally, with Great Britain in the ascendancy.

At the end of a long series of disasters, once more the drums beat to arms on the parade grounds at Fort Chartres to raise the siege of Niagara. Of the defeat there, Makarty writes: "The defeat at Niagara has cost me the flower of my men. My garrison is weaker than ever. The British are building bateaux at Pittsburg. I have made all arrangements to receive the enemy."[7]

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[5] The plans and specifications for the new Fort Chartres were drawn by Lieutenant Jean B. Saussier, or Saucier, a French engineer, a maternal ancestor of Dr. J. F. Snyder, former president of the State Historical Society. From Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. 8 (1903), pp. 105-107.

Captain Bossu, a French Marine, writes in 1756, that the fort cost 5,000,000 livres; it was capable of containing three hundred men and that it was near completion. From Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society, Vol. 8.

[6] Captain Philip Pittman, sent (1767) to survey forts, fully described Fort Chartres and concludes, "It is generally conceded that this is the most commodious and best built fort in North America."

[7] Fort Chartres was the depot for arms, munitions, and army supplies of all kinds, as well as the seat of military and civil government for . . . . the French possessions . . . . between Canada and Louisiana.

Its garrison perhaps never numbered a thousand men, and the fixed ordnance exceeded but little, a dozen guns. Its great value lay in its power to maintain order in the wilderness, its protection of weak colonies by deterring Indian hos-

The Last Days of French Command

The surrender at Montreal of the Canadas followed the victory of the Plains of Abraham, but still the Illinois held for the French King. Neyon de Villiers was promoted to command at Fort Chartres. And the fine old soldier, Makarty, doubtless regretting that he was not to have the opportunity to test the strength of the great stone walls he had laid so well, sheathed his sword and departed. Holding the fort and waiting for the British to appear was not an attractive pursuit for the active De Villiers and so he resigned to be succeeded by the faithful Louis St. Ange de Belle Rive.

New Chartres, a well-established community, rested secure in the belief for some time, that although Canada had fallen, Louisiana would still remain to the King. Like a thunder-clap came the news that on the tenth of February, 1763, Louix XV had transferred it to the British with a stroke of his pen.

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tilities, and also its availability for collection and distribution of soldiers, munitions and commissary supplies.

During the French and Indian war, requisitions were made on Fort Chartres for soldiers, arms, ammunition, and provisions . . . . to the point of almost complete exhaustion.

In May, 1754, Captain Neyon de Villiers left Fort Chartres with a hundred picked men, went to Fort DuQuesne, and there joined an expedition against Fort Necessity, where George Washington surrended to the French.

In 1755 came a request from Fort DuQuesne for flour and pork. Again, Captain de Villiers went to Fort DuQuesne with his company as escort to a flatboat with 18,000 pounds of provisions.

From Fort Chartres, garrisions were maintained at Cahokia and Kaskaskia . . . . and its troops performed police duty as far east as Vincennes.

In May, 1757, Captain Charles Phillippe Aubry, with one hundred and fifty soldiers, one hundred Indians, allies, and three cannon, set out to meet an English force reported to be advancing to attack Illinois. Not encountering the enemy, after a march of a hundred leagues . . . . on his return journey, he built Fort Ascension near the junction of the Massec creek and the Ohio river. In 1758, he returned to DuQuesne with 400 men, arms and supplies. Here in an engagement, he defeated a regiment, the Sixty-second Highlanders. In 1759, Major Makarty sent Aubry with 300 soldiers and 200,000 pounds of flour, to raise the siege of Niagara. After defeat at Niagara, the expedition stopped at Fort Ascension, enlarged it and named it Fort massac, and this fort at once became a charge on Fort Chartres.

In April, 1760, Makarty said, "I have caused Fort Massac to be terraced, fraized, and fortified, piece upon piece, with a strong ditch." At the surrender, it had eight guns mounted. Snyder's *Transactions Illinois State Historical Soiceety* (190.), p. —.

Powder Magazine Before Its Restoration in 1913.

Powder Magazine as Restored.

Fort Chartres on the Mississippi River about 60 miles South of St. Louis. Built in 1720, rebuilt as above in 1750-5. From a painting in the North corridor, first floor, of the State House, Springfield, Illinois.

St. Ange with forty men still held the fort, after many of the spirited officers and residents had taken their families and started out to follow to some place where they might find the French flag still floating and where they might escape that of England and of Spain. Their wanderings, disappointments and sufferings before they arrived at the happy day when they could live under the Stars and Stripes of the New Republic make another story. Fort Chartres was destined never to include in its history the honor and glory of carrying this flag, as it was abandoned as a fortress before the coming of our government to this region.

Fort Chartres was the last place in North America to fly the white flag of the Bourbons. Chief Pontiac was one of the obstacles to the lowering of this lone flag. After defeating four different expeditions sent by the English to take over the fort, Pontiac one day entered the tall gateway with his retinue of warriors and said to St. Ange: "Father, I have long wished to see thee, to recall battles we have fought together against the misguided Indians and the dogs of English. I love the French and I have come here with my Indians to avenge their wrongs."

But St. Ange with a heavy heart, had to convey to the faithful Indian ally that all was indeed over for France, and that his services no longer availed. On the tenth of October, 1765, the lilies of France gave place to the Red cross of St. George. At Fort Chartres, the Great Empire of France in the New World ceased forever. "French soldiers and even Indian warriors wept when the lilies of France were hauled down from above the walls. St. Ange and his little garrison withdrew to St. Louis. Here he continued to rule for a number of years until he was displaced by a Spanish commander.[8]

Louis St. Ange de Belle Rive spent his long and arduous life for the good of his country and fellow countrymen. Fort Chartres may well glory in having him on its archives. Noble Christian gentleman and soldier, his heart filled with the loftiest patriotism and his record proving his high ideals, he was the very flower of what his country and his times could produce. He died in 1774.

Soon after British occupancy of the fort, floods carried away a

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[8] The armament of Fort Chartres is a much disputed question.

Snyder says, "After sifting all . . . . data attainable, it seems reasonably certain that the entire armament remaining at the fort at the time of surrender did not exceed six heavy (carrying nine, or twelve-pound balls), two, perhaps three four-pounders, and ten or twelve swivel guns (of one and two-inch caliber), all made of iron." *Ib.*

large part of the town at its gates and then encroached up on the fort. It seemed as if the mighty river, like Pontiac, would remain vassal to the French. As the river rose from time to time and as so much of the life had departed from New Chartres, the British did not find the place attractive.

Description of the Fort

Here is the description of the fort as given in the archives at Paris:

The fort has an arched gateway fifteen feet high; a cut stone platform above the gate, with a stair of nineteen stone steps leading to it, with a stone balustrade to support; its walls of stone eighteen feet in height, and its four bastions, each with forty-eight loop holes, eight embrasures, and a sentry box, the whole cut in stone. And within, the great store-house, ninety feet long by thirty wide, two stories high, and gabled roofed; the guard house having two rooms above for the chapel and missionary quarters; the government house 84x32 feet, with iron gates and a stone porch; a coach-house and a pigeon house adjoining, and a large stone well inside; the intendant's house of stone and iron with a portico; the two rows of barracks, each 128 feet long; the magazine 35 feet wide, 38 feet long, and 13 feet high above the ground, with a doorway of cut stone, and two doors, one of wood and one of iron; the bake house with two ovens, and a stone well in front; the prison with four cells of cut stone; and iron doors; and one large relief gate to the north; the whole enclosed in an area of more than four acres.

A British engineer describes the walls of the fort as two feet two inches thick, and the entrance is through a very handsome gate.

Abandonment of the Fort

Owing to the distaste of the English officers for the place as a residence, and to the encroachments of the river, and because there was no longer need for the fortress as such, it was finally abandoned in 1772. After this period, each successive account of the place gives an increasingly mournful picture.

In 1802, Governor Reynolds says, "It is an object of antiquarian curiosity." In 1804, Major Stoddard, U. S. Engineers, said, "Its figure is quadrilateral, with four bastions, whole of limestone well cemented. A capacious square of barracks and a magazine are in good state of preservation." In 1817, Brackenridge, writer, says, "Fort Chartres is a noble ruin. The outward wall, magazine, and barracks are still standing.

In 1820, Beck, a publisher says, "The walls in some places are

perfect, the buildings are in ruins, except the magazine, and in the hall of one of the houses is an oak growing 18 inches in diameter.'' Hall says, in 1829, ''It was with difficulty we found the ruins, which are covered with forest trees and dense undergrowth; bushes and vines cover the tottering walls. The buildings are all razed to the ground, but the lines of the foundations can still be traced. The large vaulted powder magazine is still preserved.''

In 1788, Congress established a national park to include the fort but took no measures to preserve the buildings and they have been despoiled by vandals.

The Fort Chartres reservation was opened to entry in 1849, no provision being made to preserve the fort. Land was taken by settlers and the stones of the fortress were used for their homes.[9]

In 1854 Governor Reynolds came again and found the fort a pile of ruins, mouldering away, and the walls torn away even with the surface of the ground.[10]

Remains of Fort Chartres

And now today, what remains to tell of the glory of old French days in Illinois? In old days, all roads in Illinois led to the Fort;

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[9] After 1784, the sturdy soldiers of Col. Clark's army, with their friends and relatives, began to pour into the American bottom. Then too, the tranquil solitude of old Fort Chartres was broken. It was public property, and a great heap of finely cut and dressed stone ready at hand for the settlers for ''underpinning'' barns and cabins and building chimneys and outhouses.

The majestic guns were handled out in the open area of the fort and unceremoniously thrown from their carriages into the dirt, and the carriages converted into oxcarts, or wagons, for hauling away the walls and buildings. *Ib.*

[10] Gen. Firmin A. Rosier writes, June, 1811 . . . . of an expedition to Fort Chartres to carry away one of the guns to be used at a Fourth of Jeuly celebration at St. Genevieve. They selected one of the guns from the crumbling debris of the fort. It was of iron, nine feet in length and very heavy.

During the War of 1812, the Territorial Governor, Ninian Edwards, in order to protect the country from the incursions of savages in the interest and pay of the British, organized and put into the field the celebrated Rangers, and built the fort Russell near the site of the present city of Edwardsville. The Governor took his own ox-team and negro drivers, his own slaves . . . . to the ruins of old Fort Chartres and there personally superintended the raising of the half-buried five old cannon, and loading them on the wagons, hauled them to Camp Russell, seventy-five miles distant.

John Reynolds, a volunteer in the Rangers, writes: ''Our army was received with the honor of a salutation, booming from the Fort Chartres cannon . . . . the cannon of Louis XIV of France.''

now, one has to approach it across fields of grain and pastures, not even a path leading to the spot. St. Anne's and the little village have completely vanished, St. Philip's is a farm, and only St. Joseph's parish remains in all the vicinity to bear witness to the past, as it is in the latter parish that the records of the Fort have been kept until recently. As late as 1879, many precious documents were there, including the parish records of Old St. Anne's. St. Joseph's is the parish church of Prairie du Rocher, five miles from the Fort. Here also were kept three chalices, a monstrance of solid silver, old and quaint, and a tabernacle of inlaid wood, all from St. Anne's as well as a bundle of old MSS. bearing signatures of Makarty and DeVilliers.

The old magazine is standing, alone left to preserve the memory of France for ages to come. It stands within an enclosure of the S. E. bastion, with its solid stone walls four feet thick sloping upward to twelve feet from the ground, and rounded at the top. But for the iron doors, and the cut stone about the doorways, it is intact. Within, a few steps lead down to the stone floor some feet below the surface, and the interior, thirty feet square, is uninjured. The arched roof of stone is supported by the heavy walls which have a few small apertures for light and these well protected from without.[11] The whole fortress is traceable by grass covered ridges where were the walls, extending about 1447 feet.[12]

Entering the enclosure through the farm gate which is just where stood the old stone entrance gate, the cellars of the houses still remain visible. From this gateway, we look out over the fair domain which Boisbriant gave unto himself in a grant which we may still read in the archives. Let us stand here for a time and call up the ghosts of that far off time. Imagine the gallant company which laid the foundation stones of this fortress, their high hopes and purposes, the gay laughter, song and jest, which in France always accompanied work; here, one day, hurrying scouts, the *coureurs de bois,* some from distant Canada, some bringing news of Indian foray or of Spanish invaders; valiant leaders setting forth from the walls to carry the lilies of France to fight a wrong; colonists coming to store-house or to council chamber, dusky warriors thronging the enclosures, Chicago, Pontiac;

[11] The powder magazine has been entirely restored and is now in appearance as the French left it.

[12] The Department of Public Works and Buildings of the State of Illinois has restored the outlines of the old Fort and have built a low wall following the old lines. The old well has also been restored.

happy villagers at the foot of the fort, then the momentous surrender, the sad drama none understood at the time.

And as we stand here let us pay tribute to the fine souls who came to the shadow of this fort to build a civilization in the wilderness, so fine and sweet and wholesome that it shines out in these days of sordid individuality as a beacon light. Here came the scion of noble families, seeking fame and fortune in these rude surroundings, but who in the midst of all their sordid surroundings, never lost their good manners, or their faith. Their lives were perfect examples of the old community spirit of the Middle Ages. They gave the fine flavor of their courtesy to the common people and to their savage brethren. Writers of that time were always astonished at their gentle breeding and unfailing courtesy. Brave souls of a past, full of color and poetry because they would have it so! D'Artaguiette, DeVilliers, Makarty, St. Ange, Madeline Loisel, Elizabeth Moncharveaux, high ladies and brave soldiers, Chicago, Pontiac, Old Fort Chartres, Adieu![13]

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[13] The old Fort and a park surrounding it is now the property of the State of Illinois and under the control of the Department of Public Works and Buildings. In a letter from the Departmental Inspector we are advised that "plans are now under way by the Department of Public Works and Buildings to restore the old fortress from the native rock which is available in large quantities in the near vicinity. . . . . Where this restoration has been accomplished, it will be possible for the visitors to see the ancient fortification as it existed two hundred years ago."

In this connection the following letter from Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Librarian Illinois State Historical Library, is interesting:

March 12, 1920.

"As you know, the site of Fort Chartres belongs to the State of Illinois and is under the care of the Department of Public Works and Buildings. Mr. William A. Meese, a director of the Illinois State Historical Society, who died a few weeks ago, was largely instrumental in securing the legislation which was necessary for the purchase of the site. There is also at Prairie du Rocher, an Association called the 'Fort Chartres Association.' Information about this Association can be secured from Mr. Thomas Connor of Prairie du Rocher.

The Department of Public Works has studied the matter of the construction of the old Fort most carefully and they have restored the outline of the old Fort and have built a low wall showing or indicating the outlines. Also they restored the old well and have completely restored the powder magazine.

On October 10 of last year the Illinois Society of Colonial Dames placed a bronze marker on the powder magazine, giving the important historical dates and an appropriate inscription.

Quite a number of the Society of Colonial Dames, Doctor Schmidt, Miss McIlvaine, myself and many others attended the dedication of the tablet. The

Fort Chartres to be Restored

But Fort Chartres is to live again. Readers of the Illinois Historical Review will be interested in the plans of the Department of Public Works and Buildings for the restoration of this historic structure.

Though the Fort was for long years neglected, due to the efforts of some earnest citizens of Illinois, arrangements have been made to preserve it to posterity.

Some years ago an organization was founded under the name of "Fort Chartres Association" for the purpose of preserving this historic site. A letter from Mr. Thos. J. Conner of Prairie du Rocher, Illinois, President of the Association, gives us some interesting details with reference to the work of this organization. Mr. Conner says:

The Fort Chartres Association was organized in 1913 by the Hon. William A. Meese of Moline, for the purpose of improving and aiding in the restoration of Fort Chartres. It was incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois the same year.

The fund of $4,000.00 which the 1913 Legislature appropriated for the purchase of the property on which Fort Chartres was located for a State park and its improvement was expended by the Fort Chartres Association under the direction of the Park Commission.

The old ruins are in the center of the ten acre block which was bought at a cost of $1,842.92. All that part of the Park within the walls of the fort (about four acres) was, at that time, a mass of trees and underbrush. A tree, about four inches in diameter, was growing on top of the magazine. All the walls and the foundations of all the buildings were covered with soil and debris and the only monuments left to mark the site of what was once America's greatest military stronghold, were the two wells and the stone powder magazine that was being used for a pig pen. After paying for the land and the engineering there was about $1,900.00 of the appropriation

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presentation was made by Mrs. Paul Blatchford, State Regent of the Colonial Dames of Illinois, and the historical address was made by Professor C. W. Alvord.

The visiting party after having been entertained with an elaborate dinner at the hotel in Prairie du Rocher crossed the river and went to Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, where they were handsomely entertained by Father Van Tourenhout. This distinguished priest gave a very pleasant reception at his home in the evening and on the following day escorted the party on a sight-seeing trip to the most interesting places in old Ste. Genevieve.

As I have before stated, the site of Fort Chartres now belongs to the State of Illinois and will receive permanent care.

Very truly yours,

Jessie Palmer Weber,
Librarian, Illinois State Historical Library.

which by strict economy was stretched into uncovering the walls and the foundations of the buildings (which had been hidden for so long that people who had lived in the neighborhood of the place for many years did not know of their existance) removing an average depth of about two feet of dirt and rocks within the outer walls, gathering rocks to be used for future work on the fort and making necessary temporary repairs on the powder magazine.

In the work of excavation many graves were uncovered and a large number of cannon and musket balls, several tomahawks, a silver fork, beads, medalions and jewelry were recovered. It is to be hoped that the State will sometime erect a suitable building at the park where these and the many other interesting relics which have been gathered by the association can be seen by those visiting the fort.

As soon as this fund was used up the Association directed its efforts to securing another appropriation and the 1917 Legislature came to the rescue with the passage of a bill giving $12,500.00 for use at Fort Chartres State Park. This fund was not applied until 1919 on account of the war. With this appropriation the walls of the fort and the foundations of the buildings were torn down and built up to an even height of eighteen inches and capped with concrete; the powder magazine was restored; the old wells were fixed up and put into service; the gate and a short section of wall on each side of it was built up to its original height of eighteen feet and the park was leveled off.

The very creditable manner in which this last appropriation was expended is due in a large measure to Thomas G. Vennum, Assistant Director of Public Works and Buildings and Edgar Martin and William J. Lindstrom of the Architectural Department. All the work has been done with a thought of the future efforts of the State to restore to its pristine glory its greatest relic of Empire and if the plans of these gentlemen are followed the citizens of Illinois may be able at some time to see Old Fort Chartres as she was when the Lilies of France waved over her.

A statement of Mr. Thomas G. Vennum of the Department of Public Works and Buildings, especially charged with the superintendence of park work, is interesting. Mr. Vennum says:

Plans are enow under way by the Department of Public Works and Buildings to restore the old fortress from the native rock which is available in large quantities in the near vicinity. Crumbling walls of the second fort still remain and the ancient powder magazine remains almost intact. Reports mention the fort as the best constructed fortification in America. The masonry was so well done that the original walls are now easily traceable. Detailed information as to its construction was obtained from a variety of early reminiscences and descriptions and from the files of the French Government. When this restoration has been accomplished, it will be possible

for the visitors to see the ancient fortification as it existed two hundred years ago.

To speak with exactness, Mr. Vennum should say one hundred and seventy years ago, as it is proposed to restore the fort as it was rebuilt in 1750. The original fort of 1720 was of wood. That of 1750 of stone.

GERTRUDE CORRIGAN.

Chicago.

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COMMENDATION OF MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN

This publication is one we can be proud of. It is gotten up in an attractive form and its contents are interesting and instructive. I have been complimented on it and have heard it praised in many quarters. * * * The Society should receive encouragement from every source, and all who possibly can should enroll in its membership. * * * I need not add that your work has not only my blessing, it has my encouragement. It has every aid I can give it.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Preserve the Records. In almost every issue of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW we have been urging, begging and entreating our readers to get the history spirit, to read and study history, and to become apostles of transmission of history, and to these ends to preserve and put in position to be preserved important historical data.

In this propaganda we thought we were doing well, but find our efforts but feeble in comparison with a pronouncement of a schoolman and churchman of our acquaintance who, in a paper read before the College Department at the St. Louis meeting of the Catholic Educational Association in June, has said all we wished to say and said it much better than we are able.

The writer of the paper is Rev. Lawrence J. Kenny, S. J., of the St. Louis University, and the matter is so pertinent that, with the writer's consent, we here reproduce it and adopt unreservedly the sentiments expressed:

We are all historians. The Distributer of all good gifts has given to some indeed to be evangelists, to some to be apostles, to some to be prophets, that is, seers of the future; but He has given to all of us to be seers of the past, that is, historians. He has endowed all His children with the golden scroll of memory that unrolls its ever more wondrous illuminations before our vision as the years advance. From its vivid pages He would reflect into our characters that finest quality of humanity, gratitude, the test of true civilization. Our Mother, the Church, here as in all other things, continues the work of God in our training, and constitutes herself our teacher of history from the day that she gave us at the baptismal font the name of one of her hero sons or daughters, whose story she

promises to tell us, together with those of Jesus and Mary, at the budding hour of our intelligences. She is the unrivalled historian; for she has seen the past, she knows the things of value, and she is true. The man who will not develop his historic faculty is acting against the desires of the Church and contrary to the plan of God.

America is no longer a country without a past, without a history. Many of us, no doubt, knew men who had seen John Carroll and George Washington; but there is not one among us who was personally acquainted with those makers of our nation and our Church in America. They are of the past.

Spain holds the record of the period of discovery, the first chapter in the story of America. The archives of Seville are piled high with well ordered documents preserving the memory of the imperishable achievements of her conquistadors. Her labors had been well bestowed were there distilled from all those precious leaves no other attar than Charles Lummis's *Spanish Pioneers*. Such, of course, will not be the case; for American Catholic historians will some day draw from those honeycombs of Spain such fragrant recitals as will delight mankind with their beauty and their sweetness. France has treasured the most precious memoranda of the period of exploration, the second chapter of our history. She has moreover valuable matter touching on the American Revolution that has been little drawn upon. As a concrete example of the things hidden there, let me cite the account of Yorktown. How little is it known that at Yorktown on land and sea, France had 21,000 men, America had not quite 9,000! The important part of that battle was the sea fight. American historians hurry over this point, for the reason that there were no Americans at all engaged in the naval contest. I cannot pass over the fact that there were more priests at the siege of Yorktown, where American freedom was achieved, than at any other engagement on the western hemisphere; and they had a good right to be there, for the money which paid the expense of this American campaign was given by the Catholic clergy of France.

These two great seats of civilization, Spain and France, kept the early records for us. Has dependence on them weakened us? Every civilized and every semi-civilized people understand the importance of keeping records. I regret to say that we Catholics of America to-day are as a body insensible to the situation; we must needs bestir ourselves and look to the past. Fortunately a few individuals have done something. The efforts of Gilmary Shea, Hughes, Herbermann, Griffin, Flick, Middleton, Meehan, and of Engelhardt, have all had something desultory about them. But just at present there seems to be signs of an awakening, of a widespread, far-reaching movement that manifests itself in new evidences of life in the old centers of historic work, New York and Philadelphia, and in the birth of new historical magazines in Chicago and St. Louis, but principally around Dr. Guilday and his able school at the Catholic University. But as yet there is no full grown appreciation of the big truth that we must keep our records, if we would have a history. No great governments will henceforth do this work for us. It is a huge task, and no ten, no hundred shoulders can bear it alone. Accordingly let the word go forth that we must all be ready to do something ourselves if we indulge in the hope that American Catholic history is ever fully and truthfully to be told. The ordering and arranging and systematizing for preservation of the records of our Catholic deeds must be done on a national scale. All must work and work together.

The omission of our part in the story of this nation's life, unless we act at once, will not necessarily be malicious. It can easily be the mere result of human limitations. There will be such tons and tons of other records, many of them thrillingly interesting, that the most conscientious and laborious historians will be satisfied that they have done their duty and have seen everything really important on their subjects when they have gone through these enormous heaps of material. It will be unfair and cruel to accuse them of neglecting us, if we neglect ourselves. It was not owing to antipathy towards Catholics that John Paul Jones's fascinating exploits almost won for him even from great historians the title of Father of the American Navy. Only the patient accumulation of documentary evidence, as one might say, at the last moment, by the redoubtable Griffin, saved this title for John Barry to whom every honest historian must henceforth award it.

There was a meeting in this hall a few weeks ago of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. An entire session was given over to the comparison of the methods of the various commonwealths in the Valley were pursuing, chiefly in every case through the agency of the State university, of securing and preserving the records of their war work. The representative of one university counted on his legislature granting an appropriation of $100,000 that the memory of the soldier boys of that section might be forever guarded sacredly from oblivion. Another speaker told how interest had been aroused in every nook and corner of his State by a very simple device: prominent men in each county seat were called into service, these appointed reliable persons in each township, and they in turn instructed a person in each school district to send in accounts to the university. A third speaker recounted that his school had secured copies of every species of posters, programs, announcements, and accounts of States, of the Red Cross and other such agencies, of counties, of universities, that had done anything which could be called war activity; they had surely stacked such heaps of material as no Catholic institution in America could find room to stow away. It was pleasant to note that in every paper mention was made of some special effort to obtain Catholic co-operation, Catholic reports, or Catholic data. It is perhaps more to my present purpose to call your attention to the fact that (except in one instance) these honest and generous scholars did not know how to reach us. For instance, one of them, a tireless collector, was perfectly satisfied that he would have all the Catholic data in his State because a Knight of Columbus had engaged to give him the records of the work of that order in his State. It did not occur to him that the Knights, although indeed the most important, were but one of several Catholic organizations helping the good cause.

The work of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and that of similar societies in other sections of the nation, should readily convince anyone that Americans do not live for the present alone. Historic material is being accumulated in prodgious stacks in the libraries and museums of each of the great university centers. Europe has been surpassed in this matter, as in so many others, by the young energy of American enthusiasm. But what have we Catholic Americans done?

It is far from the intention of this paper to inspire a sense of despair by magnifying the immensity of the undertaking of saving our Catholic records in this land, or by showing how puny are our facilities when compared with those

of other agencies engaged in like work. There is no place for despair for those who are engaged in God's work. He always sends help. Now help in this matter is right here at hand. We can use just such associations as I have named for the most ponderous burdens of the project. Not a few historical societies in the large cities and State capitals are eager to-day for fuller Catholic co-operation. They would be happy to save our source material and all species of memorials; and they know how to do it. For example, how pleased they would be if the churches that have made Service Flags and Service Lists would deposit these with them.

The officers of some of these societies are better aware than we ourselves seem to be of the disproportionately large part of American history that Catholics are making. He was not a Catholic who said to me: "What would art do in America without the Catholic Church?" I was surprised, for I could not think of any Catholic school of the fine arts, and of but few Catholics who had distinguished themselves in those high lines. He went on: "Your churches call for more paintings than all other sources in the United States combined; there would be scarcely enough erecting of really architectural structures in the country to keep that science alive were it not for the constant multiplication of your temples of worship; without these there would be no sculpture at all. We are the most unmusical nation that ever called itself Christian; the salvation of America musically is in the gladness of the parish schools." He was careful not to say in the music, so much as in the gladness, of the schools. Going from art to sociology, you know that it was not a Catholic, but a Protestant minister who declared very solemnly, but a short time ago, that the reason he could sleep with safety in the heart of Chicago was because the Catholic Church was there on guard.

Pardon my apparent going afield. Others have given us able papers on the method of keeping records. It would consequently seem more appropriate here to indicate the need of our doing so, and to point out that there are, as it were, stacks and bales of American Catholic history lying on the wharf exposed to the elements because there are no store-houses in which they may be stowed away. Of course I mean distinctively Catholic records.

I instanced art and sociology as bearing the impress here of Catholic life; but they are not at the inmost spring of human conduct. In and over all God's works is that true religion which continues the divine atonement and is the mercy of God. History's most delightful task should be to discover and perpetuate the memory of its manifestations. It was not a Catholic, but a scholarly American statesman, who a few years ago startled the blind delvers in depths of science with the declaration that religion is to-day the central key to the world's history. He began by saying that the whole world hangs to-day (1907) on the words of three men: Emperor William, President Roosevelt, and Pius X. The first two were great by reason of the physical force at their command, brute force; the greatness of the Pope was of a deeper nature, for it acted in the region of thought and love.

But we need not cross the seas. The Church is making history of the most wonderful kind right and about us. You no doubt recall that Bishop Spalding a few years ago announced without fear of contradiction, and no one so far as I am aware gainsaid his word, that the development of the

Catholic school system in America was the greatest religious fact of the age. History loves facts, especially great ones. Here is the greatest. It is not far to seek; it is still with us. Catholics of America are expending every year as a voluntary tax for conscience's sake at least the equivalent of thirty-two millions of dollars ($32,000,000). Of this sum, I hasten to say, the Sisters who do the teaching, contribute fully one-half in their sweat and their lives. This outlay would build, in one year, one of the great Cathedrals of Europe. We see that the carpenter's Son is still building in His hidden work-shop. The Ages of the Faith are not dead.

The fact just mentioned connotes many others of which record must be kept; among them this inexplicable one, that in neither branch of any one of our forty-eight State legislatures has there ever arisen a stateman among our non-Catholic leaders to raise his voice against so unfair a tax on conscience; and that our own protest against so grave an injustice—one that the imperial government of Germany or the House of Lords of England would not think of inflicting on their humblest subjects—our protest, I say, is so feeble as to indicate that we American Catholics, as a class, have not fully breathed in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, and that as a body we do not seem, under the test at least, to be red-blooded Americans.

But each of the orders is supposed, I believe, to have an historian whose duty it is to keep alive just such memories. No exhortation need be given by me to those wonderful women on gratitude towards their benefactors; nor need it be said that they can find no incentive to excellence in their vocation more compelling than the study of the virtues and trials of the saints of their own household who have fought the good fight and won the crown. Yet we find few biographies of our Sisters even in the most private collections. There should be a brief biography of every Sister—a page or two in length at least—and perhaps where they do not now exist it is not too late to have some venerable members of the communities or the older alumnae, dictate such even yet for those who are gone. That order is derelict to the sacred memory of its dead which has not preserved these precious memorials.

The Church, the enlightener of all times, has ever made it a matter of serious obligation on the bishops to keep certain valuable historical documents, and the new canon law has extended the obligation. Every pastor of souls is bound by canon 470 to keep baptismal, confirmation, and marriage records; and to send a copy of these annually to the episcopal chancery. Hitherto we were satisfied with having the original entry, but henceforth there is to be a copy of these precious records. Fire or war too often destroyed the originals in the past. Columbus might be on our altars to-day, and Mother Seton might be there to-morrow had the present new method been in vogue some years ago. Priests are obliged moreover to keep an account of their parishes. I once heard an old pastor say, with a zeal that, I imagine, approximated the cynical that whereas he had never known a shepherd of sheep who could not tell off-hand the exact number in his flock,—wethers, ewes, and lambs,—yet he had met not a few who called themselves shepherds of souls who were never able, save in a general way, to state how many souls God had committed to their care. It was doubtless for these the new canon requiring the account of the parish was enacted. It is to be hoped that

the canon legalists will not confine the meaning of the obligation to the financial status of the parish.

Here an opportunity is offered to lecture the diocesan chancellors. Every shaft of the full quiver of obloquy has been shot into their skin already to bring them to supplying the *Catholic Directory* with proper statistics. It cannot be shown that it is part of their duty to work gratis for the directory publishers, but it would be a splendid opportunity of setting us all a worthy example were they to report correctly each year the number of baptisms, marriages, and burials. As at present compiled the statistics on these vital points in that very fine publication are just not worthless. One may find that in one diocese, for instance, the birth rate is woefully low, while in another near at hand, it may reach as high as 60 per thousand, where all the babies must have been twins, except the triplets.

We must have authentic records, if we are to have that kind of knowledge which enlarges our experiences. The bishops as we saw are preserving records; the pastors of souls will henceforth keep the statistics of their flocks as never before; the various orders will preserve the biographies of their members. The *Catholic Directory* is a mine of rich information; but the greatest Catholic records in America are the files of our Catholic papers. Some of the most valuable of these are becoming extremely rare. When a publisher dies or withdraws from the field, his papers are scattered and it is possible that in many cases no complete set can be collected. It might be worth while to go into this affair more intimately and seek the remedy; but let it suffice to observe the remedy that is proving more than an experiment. The Philadelphia Historical Society has been collecting early issues for some time. Georgetown University, which fell heir to Gilmary Shea, has no doubt a fine collection; and Notre Dame, owing to the foresight of Mr. Edmunds, is another repository of these priceless sources of our history. But what are so few treasuries in so wide a country! Every Catholic institution in the land should keep at least its own diocesan publication.

Besides the diocesan and other publications, we not unseldom have commemorative volumes that are retrospective. Most of them are illustrated. many of these contain historic material of value. Nothing is more surprising than the rapidity with which an edition of some thousands of these will vanish from the face of the earth. One seeks for a copy a few years after its publication, and is fortunate indeed if he finds a few pages. Books and booklets of this sort, owing to the advertisements that crowd their pages like the pages of the popular magazines, have an appearance of cheapness, but as a fact they usually cost their writers, their editors, and their publishers no slight outlay, and they possess a corresponding value to the historian.

Then we have historic monuments -- or rather we have almost none of them, but may hope to have them some day. We have at least gravestones. These might be of historic value. but unfortunately those being put up generally to-day in America are a deception. They might almost as well be made of wax so far as keeping alive the memory of the dead is concerned. The wind and the rain erode their surface and blot out the inscription in a few years. Even an Old Mortality giving his life to renewing the inscriptions would not avail

our need, for the stones themselves fade away. It might be a praiseworthy thing for Catholics, either to revive the good customs of other lands and visit the graves on All Souls' Day, or if we are too far north, at least to enter thus far into the spirit of Memorial Day. Mural tablets on the site of famous events, and memorial plaques such as adorn European churches may also help us in happier days to come. Perhaps we may begin with rosters of the boys who fell in France. Only people as old and wise as the Romans understand the value of such articles as commemorative medals.

But not the diocesan chanceries, nor the parish registers, nor the columns of our best publications -- bound as they are by the conventionalities in their selection of matter -- can ever satisfactorily cover the field of history over which the genius of Catholicity hovers. Wherever God deigns to come down to earth to the hearts of men, and wherever the martyr spirit reveals itself raising men up to God, there the Catholic historian, like Jacob after his dream, must mark the spot for consecration. Neither chancery nor parish books in early Boston were lined to carry such an account as that of the whipping of young Whall, who was scourged in the public schools there into insensibility because he would not read King James's mutilated Bible; but no Catholic educational convention, no sermon of Cardinal, or encyclical of Pope gave such an impetus to the growth of the Catholic school system in America as the simple recital of that outrage when it passed on bated breath from mouth to mouth through and beyond New England.

The martyr spirit is the touchstone of our faith. It is as universal in the world to-day as the true Catholic home. Our children in the schools must be taught to recognize it. It is ever striving, like the heavenly thing it is, to conceal itself from mortal eyes. Let the children in our schools play hide and seek with it; they will find it perchance first of all in their own lives on the day they resist some powerful temptation; or maybe only after they have fallen, when they come penitently forward against ten thousand shames to break open their hearts to Christ and let the bad thing out. It was this spirit that the other day flung our Catholic youth into the nation's army almost before the call to arms was sounded. It is this spirit that must fill our Catholic homes with numerous children, fill our convents and seminaries with numerous servants of Christ. This is the victory that overcometh the world, our faith. The story of these triumphs are distinctly Catholic history. The blind earth catches but faint glimpses of their magnificent glory; heaven gladdens in their full disclosure.

Summing up, I have tried to say that passing over the Spanish discoveries and French explorations of America, we Catholics of to-day, who are one-fifth of our people, have performed our prportionate part in the making of the nation. We shared in the felling of the wilderness, the spanning of the rivers, the binding of the land with the avenues of commerce. We ate, and we hungered; we bought, and we sold; we laughed, and we wept; we warred, and we comforted the wounded and dying; we married, and we went down into the earth to mingle our dust with the soil of America. The records of these things are too multitudinous for us alone to gather and preserve. There are splendid historical societies, with which we must co-operate, that are keeping them sacredly.

But as opposed to what we eat, and buy, and wear, and the other husks of our lives, there is a power within our Catholic people, hidden down deep in the center of their souls, their religion, which is nothing else than the Spirit of the Crucified, bringing all things to Him since He has been lifted up, and it is the manifestations of this power of which we alone can and must keep the records. Whether American Catholics, as a whole, are responsive to the callings, the stirrings, of this divine influence, nothing perhaps would indicate at once so well as the birth rate, if we could only ascertain it. Yet we have on every hand such myriad hopeful manifestations of the workings of this Spirit as to indicate that He reigns among us with a supremacy rare in the annals of the world. The records of these loving manifestations must be conserved as the materials for the history of that reign.

An impression. In connection with first examination, editing, that is arranging headings, etc., and proof-reading, we have read and re-read the above from the pen of Father Kenny and have found new delights in each perusal. We do not recall such erudition couched in such fascinating language. As an experiment for the purpose of demonstrating the manner in which the article grips and then grows upon one we suggest that you try reading again.

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